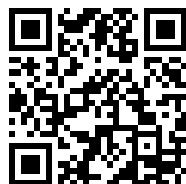


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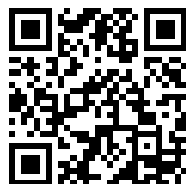


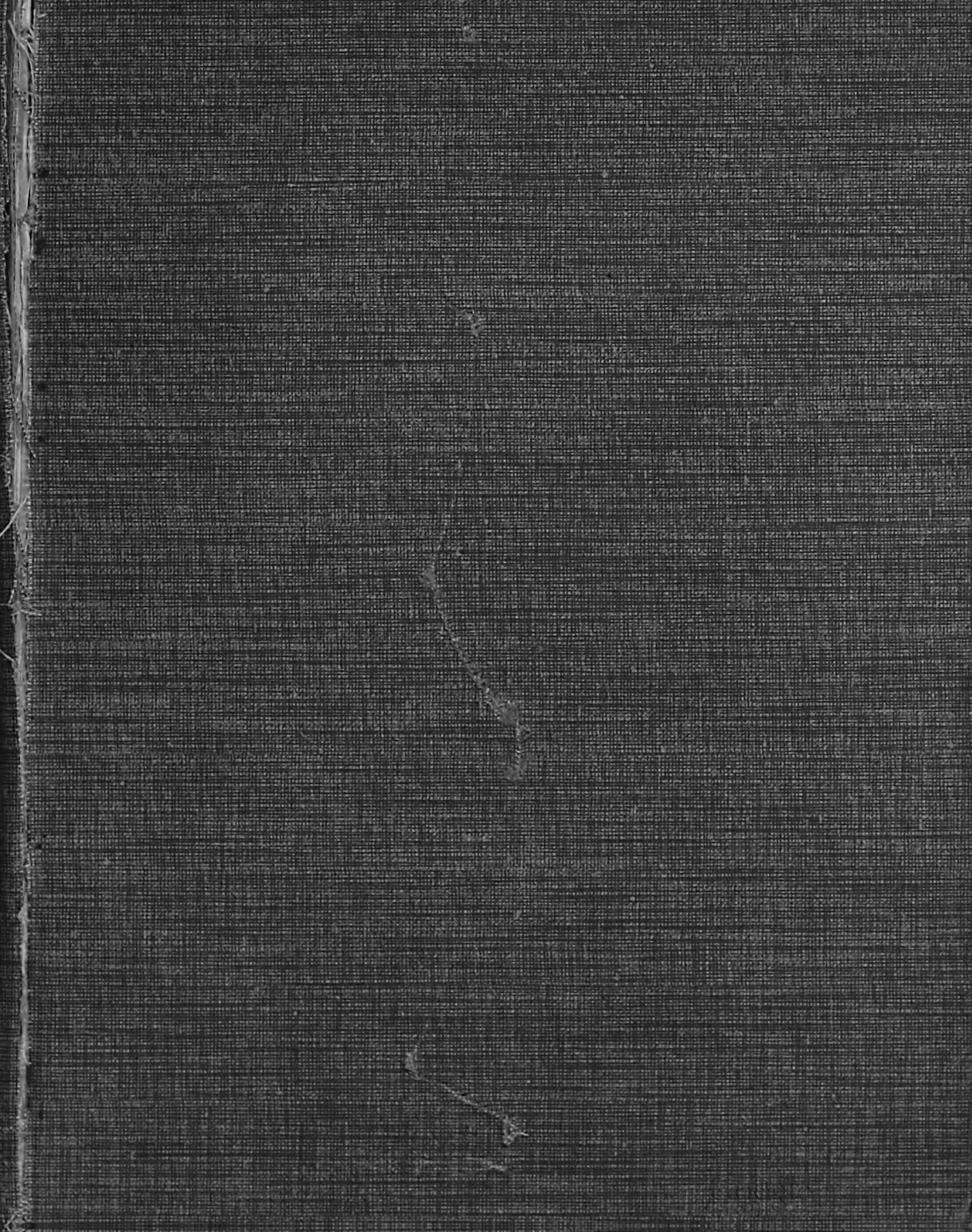
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*H. White.*



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## *NOTES AND STUDIES*

### ISAIAH xxi IN THE LIGHT OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY.

#### II

#### *Verses 11-17*

IN examining the two shorter Burdens with which this chapter closes it may be well for us in the first place to compare them with the longer Burden, verses 1 to 10, which formed the subject of my last paper, in order to shew that all three come from the same pen—viz. that of the prophet Isaiah—and were called forth by the same political crisis, viz. Sargon's Babylonian campaign in 710 and 709 B.C.

Note, then, in the first place, that the same dramatic power which characterizes the longer Burden is no less strikingly exhibited in these shorter prophecies. The prophet not only sees visions, but he has the power of making his readers see them too. With a few rapid strokes he dashes off pictures so vivid and impressive that our imagination readily fills in the details. Observe, also, the remarkable similarity in point of structure which exists between the Burden of the Wilderness of the Sea and the Burden upon Arabia. Each of these Burdens is divided into two strophes, and in each the second strophe begins with the words, 'For thus hath the Lord said unto me'<sup>1</sup>—verses 6 and 16—and ends with a solemn declaration that the oracle comes from the LORD God of Israel—verses 10 and 17.<sup>2</sup> Now we have already seen good reason to think that the former Burden is from the pen of the prophet Isaiah; we must therefore make the same admission with regard to the latter. Equally strong, too, is the evidence with regard to the Burden of Dumah. The pathetic tone of this most touching oracle as well as the metaphors employed are the same that meet us in Isa. viii 20-ix 2. In both

<sup>1</sup> In the original there is a slight variation in the order of the words thus translated in these two verses.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the strong similarity both of tone and of language in verses 16 and 17 and in Isa. xv 14.

passages 'night' and 'darkness' stand for the distress and anguish caused by war, 'morning' for the return of peace and prosperity. And just as the earlier passage speaks of those for whom there will be no morning, so it is ominously hinted here that such may be the fate of Dumah when the second and darker night overtakes her. We may, then, reasonably assert that Isaiah wrote all three Burdens, while the points of resemblance between them lead us to think that he wrote them all *about the same time*. This conjecture is borne out upon further examination. The first, as we have seen, was called forth by Sargon's campaign against Merodachbaladan. That campaign occupied *two* years, viz. 710 and 709 B.C., the intervening winter being spent by Sargon at Babylon. Now it is this fact which throws a remarkable light, first on the prediction contained in the Burden upon Arabia that *within a year according to the years of an hireling* the scare of the Dedanite caravans will be followed by the overthrow in battle of the powerful tribe of Kedar, and then on the answer of the watchman in the Burden of Dumah that a seemingly brief morning will be followed by a second and apparently darker night. Clearly we have only to imagine a raid into the desert made by the Assyrian cavalry from Babylon as their base in the year 710 B.C., followed up by more formidable operations in the next year, in order to be able to see a very possible fulfilment of both of these shorter Burdens. The question thus becomes one of probability; but before we proceed to the discussion of it, it will be advisable for us to engage in a closer examination of these remarkable prophecies.

'Nowhere else', says Ewald, 'do we find oracles of such great brevity, and conveyed in language of such an enigmatical complexion.' True: yet it is possible by a study of the geographical names, which occur in these prophecies, to remove much of their vagueness; and that without in any degree diminishing the force and beauty of this part of God's word. Thus, in the Burden of Dumah a cry comes from Seir, plaintively pathetic, and repeated in a tone of weariness well indicated in the Hebrew by the shortening of the last word in the second clause: *Shomēr, mäh millailäh; shomēr, mäh milleyl*, 'Watchman, how far is it in the night? Watchman, how far in the night?' How soon, that is, will the night of terror and danger, of sorrow and anguish, be over? that night which broods over Judah the watchman's home as well as over Edom, since both of these nations according to Sargon were found plotting together against Assyria in the year 711 B.C. at the time of the fall of Ashdod. Now it will be seen in the course of this paper that the interpretation offered depends on the identification of Dumah with a spot, not in Edom, but far across the eastern desert, nearly half-way to Babylon. The study is, in fact, geographical as well as historical, for without some definite knowledge



of the places and countries mentioned in these Burdens it is impossible for us either to enter into their meaning or to search out their fulfilment.

Of the different geographical names here mentioned—Dumah, Seir, Arabia, Dedan, Tema, and Kedar—Arabia is the most familiar, and with the exception possibly of Kedar the hardest to define. It may, however, be stated with certainty that in the Bible as in the Assyrian inscriptions the name denotes, not the whole of that vast peninsula now so called, but only that portion which lies to the north of the Shammar mountains, including the triangular tract known as the Syrian Desert, which extends from Palestine to the Euphrates and has its apex a little to the north of Damascus. The Arabians, according to Jer. iii 2, dwell in the *Midbar*, i.e. 'the Wilderness' *par excellence*, the *Madbaru* or *Mudbaru* of the Assyrian records, which Sargon speaks of as extending from Rapiqu<sup>1</sup> on the Euphrates to the Brook of Egypt. It was in this *Midbar* that Uziah, who was helped by God against the Arabians, built towers for the protection of his flocks.<sup>2</sup>

But besides the country of Arabia the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser IV, Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal mention a kingdom of Arabia which appears to have had for its capital the fortress of Adumû, to be identified, as we shall see presently, with Isaiah's Dumah. This kingdom of Arabia is referred to in Jer. xxv 24 and Ezek. xxvii 21, and probably also in the Isaianic Burden; but it is not a little remarkable that Dumah or Adumû, the centre of that kingdom, has here a separate Burden of its own. The most likely explanation is that at this crisis Dumah was in the hands of the Edomites and had become a dependency of Mount Seir. In endeavouring to locate the kingdom of Arabia some help may be obtained from the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. Ashurbanipal informs us that Vaiteh king of Arabia sent succours to his rebellious brother Shamash-shum-ukin the king of Babylon; and further that the forces of Vaiteh were defeated by the Assyrians along what is now the eastern border of Palestine, so that Vaiteh himself was driven to seek a refuge with his ally Nathan the Nabathæan, whose land is described as *ruqu*, i.e. 'distant' from Assyria, presumably more distant than the kingdom of Arabia.<sup>3</sup> These statements of the Assyrian king all point to the Jowf oasis as the nucleus of the ancient kingdom of Arabia, this oasis holding a central position with regard to Babylon, Eastern Palestine, and the country of the Nabathæans.

Now, according to the Isaianic Burden, 'the children of Kedar' are the chief tribe of this kingdom of Arabia. Similarly in Ezek. xxvii 21 we read of 'Arabia and all the princes of Kedar'. The words suggest some close

<sup>1</sup> Cylinder Inscription, lines 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi 7, 10. In the latter verse the initial letters of 'wilderness', 'lowland', 'plain', and 'mountains' ought all to be capitals.

<sup>3</sup> See the Rassam Cylinder, col. vii 107-124 and viii 57.

connexion between Arabia and Kedar, without permitting us to look on the two as identical. Exactly the same impression is conveyed by the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. On one of his cylinders Ashurbanipal calls Vaiteh 'king of Arabia', on another 'king of Kedar'.<sup>1</sup> In the former inscription he states that after Vaiteh had fallen into his hands, his wife Adija, who is styled 'queen of Arabia', was captured along with Ammuladi king of Kedar. Then later on he tells us how he appointed Abiyateh the Kedarene to succeed Vaiteh on the throne of Arabia.<sup>2</sup> The impression thus given is that the tribe of Kedar, being a purely nomadic people, were vassals of the sovereigns of Arabia, whose capital city of Adumû appears to have lain in the heart of their deserts.<sup>3</sup> In times of peace the kingdom of Arabia, having a fixed geographical centre in the group of oases near to Adumû, would naturally exercise a supremacy over the neighbouring tribes; but in times of war 'the mighty men of the children of Kedar' would be apt to assert themselves.

The Biblical Dumah, which has been identified with the Arabian Adumû, is the next geographical name which calls for our attention. *Dumah* is the Hebrew for 'silence'. Hence Ewald would render the title of the second Burden 'High Oracle of Silence'. But such a rendering is inadmissible for this reason, that the titles of all the other Isaianic Burdens contain the name or description of some place or country. Equally inadmissible is the view of the Septuagint that 'Dumah' stands for Edom. This is a mere guess, arising out of the mention of Seir, and may be placed side by side with their confounding Tema with Teman. A far more rational conjecture is to identify the Dumah and Tema of these Burdens with the two sons of Ishmael mentioned in Gen. xxv 14, 15. Just as Kedar and Nebaioth stand for tribes of nomad Arabs, so Dumah and Tema represent settled communities. They are, in fact, the Biblical names of the two chief oases of ancient Arabia. Dumah is the lovely oasis, or rather group of oases, known as the Jowf,<sup>4</sup> one of whose chief towns, now called Jowf, bore till lately the name of Daumat-el-Jandal, 'the stony Dumah'. Tema is the oasis and town of Teima. That Dumah should form the subject of a prophecy is not at all surprising, when we consider the fertility of this desert-province joined to its unique central position. The Jowf lies a little to the north of a straight line drawn from the head of the Gulf of Akabah to the mouth of the Euphrates, and is nearer to Palestine than to the Euphrates in the ratio

<sup>1</sup> Rassam Cylinder vii 83 and Cylinder B vii 87, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Rassam Cylinder viii 15, 24, 25; 31, 46, 47, and ix 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Rassam Cylinder ix 2, where Ashurbanipal speaks of 'the Kedarenes of Vaiteh son of Bir-Dadde king of Arabia'.

<sup>4</sup> The Jowf is a large oval depression, some sixty or seventy miles long, whence the name El Jowf, 'the Hollow'. For a striking description of its beauty see Palgrave's *Journey through Central Arabia* vol. i p. 56. A picture of the Jowf is given in Lady Anne Blunt's *Pilgrimage to the Nejd* vol. i, opposite p. 120.

of about three to four. It is situated on the shortest and most direct route from Egypt to the Euphrates valley: it also lies midway between Damascus and Hail in Central Arabia. At the time when this Burden was uttered the Jowf belonged to Edom, for the voice that enquires so anxiously as to the fate of Dumah calls to the prophet out of Seir. This is a little surprising when we consider that the Jowf, which lies due east of Edom, is separated from that country by more than 200 miles of flat arid desert. On the other hand, we must remember that the Jowf lies nearer to Edom than to any other country, and that Edom was now strong. In the days of Ahaz she recovered the port of Elath on the Red Sea and invaded Judah,<sup>1</sup> and now her strong arm has stretched across the desert and seized on the Jowf.

The above theory as to the Jowf being in 710 B. C. in the hands of the Edomites is supported by an incidental statement in Lam. iv 21, where Edom is addressed as having settlements in the land of Uz. Wetzstein has brought forward some very strong arguments to shew that Uz, the home of the patriarch Job, must be located in the western corner of the Hauran, due east of the southern end of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>2</sup> This district lies between Damascus and Samaria, and must have suffered very severely at the time of the fall of those cities in 732 B. C. and 722 B. C. respectively, and again in 720 B. C. when Sargon put down the revolt of Jaubihdi of Hamath, in which those cities took part. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the land of Uz fell into the hands of the Edomites shortly after its thrice-repeated desolation by the Assyrians. Now with this acquisition of Uz by the Edomites we are inclined to connect their seizure of the Jowf, which is easily approached from the Hauran by way of the Wady Sirhan, a wady well supplied with water to within fifteen miles of the Jowf. It is possible, also, that these forward movements on the part of Edom may have some connexion with a statement made by Sargon in his Annals that in 715 B. C. he settled Arabs in Samaria. The Assyrians sought to denationalize conquered peoples by the settlement of alien populations in their midst. Thus Sargon may at this same date have promoted, or at least permitted,<sup>3</sup> a settlement of hostile Edomites both in Dumah and in the land of Uz.

Tema, the modern Teima, the second great oasis of ancient Arabia, lies some 200 miles almost due south of the Jowf. It is mentioned by Tiglathpileser IV along with Sheba and Ephah.<sup>4</sup> That most interesting relic the Teima Stone,<sup>5</sup> which, to judge from the type of the Phoenician

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxviii 17 and 2 Kings xvi 6, where for ארם Syria we should probably read ארם Edom. Elath was recovered to Edom, not to Syria.

<sup>2</sup> For the fertility of this district see *A Pilgrimage to the Nejd* vol. i pp. 33, 37, 47.

<sup>3</sup> See Olmstead *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon* p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Nimrūd Inscription, Rev. line 53. <sup>5</sup> See *The Biblical World* for June 1909.

alphabet employed, must date from the fifth or sixth century B.C., gives us a fair idea of the cosmopolitan character of ancient Tema. It records the introduction into the pantheon of Tema of a new divinity, Tsalm of Hajam, whose hereditary priesthood is to be endowed with sixteen palms of the field and five from the treasure of the king. Tsalm is a name of the planet Saturn, called by the Assyrians *kakkabu tsalmu*, 'the dark star'. On the narrow edge of the stone is a bas-relief of the new divinity draped in Assyrian fashion, and also of his priest, who bears the name Tsalm-shezab, 'Tsalm has delivered'. The name of the priest's father, Pet-Osiri, 'he whom Osiris gave', which occurs in the course of the inscription, is Egyptian; and the inscription itself is written in Aramaic. The fact that Aramaic was the language of the desert helps to explain the introduction of certain Aramaic words and forms into the Burden of Dumah.<sup>1</sup> The cosmopolitan character of the people of Tema as witnessed to by the Teima Stone, as well as their commercial proclivities,<sup>2</sup> would make their oasis a natural haven of refuge for the flying Dedanite traders.

For the home of the Dedanites themselves we look to the rugged mountainous tract that lies to the west and south of Teima, viz. the lava-field of the Harra, known as the *Wa'ar* of Arabia. In the geographical chain 'Dedan and Tema and Buz' given in Jer. xxv 23, Buz has been identified with the land of Bazu, mentioned in Esarhaddon's Arabian campaign, and has been located in the Jebel Shammar to the east of Teima. Dedan must therefore lie to the west of that town. Again, in Ezek. xxvii 19-21, where the order of names appears to run from south to north, Dedan is mentioned after Vedan (= Waddan near Medina) and Javan (= Jawan or Jahn), and before Arabia and Kedar, which bids us look for it in the same neighbourhood. Further, the physical characteristics of the Harra harmonize well with the prophet's warning in Jer. xlix 8, where the Dedanites, engaged as here in traffic, are counselled to withdraw from the Edomite frontier, and to 'dwell deep' in the recesses of their native mountains that so they may escape the approaching overthrow. As that overthrow comes from the north it will follow that Dedan must lie to the south of Edom. The same may be inferred from Ezek. xxv 13 R.V.

'The forest in Arabia' must be sought for between the Jowf and Teima, inasmuch as the former is the centre of the disturbed district, the latter the haven of refuge for which the fugitives make.<sup>3</sup> Now the

<sup>1</sup> These will be found in Delitzsch's *Isaiah in loco*. The question as to whether Isaiah understood Aramaic is answered in the affirmative by Isa. xxxvi 11.

<sup>2</sup> Job vi 19.

<sup>3</sup> This rules out of court Wetzstein's suggestion that the Hebrew word *ya'ar*, translated 'forest', points to the *Wa'ar* of Arabia. The *Wa'ar*, which lies west, south, and east of Teima, is too remote from the scene of hostilities.

French explorer Hubert tells us that when travelling SSE. from the Jowf to Hail on the second day's march he found himself in the vicinity of a lofty chain of wooded hills called El Felouh.<sup>1</sup> The hills were reached at 1.12 p.m., and the last of them was passed at 8.57 p.m.<sup>2</sup> It might thus be possible to identify 'the forest in Arabia' with this district; but a better identification than even the wooded hills of El Felouh, which lie rather too much to the east, is to be found in the sand-desert of the Nefûd, through which the direct route from the Jowf to Teima passes. This is indeed a dry and thirsty land, in which the fugitive caravans might well need succours. 'Over all this ground', writes Wetzstein, 'you do not find a single drop of water either in winter or summer.'<sup>3</sup> And yet 'desert for desert'—so Blunt assures us—'there is none more luxuriant than this district of red sand.' Three different grasses are found there and two considerable bushes, worthy to be ranked as trees.<sup>4</sup> The bosky nature of this desert tract would allow of its being described by the Hebrew word *ya'ar* in the sense of 'thicket', a meaning which it sometimes bears. And yet it is not so much the bushes as the remarkable configuration of the Nefûd that marks it out as the sheltering refuge referred to in the Isaianic Burden. The whole surface of the ground is pitted with deep horse-shoe hollows called *fuljes*. These *fuljes* vary in depth from 20 to 220 feet, and in width from 50 yards to a quarter of a mile. In the deepest of them the solid ground is reached beneath the superincumbent sand.<sup>5</sup> In this labyrinth of hollows the traders would be completely screened from view, and could safely 'lodge', or pass the night, for the dry sands of the Nefûd would leave no tell-tale footmarks to betray their whereabouts. Death from hunger, thirst, and fatigue would form their chief danger, and glad must they have been for the friendly succours which reached them as they neared Teima.

We have now sufficiently discussed the different geographical names contained in these Burdens, and it will be seen what a flood of light they throw on the passage. But in order to substantiate our theory that these prophecies met with their fulfilment in a cavalry raid into the desert made by the Assyrians from Babylon in 710 B.C. followed by a more formidable invasion in the following year, we have to consider three

<sup>1</sup> Marked on Stieler's Map and in *The Times Atlas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie* p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix to Delitzsch's Isaiah.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Nefûd is better wooded and richer in pasture than any part of the desert we have passed since leaving Damascus. It is tufted all over with *ghada* bushes, and bushes of another kind called *yerta*.' *A Pilgrimage to the Nejd* vol. i p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> See an article by J. S. Blunt in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, new series, vol. ii pp. 94-96. A picture of the *fuljes* in the Nefûd is given in *A Pilgrimage to the Nejd*, opposite p. 160.

questions: first, the possibility of leading an armed force from Babylon across the desert to attack the Jowf; secondly, the inducement to the Assyrians at that time to undertake such an expedition; and lastly, the positive evidence that such an expedition was actually undertaken by them.

The question as to the possibility of leading an armed force from Babylon against the Jowf can now be solved, thanks to the researches of modern travellers. In a paper by Captain S. S. Butler, read before the Royal Geographical Society in May 1909, entitled 'Baghdad to Damascus', the writer observes that 'between Nedjef'—on the Euphrates a little to the south of Babylon—'and El Jowf there is a distinct line of communication and wells'. According to Glaser the Wady Sirhan or North Arabian *Jowf*, i.e. 'valley' or 'depression', drains into the Euphrates.<sup>1</sup> In Stieler's map of Arabia this wady is marked as running south-east from the Hauran to the Jowf, and thence ENE. to the Euphrates in the vicinity of Babylon. Further, that part of the wady which lies between the Jowf and the Euphrates is marked on the map as 'low ground, good pasturage'. A definite route across the desert, furnished with water supplies and pasturage would greatly facilitate the advance of an army; whilst, as to the distance to be covered, it is not so great as might be imagined. According to Wetzstein 'the great enchanting oasis of El Jowf with the city of Dumah' is only 'four *Delul*-marches to the south-west of Babylon'.<sup>2</sup> In view of the above facts it would evidently be easier to conduct an armed force to the Jowf from Babylon or Damascus than from any other quarter, and easiest from Babylon. When, then, we bear in mind the spirit shewn by the Assyrians in overcoming obstacles, and more especially in executing long desert marches, we cannot suppose that they would find any so great difficulty in marching from Babylon upon the Jowf. But we must not leave this part of our subject without calling attention to the fact that when Sargon drew near to Babylon he entrenched himself on the *west* side of the Euphrates in the old fortress of Dur-Ladinu in Bit-Dakkuri. Bit-Dakkuri is held to have been the most northerly of the Chaldaean states which lay between Babylon and the sea.<sup>3</sup> It follows, therefore, that Dur-Ladinu cannot have been far from Nedjef, the point where the road to the Jowf quits the river.<sup>4</sup> It would thus be most favourably situated for any advance on that oasis, and if, as I imagine, Sargon

<sup>1</sup> *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* vol. ii p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix to Delitzsch's *Isaiah*. The *Delul* is the dromedary or riding camel as distinguished from the common draught camel. According to Doughty 'a *Delul* in good condition will go 70 miles a day for short distances; 60 to 65 for a week, and 50 for a fortnight' (*Arabia Deserta* vol. ii p. 519).

<sup>3</sup> H. Winckler *Untersuchungen* pp. 51, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Olmstead (*Western Asia* p. 139) places it near the modern Kerbela.

made it the head-quarters of his army during the Babylonian campaign, we can well understand how easily from this base in the autumn of 710 B.C. a cavalry raid could be made into the country round Dumah, followed up by a more serious expedition in the next year.

Secondly, as regards the inducements to such an expedition : at the time at which we are looking they certainly were not small. The Jowf was a most desirable possession in itself. It was also a most convenient halting-place on the shortest route between Babylon and Egypt, and a great desert centre. Sargon, who had just made Babylon the second capital of his empire, would naturally wish to control the commerce of the desert and to draw it to that city. This he could most conveniently do by seizing the Jowf, a feat comparatively easy of accomplishment while the main body of his army was quartered at Babylon. A further inducement, if any were needed, would be found in the consideration that in capturing the Jowf he would be inflicting a well-deserved chastisement upon Edom, a state which in conjunction with Philistia, Judah, and Moab had been found 'speaking seditions and acting with base wickedness' at the time of the siege of Ashdod in the previous year.<sup>1</sup> All this being taken into account, we are almost inclined to say that it would have been strange if, when such a convenient opportunity offered, Sargon had left the Jowf untouched, and the more so since such an expedition would permit of his chastising the Arabs, whose sympathies were always with the enemies of Assyria.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, the positive evidence that such an expedition against the Jowf was actually undertaken by the Assyrians is furnished by the following extract from a cylinder of Esarhaddon,<sup>3</sup> which refers to an event that must have happened about 675 B.C., i. e. some thirty-five years after the time at which we are looking :—

'Adumû, a fortress in Arabia, which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the father who begat me, captured, and [the goods, the treasures, and] the gods thereof he carried away to Assyria . . . Hazael, king of Arabia, came with his costly present to Nineveh the city of my lordship, and kissed my feet. For the restoration of his gods he implored me. I granted him mercy. Those gods I renovated, I wrote upon them the might of Ashur my lord and the inscription of my name, and I gave them back to him. Tabua, who had been brought up in my palace, I appointed to sovereignty over them. Along with her gods I sent her back to her land. I added 65 camels to the former tribute imposed by my father, and I laid it upon

<sup>1</sup> See the broken cylinder of Sargon already quoted. The original, marked K 1668, is in Table-case C in the Nimrûd Gallery of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. they served as mercenaries in the army of Hezekiah, and went to the help of Shamash-shum-ukin when he rebelled against his brother Ashurbanipal.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the Assyrian Room of the British Museum, Table-case H, No. 91028.

him. Afterwards fate carried off Hazael, and I set on his throne his son Jahu. Fifty camels and 1,000 bundles of spices I added to the tribute paid by his father, and placed it on him.'

The Adumû of the above extract has with very considerable probability been identified with the Biblical Dumah, which is found written 'Ιδουμά<sup>1</sup> in the Septuagint of 1 Chron. i 30 and again in Gen. xxv 14 in some copies; and Dumah, evidently to be sought for in Arabia, has no better identification than Daumat-el-Jandal,<sup>2</sup> at present called Jowf, in the desert province of the same name.

Adumû is described by Esarhaddon as a *fortress* in Arabia. The present town of Jowf, though not without ancient fortifications, such as the castle and the tower of Marid, cannot boast of any structure reaching back to the age of Sennacherib. But the very name Daumat-el-Jandal, 'the stony' or 'rocky Dumah', either denotes that the town was fortified or else points to the fact that stone was plentiful in the neighbourhood. If we adopt the latter sense, and bear in mind the richness of this oasis, we shall be driven to the conclusion that this lovely spot must always have had its guardian fortress.

The nationality of Hazael is a point of some interest. He may have been an Arab; in which case the Arabs must have recaptured Adumû subsequently to its being taken by Sargon from the Edomites. On the other hand, since we are told by Ashurbanipal that he had a brother named Bir-Dadda, i. e. Benhadad, we are tempted to look upon him as a Syrian. And yet it is just as likely that he was an Edomite, for in the Old Testament Hadad appears as distinctively an Edomite royal name.<sup>3</sup> However this may have been, if Hazael were not an Arab, then by marrying him to an Arabian princess brought up at the court of Assyria, Esarhaddon must have sought to conciliate the Arab tribes around Adumû, who appear to have had a partiality for female rulers,<sup>4</sup> and at the same time to establish a strong Assyrian influence in that city. This was just at that time a matter of some importance, since the oasis lay, as we have seen, on the shortest route between Babylon—so lately raised from its ruins to be the second capital of the empire—and Egypt, the country which Esarhaddon was planning to conquer.

Esarhaddon tells us that Adumû was captured by his father Sennacherib, but he does not tell us who was king of Adumû at the time of

<sup>1</sup> To be carefully distinguished from 'Ιδουμαία, which is found instead of 'Εδωμ almost universally in the prophetic books.

<sup>2</sup> Supposed to be the Domatha of Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* vi 32.

<sup>3</sup> See 1 Chron. i 46, 50 and 1 Kings xi 14. As to the Aramaean origin of some of the Edomite princes see Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* p. 222 foot-note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Tiglathpileser IV mentions two successive queens of Arabia, Zabibi and Samsi. Samsi is also mentioned by Sargon. Ashurbanipal mentions another female sovereign, Adjia.



its capture. The break in the sentence just before the mention of Hazael suggests that Adumû may have been under another king at the time when Sennacherib took it. In either case the gods of Adumû are of necessity the gods of Hazael king of Adumû, who comes to Nineveh with a costly present to get them back. Now it has been supposed that this 'present' was the yearly tribute imposed by Sennacherib, and undoubtedly the Assyrian word *tamartu*, here employed, is sometimes used in that sense. But *tamartu* has also the meaning of 'gift', and is used of gifts no doubt often extorted by fear. The ordinary word for 'tribute' is *madatu* or *mandattu*, which occurs twice at the close of the above extract. That it was not his yearly tribute which Hazael brought to Esarhaddon is proved by the words which follow, '*I granted him mercy*'. This is a very strong expression. It is used by the Assyrian kings, and more especially by Ashurbanipal, of lenience shewn to those whose lives had been justly forfeited by the sin of rebellion.<sup>1</sup> If Hazael had gone on paying his tribute regularly year by year, he would have had no need of mercy. The phrase indicates that the tribute imposed by Sennacherib must have ceased to be paid, so that for a time at least Adumû must have been in a state of rebellion. But if this were so, what could have led Hazael to run the great risk of appearing in person before the Assyrian king? He was influenced probably both by hope and by fear. By hope in part, because Esarhaddon was a merciful monarch, and had just shewn remarkable lenity in rebuilding the rebellious city of Babylon which his father had so ruthlessly destroyed. This act of Esarhaddon has kindled hope in the breast of Hazael; but it has also kindled fear. For Babylon is so much nearer to Adumû than Nineveh that it is no longer safe for Hazael to remain in a state of rebellion. With Babylon again established as a second capital of the empire, how easily may an armed force be once more sent against Adumû. It is these considerations that have induced Hazael to run the great risk of appearing in person before the Assyrian king.

So far no mention has been found in the inscriptions of Sennacherib of the capture of Adumû. If it had occurred during the earlier part of his reign, 705 to 689 B.C., we should have expected to find it recorded, as the inscriptions for that period are sufficiently full and explicit. After 689 B.C. to the end of the reign in 681 B.C. all is at present a blank. Hence many would place the capture of Adumû in this interval. But the history of the oasis, as we have sought to trace it in the above extract from Esarhaddon, rather favours an earlier date. Adumû was captured by Sennacherib apparently when under some other king than Hazael, and was laid under tribute. The tribute, we may suppose, was paid for

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Necho of Egypt and Baal of Tyre.

a time ; then presently it was discontinued, we know not for how long. But shortly after the rebuilding of Babylon, 680 to 678 B.C., Hazael, the then ruler of Adumû, comes to Nineveh to ask for the gods of his city, and doubtless at the same time to tender his submission. This view of the case points to an earlier date for the capture of Adumû than the interval 689 to 681 B.C. And surely it would have been more to Assyria's interest to capture the Jowf and lay it under tribute during the closing years of Sargon, at a time when it was designed to make Babylon the second capital of the empire, than during the dark interval, 689 to 681 B.C., when Babylon was lying in ruins. I suggest, then, that Adumû was captured by Sennacherib in 709 B.C., during the life of his father Sargon ; and that this explains how it is that no record is left us of its capture save the brief incidental notice of Esarhaddon quoted above. The Assyrian scribes, as is well known, were wont to centre attention on the exploits of the reigning monarch almost to the exclusion of those performed by his generals, and in 709 B.C. the inscriptions of Sargon were certainly getting so full that there would be no room for the warlike achievements even of his son.

But it is possible to adduce some yet further evidence for the capture of Adumû by Sennacherib in the year 709 B.C. The facts may be stated thus. After the close of the campaign against Merodachbaladan in that year, Sargon appears to have stayed on in Babylonia two years longer. He was thus absent from Assyria from 710 to 707 B.C. ; during which interval, or at any rate during the latter half of it, Sennacherib was left in charge in Assyria with his head-quarters at Kalah.<sup>1</sup> Now to this period must be assigned four letters written by Sennacherib to his father Sargon. The earliest of the four makes mention of the floods in Kurban, which we know from another source happened in 710 B.C.<sup>2</sup> A second refers to the tribute brought from Qummukh and the discontentment felt with regard to it. This may be assigned to the year after the conquest of Qummukh, i. e. to 707 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The remaining two are concerned with the Armenian troubles. One dwells on the threatening advance of Argishtish king of Armenia, the other on his overthrow by the Gimirrai. Hence they have been assigned respectively to 708 and 707 B.C.<sup>4</sup> It will thus be seen that the year 709 is so far left untouched. Now a little earlier in these same Armenian troubles, and

<sup>1</sup> See Olmstead's *Western Asia* p. 17 foot-note 45, where he shews that line 16 of the fragment Rm. 2. 97 *sharru ishtu Babili issukhra*, 'the king departed from Babylon', refers to the fifteenth year of Sargon, 707 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 731. Compare Johns's *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* 1141 line 59.

<sup>3</sup> Harper, No. 196.

<sup>4</sup> The two letters in question are Harper, Nos. 198 and 197. The former is assigned by Olmstead to Elul (September) 708 B.C., and the latter to the summer of the following year. *Western Asia* pp. 154-156 and foot-notes 26 and 41.

probably in this very year 709 B.C., we have two letters from the Assyrian general Upakhkhir-Bel addressed to Sargon.<sup>1</sup> In both of these letters reference is made to Kharda, an Assyrian town near the Armenian frontier, and in the later letter Argishtish is mentioned by name. But what concerns us now is the fact that in the earlier letter immediately after the usual greeting 'Peace be to the king', there follows a second greeting: '*Peace to the king's son.*' The most probable interpretation of this most unusual addition is that the writer, who was doubtless well informed, believed Sennacherib to be in Babylonia with his father at the time when he wrote the letter.

But if Sennacherib was in Babylonia in the year 709 B.C., it may be asked what further evidence we have to shew that he made a campaign from Babylonia into Arabia. Here Herodotus comes to our help, for when writing of Sennacherib's famous expedition against Palestine and Egypt in 701 B.C. he styles him 'King of the Arabians and of the Assyrians', and calls his army 'the army of the Arabians'.<sup>2</sup> This singular prominence given to Arabia, which so sorely puzzled Josephus,<sup>3</sup> receives some explanation if Adumû, the capital of Arabia, was actually taken by Sennacherib *before* he ascended the throne of Assyria; for then he would appear to the Egyptian informants of Herodotus as king of Arabia *before* he became king of Assyria. Then as to 'the Arabian army' of which Herodotus speaks: the words have been held to mean that Sennacherib was greatly assisted by the Arabs in his Palestinian expedition. But the Arabs were never in any hurry to help the Assyrians, and if, as seems likely, they did so on this occasion, it must have been because some strong Assyrian influence had already been established in Arabia, viz. by the capture of Adumû.<sup>4</sup>

Our argument then is, that Sennacherib while in Babylonia in the year 709 B.C. made a campaign into Arabia, starting from Babylon, or possibly from Dur-Ladinu, as his base; and in the course of the campaign he captured Adumû or Dumah, then in the hands of the Edomites, and at the same time inflicted a severe defeat on the tribe of Kedar in the neighbouring deserts, thus completing the fulfilment of the two shorter prophecies in Isaiah xxi. It thus appears with regard to the three Burdens contained in this chapter that in every case the earlier portion of each Burden was fulfilled by Sargon, viz. in 710 B.C., and the latter portion by Sennacherib, viz. in 689 B.C. as regards the longer Burden, and in 709 B.C. in the case of the two shorter ones.

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<sup>1</sup> Harper, Nos. 548 and 424. See *Western Asia* pp. 151, 152, also foot-note 14.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. ii 141.

<sup>3</sup> Ant. x 1. 4.

<sup>4</sup> In the same way Esarhaddon by his Arabian campaign secured the help of the Arabs in his invasion of Egypt.

## THE ORIGIN AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SYRIAC PENTATEUCH.

### I

OF the origin and the early history of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament very little definite knowledge is at present available. The traditions of the Syrian Church are late, and they tell us nothing beyond the fact that in the age in which these traditions were written down the Scriptures of the Old Testament used by Syrian Christians were believed by them to be very ancient. The investigations of modern scholars have been mainly devoted to finding out whether the translation was made by Jews or by Christians, but they cannot be said to have yielded definite results. In this paper I propose to draw certain conclusions as to the origin and the early history of the version from a collation of a number of ancient MSS of the Syriac Pentateuch.

One of the MS treasures of the British Museum is a Syriac Pentateuch—Add. 14,425, hereafter called D—bearing the date ‘in the year of the Greeks 775’, i. e. A.D. 464, and regarded as the oldest dated Biblical MS in existence. About two years ago Dr W. E. Barnes made the important discovery that this MS presents a text which

(1) differs considerably from that found in Pentateuch MSS of a later date, and

(2) adheres very closely to the Massoretic Hebrew text.

During part of 1911 I had the privilege of assisting Dr Barnes in certain work upon which he was engaged, and I was informed by him of the discovery which he had made. When later I proposed to make a special investigation of this MS, in the hope of finding something which might cast light upon the origin and early history of the Version as a whole, Dr Barnes most generously allowed me to make what use I wished of his discovery and heartily encouraged me in my proposed enquiry. For this, as well as for advice and help, given on many subsequent occasions, I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr Barnes.<sup>1</sup>

I began the collation of D in Oct. 1911, but I soon found that my first work must be to determine approximately the text of the Peshiṭta

<sup>1</sup> The Governing Body of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, kindly made me a grant from the Scholarship Fund of the College to aid me in my researches. To that Body I now express my sincere thanks, for, without their financial assistance, it would have been impossible for me to have brought this investigation to a conclusion.

in the sixth century, in order clearly to know what readings in D were unique, and what readings were common to D and to other early MSS of the Pentateuch. This led me to collate *all* Pentateuch MSS in the British Museum of a date prior to the tenth century A.D. It seemed to me to be advisable also to secure the evidence of an important MS at present in the Laurentian Library, Florence.<sup>1</sup>

## II

(i) D contains Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Dr Wright describes it thus: 'This volume appears to have been the work of two scribes, the one of whom wrote from the beginning to fol. 115, the other from fol. 116 to the end. . . . The character in both parts is a fine bold Estrangela' (*B. M. Cat.*). A note at the end of Exodus states that the MS was written at Amid in the year of the Greeks 775, i.e. A.D. 464, for Mar —, priest of Agel.<sup>2</sup>

Dr Wright's conjecture that this volume is the work of two different scribes is one which a careful examination of the whole MS has completely substantiated. The following points have to be considered:—

(a) If it was originally intended that this volume should be a complete Pentateuch, the absence of Leviticus is strange.

(b) The part of the MS containing Genesis and Exodus is written by a different hand from that which wrote Numbers and Deuteronomy. The script of Genesis and Exodus is rounder, and more sloping, than that of Numbers and Deuteronomy, and, as Syriac writing between the fifth and the eighth centuries became less round and less sloping, and more angular and more upright, it also seems probable that the first part of D was written earlier than the second part. As a confirmation of the difference of handwriting it may be noted that, whereas in the second part the title of the books is written regularly on the fifth and tenth leaves of every quire, in the first part there is no trace of any system in the placing of the title.

(c) The last leaf of Deuteronomy, containing Deut. xxxiv 2–12, is lost, and it is impossible to say whether a colophon was added to the second part or not. The note on fol. 115 b at the end of Exodus, giving information as to the date and the place of writing, is a colophon, and comes from the hand that wrote the previous pages. A colophon most naturally applies to what goes before, and not to what comes after, and it would be unusual to find a colophon to a whole work on the

<sup>1</sup> This I was enabled to obtain through the kindness of the Court of the University of Edinburgh, who made a grant from the 'Moray Research Fund', sufficient to cover the expenses of procuring photographs of the Pentateuch portion of this MS.

<sup>2</sup> Several words of this colophon have been erased. By the application of a chemical re-agent, some of the obliterated letters become clear. 'Agel' seems to me certain.

middle page. It seems probable, therefore, that the two parts were originally distinct and separate. It is worthy of note that Numbers begins on fol. 116 b, and as many codices begin on the obverse side of the first leaf, we may in this find corroboration of the view that a separate codex originally began here.

(d) The text of Genesis and Exodus found in this MS is distinguished by a close adherence to the Massoretic Hebrew. In Genesis I have found 394 readings in which D differs from all other MSS, and at the same time agrees with the Hebrew, most of these being variants of importance.<sup>1</sup> But the text of Numbers and Deuteronomy found in this MS is not marked by this feature. In Numbers I have observed only 16 instances where D differs from all other MSS, and at the same time agrees with the Hebrew, most of these being variants of little importance.

That it is possible to have a text of Numbers and Deuteronomy which follows the Hebrew more closely than D does, is clear from a MS like Flor. Laur. Or. 58 (hereafter called F), which exhibits just that feature which specially characterizes the text of Genesis and Exodus in D—faithful adherence to the Hebrew. I have observed that F in Numbers differs from all other MSS, and follows the Hebrew on 29 occasions, most of them being important variants. Flor. Laur. Or. 58 and B. M. Add. 14,427 (hereafter called G) belong to the same family, and are closely related to each other. If their evidence be taken as the evidence of one MS, we find that in Numbers on 105 occasions F (or FG) disagrees with all other MSS, and agrees with the Hebrew.

From these considerations I conclude that

(1) the text found in Genesis and Exodus is of a quite different type from that found in Numbers and Deuteronomy ;

(2) these two parts were written by different scribes and probably at different times.

The part of this codex which contains Genesis and Exodus stands in a class by itself. For the purposes of this enquiry it will be sufficient to consider only those MSS which contain these two books.

(ii) A second class is formed by a group of MSS, of which, however, only one—*B. M. Or.* 4400—E—contains Genesis and Exodus.<sup>2</sup> This MS is a recent acquisition of the British Museum, and has not yet been fully catalogued. It contains the Pentateuch according to the Peshitta, and is written in a good Estrangela hand of the seventh century. Parts of the original MS have been lost, including Gen. i 1–xxvii 36. The

<sup>1</sup> In Genesis the total number of variants is approximately 1400, in Exodus 1600, in Numbers 1450, and in Deuteronomy 1500.

<sup>2</sup> The others are Flor. Laur. Or. 58; B. M. Add. 14,469; B. M. Add. 14,427; B. M. Add. 14,425 (Numbers and Deuteronomy only); B. M. Add. 14,438.

MS is carefully written, and in text it has closer affinities to G than to any other MS.

(iii) A third group of MSS seems to be formed by the 'Codex Ambrosianus' and MSS shewing special relationship to that Codex.

(1) The *Codex Ambrosianus*—A—is described by Dr Barnes in his *Peshitta Text of Chronicles*. A does not differ greatly from E: not seldom it preserves a good reading, when most of the other MSS have gone astray. For the following reasons, however, it has seemed to me advisable not to place it along with E:—

(a) It has a number of readings not found in any of the MSS included in the second class.

(b) Many of these readings are found in the Nestorian and late Jacobite MSS.

(c) It seems to belong to a distinct family of MSS. Four other MSS that I have collated shew close affinity to it.

A is carelessly written, the number of scribal errors being greater than in any other MS which I have collated with the possible exception of G.

'Ex defectu subscriptionum primae manus origo codicis latet' (Ceriani). Yet the fact that two MSS (B. M. Add. 12,133, and B. M. Add. 14,428) which shew family resemblance to A come from the districts of Mardin and Ras'ain, suggests the possibility of A having come from the same region.

(2) *B. M. Add.* 14,426—J—contains Genesis only.<sup>1</sup> In text J and A are closely akin. In 8 instances J agrees with A against all other evidence, e.g. Gen. xxxii 22

יִדְּעֵנִי לֹא דֵּנִי LU = DENX יִדְּעֵנִי.<sup>2</sup>

יִדְּעֵנִי JA

Omitting instances of difference, which may reasonably be regarded as due to error on the part either of the scribe of J or of A, we find only 43 instances where the readings of J and A differ, and each scribe is supported by one other authority at least. Many of these differences are, however, alternative constructions, e.g. the addition of the possessive suffix denoting genitive relation (5 times). Analysis of these differences shews that J is supported by E more often than A is, e.g.

Gen. xxxv 7 אֵלֶּם יִדְּעֵנִי [L אֵלֶּם] U = NA

om. אֵלֶּם

EJ

יִדְּעֵנִי

prorsus om.

D.

<sup>1</sup> A description of this MS, and of all other B.M. MSS subsequently referred to, is given in Wright's Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> יִדְּעֵנִי = Massoretic Hebrew text.

(3) *B. M. Add.* 14,444—e—contains Genesis, but is very fragmentary. The type of text which it presents is closely akin to that found in J and A, but it seems to be more closely related to J than to A, e. g.

Gen. xxvii 35 ܠܡ ܕܡܫܚܐ  $LU = ANH$

om. ܡܫܚܐ eJ

prorsus om. D ܡܫܚܐ

(4) *B. M. Add.* 12,133—T—contains Exodus only, and is complete. T stands closer to A than to any other MS, although it has many agreements with E. T and A agree against all other authorities on 23 occasions. They disagree on rather more than 110 occasions (mere scribal errors being disregarded), and in these variants T agrees with the readings of E more often than A does, e. g.

Exod. xxv 9 ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ  $L = AH$  ܡܫܚܐ

ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ  $U = DET$

(iv) The following later Jacobite authorities have also been used.

(a) *Manuscripts.*

(1) *B. M. Add.* 14,671—H.—In Genesis and Exodus the text of this MS is more akin to that of A than to that of any other ancient MS. It also seems occasionally to have been influenced by Nestorian readings, e. g. Gen. xxx 39 ܠܡ ܕܡܫܚܐ  $LU = NXH$

om. DEJA ܡܫܚܐ

I have not fully collated this MS save in Exod. xx-xxiii, but I have consulted it on most of the important variants found in older MSS.

(2) *B. M. Add.* 12,172—N—contains Genesis only. The first portion of the MS is of Nestorian origin, but the second portion, from Gen. xxxii 28 onwards, seems to be Jacobite of the same type as H. This latter portion has been carelessly written, and is of little textual value.

(3) *B. M. Add.* 12,178—Z.—This MS is a Jacobite Massorah. It is much inferior in textual worth to a similar work of Nestorian origin (*Add.* 12,138) referred to below.

(4) *Camb. Univ. O. o. i. i. 2*—B.—This MS has been collated only in selected passages. Its text seems to belong to the type found in H.

(5) *Camb. Univ. O. o. i. 27*—l.—This seventeenth-century Pentateuch has been referred to only occasionally.

(b) *Printed Edition.*

*Lee's Edition*, 1823—L.—It was with this edition that I compared the MSS which I used.

(v) The following Nestorian authorities have been used.

(a) *Manuscripts.*

(1) *B. M. Add.* 12,138—X.—This is a Nestorian Massorah, in



which the quotations are very full, and have been copied with great care.

(2) *B. M. Add.* 12,172—N.—This MS has been referred to above. It contains Genesis, but only i 1—xxxii 28 is Nestorian. This part follows closely the text found in other Nestorian MSS, and scribal errors are few, e. g. Gen. vii 20 LU = XN

om. DJA

(b) *Printed Edition.*

*Urmiah Bible*, 1852—U.—This edition seems to present a good text.

### III

A collation of these MSS provides a useful *apparatus criticus* for Genesis and Exodus, the nature of which may be shewn by the following specimen extracts. Mere orthographical variations are not given.

Gen. xxiv 1		LU = DANB	
	om.	e	
2		LU = AeNB	
		D	
		LU = AeNB	
	om.	D	
5		LU = DANB	
		e	
6		LU = eANXB	
		Dvid	
7		LU = DANB	
		e	
		LU = NB	
		DAe	
		LU = eANB	
		D	
8		LU = eANXZ	
		D	

Gen. xxiv 10

 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = eANX$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad D \quad \text{[79]}$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = DeNX \quad \text{[79]}$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad A$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = NX$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad DeA \quad \text{[79]}$ 

12

 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = eANH$ 
 $\text{om.} \quad D \quad \text{[79]}$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = eANH \quad \text{[79]}$ 
 $\text{add } \text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad D$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = eANH \quad \text{[79]}$ 
 $\text{add } \text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad D$ 

13

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{לֹאֲנִי} & L \\ \text{לֹאֲנִי} & U = eANH \\ \text{לֹאֲנִי} & D \end{array} \right.$$

[79]

14

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{לֹאֲנִי} & LU = DA \\ \text{לֹאֲנִי} & e \\ \text{לֹאֲנִי} & NH \end{array} \right.$$
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = eNH$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad DA$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = DAH$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad eNZ$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = eANH$ 
 $\text{om.} \quad D$ 

[79]

15

 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad LU = DANB$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad e$ 

16

 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad L = DeANHB$ 
 $\text{לֹאֲנִי} \quad U$ 

[79]

Gen. xxiv 16

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{לכר} & L = ZB \\ \text{לכר} & U = eANH \\ \text{לכר} & D \end{array} \right. \quad \text{לכ}$$

17  $\text{לכ} \quad LU = eANHB$   
om.  $D$   $\text{לכ}$

18  $\text{לכ} \quad LU = eANHX$   
om.  $D$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכלכ} \quad L = DeANHX$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכלכ} \quad U = B$

19  $\text{לכ} \quad LU = eANHB$   $\text{לכ}$   
 $\text{לכ} \quad D$

21  $\text{לכלכ} \quad LU = eANHB$

add  $\text{לכ} \quad D$

22  $\text{לכלכ} \quad LU = B^{vid} H^{vid}$

$\text{לכלכ} \quad DeAN$

23  $\text{לכ} \quad LU = De^{vid} NXB$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכ} \quad AZ$

$\text{לכ} \quad LU = eANXH^{vid} B$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכ} \quad D$

$\text{לכלכ} \quad LU = DeANXB$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכ} \quad Z$

24  $[\text{לכלכ}] \text{לכ} \quad LU = DeAZHB$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכ} \quad N$

25  $\text{לכ} \quad (1^0) \quad L = NXZH$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכ} \quad U = DeAB$

$\text{לכ} \quad (2^0) \quad L = ZB$   $\text{לכ}$

$\text{לכ} \quad U = DeANXH$

26  $\text{לכלכ} \text{לכ} \text{לכ} \text{לכ} \text{לכ} \quad LU = eANHXZB$

$\text{לכלכ} \quad D$   $\text{לכ}$

Gen. xxiv 27

ܡܝܕܐ ,ܝܚܐ ,ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܐ ܠܡܡܪܐ  $LU = eANHB$

om. D

79

28

ܡܡܪܐ  $LU = eANHB$

ܡܡܪܐ D

79

29

ܕܝܐ ܕܡܠ  $LU = eANB$

ܡܡܪܐ D

79

30

ܕܝܐ ܡܡܪܐ  $LU = eANHB$

ܕܝܐ ܡܡܪܐ D

ܡܡܪܐ  $LU = eANHB$

ܡܡܪܐ D

ܕܡܡܐ  $LU = eANHB$

79

ܕܡܡܐ D

ܕܝܐ  $LU = eANBH$

ܡܡܐ D

79

31

ܡܠ  $LU = eANH$

om. D

79

33

ܡܡܐ  $LU$

79

ܡܡܐ DeANH

ܡܡܐ  $LU = eANH$

ܡܡܐ D

79

ܡܡܐ L

79

ܡܡܐ  $U = DeANH$

ܡܡܐ  $LU = eANH$

ܡܡܐ D

[79]

ܡܠ  $LU = eANH$

om. D

79

34

ܝܐ  $LU = eAN$

79

add ܡܡܐ DH

Gen. xxiv 35

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

[7]

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

[7]

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = DeN$

[7]

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  A

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

om. D

[7]

37

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

[7]

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

38

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

add  $\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eANH$

om. D

[7]

39

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

[7]

40

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

om. D

[7]

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eANH$

om. D

[7]

41

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eANXH$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

42

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

[7]

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $L = DeAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  U

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$   $LU = eAN$

$\text{אֶלְעָזָר}$  D

[7]

Gen. xxiv 42

ܕܠܕܝܢܐ  $LU = eANH$

ܠܕܝܢܐ  $D$  ܕ

43 ܠܕܝܢܐ  $(1^0)$   $LU = eANH$

om.  $D$

ܕܝܢ  $LU = eAN$

ܕܝܢ  $D$  ܕ

ܕܝܢ  $LU = eANH$

om.  $D$  ܕ

44 ܕܝܢ  $(2^0)$   $LU = eAN$  [hiat.H]

ܕܝܢ  $D$  ܕ

,ܝܢ  $LU = eAN$  ܕ

,ܝܢ  $D$

45 ܕܝܢ  $LU = eANH$

ܕܝܢ  $D$

{ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ  $LU = eN$

ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ  $A$

prorsus om.  $D$  ܕ

46 ܕ  $LU = eANXZ$

om.  $D$  ܕ

ܕܝܢ  $(1^0)$   $LU = e^{vid} ANXZ$  ܕ

ܕ  $D$

47 ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ  $LU = eAN$

ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ  $D$  ܕ

48 ܕܝܢ  $L = DeANX$

ܕܝܢ  $U$

,ܝܢ, ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ  $LU = eANZ$

om.  $D$  ܕ

49 ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ  $LU = eANX$

ܕܝܢ  $D$

Gen. xxiv 50

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ܐܢ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eAN$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ܐܢ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

51

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = D$ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $e^{vid} AN$ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

53

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

54

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

om. D

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} ܠܘܠܐܢܗ & LU = NH^{vid} \\ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ & Z \\ \text{om.} & DeA \end{array} \right.$$

55

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANH$ 

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ  $LU = eANHx$ 

[ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ] [ ܠܘܠܐܢܗ ] D

ܠܘܠܐܢܗ

Gen. xxiv 56

ܝܚܝܐ  $LU = D$

75

ܝܚܐ  $U = eAN$

ܠܚܐ  $LU = eANHX$

ܠܚ  $D$

ܝܠܐ  $LU = eANHX$

ܝܠ  $D$

58

{ ܡܢܚܝܐ  $LU = eAN$   
 ܡܢܢܚܝܐ  $H$   
 ܡܢܢܝܐ  $D$

60

ܠܡܚܐ  $LU = eANH$

om.  $D$

75

61

ܠܚܐ  $LU = DeNH$

75

ܠܚ  $A$

62

ܠܚܐ  $LU = D^{vid}eNXH$

ܠܚܐ  $A$

63

ܠܚܐ  $L = H^{vid}$

ܠܚܐ  $U = DeAN$

64

{ ܡܢܚܝܐ  $LU = ANXZ$   
 ܡܢܚܐ  $eH$   
 ܡܢܐ  $D$

75

Gen. xxviii 11

{ ܠܚܐ ܠܡܐ  $LU = eJAHB$   
 ܠܡܐ ܠܚܐ  $DE$   
 om.  $N$

75

12

{ ܡܢܚܐ  $LU = DEAJHB$   
 ܡܢܐ  $e$   
 om.  $N$

13

ܡܢܐ  $LU = DeAJNHB$

75

ܡܢܐ  $E$

17

{ ܠܚܐ ܠܡܐ ܠܚܐ  $LU = EJANHB$   
 ܠܚܐ ܠܡܐ ܠܚܐ  $e$   
 om.  $D$

75



Gen. xxviii 17

om  $LU = EeJANXHB$ 

om. D

79

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANXHB$ 

om. D

79

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANHB$ 

מלחמ D

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANHB$ 

om. D

[79]

18

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANHB$ 

מלחמ D

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANHXB$ 

מלחמ D

מלחמ  $LU = DeJANHXB$ 

79

מלחמ E

19

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANHB$ 

om. D

79

מלחמ (2°)  $L = B$ add מלחמ  $U = DEeJANHX$ 

20

מלחמ  $L = DEeJANHB$ 

79

om. U

מלחמ  $LU = EeJANHB$ 

om. D

79

מלחמ [J]  $LU = EeJANXB$ 

79

add מלחמ D

21

מלחמ  $LU = DEeJAHB$ 

79

מלחמ N

22

מלחמ  $LU = DEeANHBXZ$ 

79

מלחמ J

Exod. iv 11

כֹּחַ LU = EATHZ

om. D<sub>2</sub>

13

חַ LU = H

om. DEAT

79

כֹּחַ LU = EATH

om. D

79

כֹּחַ LU = EATH

om. D

[79]

14

חַ LU = AH

om. DET

79

15

כֹּחַ LU = EATH

79

כֹּחַ D

{  
כֹּחַ LU = H  
כֹּחַ EAT  
כֹּחַ D }  
}

79

18

כֹּחַ [כֹּחַ] LU = EATHX

כֹּחַ D

כֹּחַ LU = D<sup>margin</sup> EATHX 79

om. D

20

כֹּחַ LU = EATH

כֹּחַ D

79

21

כֹּחַ LU = EATHX

כֹּחַ D

79

23

כֹּחַ LU = EATH

כֹּחַ D Aphr. Ephr.

79

כֹּחַ LU = EATH

כֹּחַ D

כֹּחַ (2<sup>0</sup>) LU = EATH

om. D

79

Exod. iv 24

𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATH$ 

om. D 𐤁

25 𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATH$  Ephr.

𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 D 𐤁

𐤁𐤏𐤕 L 𐤁

𐤁𐤏𐤕  $U = D^{vid} EATH$  Ephr.27 𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕  $LU = EATH$ 

om. D 𐤁

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATH$ 

om. D 𐤁

28 𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATHX$ 

om. D 𐤁

29 𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕  $LU = ETH^{ret} Z$  𐤁

𐤕𐤁𐤏 DAX

30 𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕  $LU = DH$  𐤁

add 𐤌𐤁𐤏 EAT

31 𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATH$ 

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 D 𐤁

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $L = ATH$ 𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $U = DE$  𐤁𐤕𐤁𐤏 [𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏]  $LU = EATHX$ 

om. D 𐤁

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATHX$ 

om. D 𐤁

Exod. xxxvi 20

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = EATH$ 

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 D 𐤁

𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏  $LU = DEAH$  𐤁

𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 T

21 𐤕𐤁𐤏 (1<sup>0</sup>)  $LU = EATH$ 

om. D 𐤁

Exod. xxxvi 22 כִּי־אֶת־הַחֹרֶן ל[*U* = EAT]H

om. D 79

כִּי־יִחַד *L* = EATH 1כִּי־יִחַד *U*כִּי־אֶת *LU* = H 1

אֶת EAT

חֹרֶן *LU* = EATH

חֹרֶן D 79

23 חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן *LU* = EATH

חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן D 79

24 אֶת־חֹרֶן *LU* = ATH 1

אֶת־חֹרֶן DE

אֶת־אֶת־חֹרֶן *LU* = EAT

אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן D 79

חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן (1<sup>0</sup>) *LU* = EAT

חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן DH 79

אֶת (2<sup>0</sup>) *LU* = DE 1 79

כִּי־אֶת AT

חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן (2<sup>0</sup>) *LU* = Z

om. DEAT[H] 79

25 אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן כִּי־אֶת *LU* = EATH

כִּי־אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן D 79

אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן *LU* = EATH

om. D 79

חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן *L* = DTH 79חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן *U* = AE26 אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן *LU* = DATH

אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן E

אֶת־אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן *LU* = EAT

אֶת־חֹרֶן־חֹרֶן D 79

Exod. xxxvi 27	חבדו	LU = EAH	
	חבד	DT	ח
28	חבדו	LU = EAHX	
	חבד	DT	ח
	לחבדו לחבדו	LU = EATH	
	לחבד לחבדו	D	ח

## IV

A classification of the above variants according to their faithfulness to the Hebrew original gives the following results, scribal errors being ignored.

## I. In all MSS except D

## (A) explicitness is gained by adding

- (1) subject—proper noun, Gen. xxviii 17, 19; Exod. iv 13, 24  
common noun, Gen. xxiv 40; Exod. iv 31, xxxvi 22.
- (2) epithet—noun in apposition, Gen. xxiv 60; Exod. iv 27  
pronoun, Gen. xxiv 40  
numeral, Exod. xxxvi 21.
- (3) verb, Gen. xxiv 2, 12; Exod. iv 11.
- (4) object—noun, Gen. xxiv 43; Exod. iv 23  
pron. suffix with prep., Gen. xxiv 17, 18, 31, 33, 46,  
54, xxviii 20.
- (5) adverbial phrase, Gen. xxiv 38; Exod. iv 27, 28  
copulative **וא**, Gen. xxviii 17  
preposition, Gen. xxiv 10.

## (B) uniformity and completeness are gained by

- (1) adding in Gen. xxiv 14, 27, 35, 45, 48;  
Exod xxxvi 25
  - (2) changing in Gen. xxiv 26, 50; Exod. iv 20
- } in accordance with  
parallel passages.

## (C) stylistic change is effected by

- omitting the conjunction **וא**, Gen. xxiv 33
- adding the conjunction **וא**, Gen. xxiv 39
- changing the Hebrew order, Gen. xxiv 35, 47, 53; Exod.  
xxxvi 25
- construing *ad sensum*, Gen. xxiv 33, 42, 42, 53, 54, 55; Exod.  
xxxvi 20, 22, 23

using synonyms for variety, Gen. xxiv 2, 35, 53, 54; Exod. iv 25, xxxvi 24, 26

using the more usual for the less usual, Gen. xxiv 13, 16, 29, 30, 42, 43, 64; Exod. iv 21, 31.

The reason of the change in Gen. xxiv 28, 35; Exod. iv 13, 23 is difficult to determine, but stylistic grounds are as probable as any.

In the following cases the difference is probably merely idiomatic:—

Gen. xxiv 33, 44, xxviii 17.

II. In some MSS, not including D,

(A) explicitness is gained by adding

epithet—pron. suffix, Exod. iv 15

verb, Gen. xxiv 54

object, Exod. iv 13, 14, 30.

(C) stylistic change is effected by

omitting **a**, Gen. xxiv 5, 56

adding preposition, Exod. iv 31

omitting words, suffixes, &c., probably felt to be redundant

Gen. xxiv 18, xxviii 19

changing the Hebrew order, Gen. xxviii 11

construing *ad sensum*, Exod. xxxvi 20, 24, 24, 24, 25, 27, 28.

III. In D alone

(A) explicitness is gained by adding

subject, Gen. xxiv 12, xxviii 20

noun in apposition, Gen. xxiv 12.

(B) uniformity is gained by

changing in Gen. xxiv 7, 37 in accordance with parallel passage.

(C) stylistic change is effected by

adding **a** in Gen. xxiv 23.

In the following cases the difference is probably merely idiomatic:—  
Gen. xxiv 19, 46.

The other cases where D is sole authority for a reading divergent from the Hebrew are probably instances of scribal error, e.g. Exod. iv 15.

IV. In some MSS, including D,

(A) explicitness is gained by adding

epithet, Gen. xxiv 16

object (dat.), Gen. xxiv 34.

(C) stylistic change is effected by

omitting **a**, Gen. xxiv 7

construing *ad sensum*, Gen. xxiv 22, 33, 51; Exod. iv 25, 29

using synonyms, Gen. xxiv 33.

In the following case the difference is probably merely idiomatic:—  
Gen. xxiv 25.

From a classification of the whole *apparatus* for Genesis and Exodus, made in this way, two conclusions may be drawn.

(i) There existed in the Syrian Church two main types of text, the one distinguished by faithfulness to the Hebrew, the other marked by freedom in translation and by greater fullness and smoothness.

Of the more literal type of text D is by far the best example.

Examples of this literalness are

(1) more exact rendering of the Hebrew text; cp. Gen. xxiv 26 and Gen. xlii 37

LU = E J A N H X  
 D

(2) close imitation of Hebrew words; cp. Gen. xxiv 13, 16 and Exod. xxxiv 10

L  
 U = A H 1  
 DET

(3) adherence to the Hebrew order; cp. Gen. xxiv 47, 50 and Exod. i 15

LU = A T H X Z  
 E  
 D

Of the fuller, less literal, type of text A (with related MSS) and the Nestorian text give the best example. Features of this text are

(1) presence of readings having no authority in the Hebrew text; cp. Exod. xxxiii 14

LU = A T H  
 om. DE

(2) greater use of synonyms; cp. frequent use of for *Kama*.

(3) influence of parallel passages; cp. Gen. xxiv 45, 48, 50 and Gen. xxxv 29

LU = E J A N  
 om. D

(ii) No MS represents either type pure and simple. Thus D shews occasionally additions to, and departures from, the Hebrew text, similar in nature to those variants which characterize sixth-century MSS as a whole; while A, on the other hand, not seldom preserves a reading which follows the Hebrew closely.

## V

The existence of these two types of text being determined, we naturally try to discover the relationship of the one to the other. Consideration of all the evidence available seems to me to point conclusively to the priority of the literal type.

The following points have to be considered :—

(a) Aphraates (fl. 337-345) makes numerous quotations from Genesis and Exodus, but only a small number of these can be used to determine what type of text he had before him, because in the majority of the passages quoted by him no variant exists. We find

(A) agreements (i) *with D alone*

Gen. xxxi 38

**حیاتی**  $LU = EJANH$

३६

add  $\searrow$  D

Aphr.<sup>1</sup> (p. 444)

کتابخانه حضرت امام محمد باقر علیه السلام

Exod. iv 23

ἰ.β.ϰ.δ.η  $LU = \text{EATH}$

١٢٢٢ D

**The**

Aphr. (pp. 773, 789, 845) **הַיָּדֵי הַנִּזְכָּרוֹת**

In other three passages of less importance Aphraates agrees with D only—in two of these with the Hebrew also.

(ii) *with  $D$  and other MSS.*

In certain passages Aphraates agrees with D and one other MS at least. In three only of these is there much divergence among the MSS, and none of the three is of such a nature as to enable us decisively to say that Aphraates supports one type of text more than the other.

(B) disagreements (i) *with  $D$  alone.*

Gen. xviii 14.—The words **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם** which  
 e found in *LUJAN* and in *Aphraates* (p. 940) are present in D, but  
 ritten by a late hand over an erasure. What the original of D was  
 annot now be made out, but the last word seems to have been **אֱלֹהֵי**  
 o Hebrew), and there is only space for twelve letters at the most.

Exod. xx 2

ἡδυσσεν.  $LU = \text{EATH}$

හර්මයන් D

It

<sup>1</sup> The pages are quoted according to Graffin's edition.



Aphr. (p. 61 ; cp. 25)  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} : \text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$   
 $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$

Exod. xx 11  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ } LU = EATH$

$\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ } D$  79

Aphr. (p. 541)  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$

Aphraates disagrees with D only on several other occasions, but these disagreements are of little importance.

(ii) *with D and other MSS.*

Exod. iii 15  $[\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}] \text{ } \text{אֶת} \text{ } (2^0) \text{ } L = D$

$\text{אֶת} \text{ } U = ATH$  79

Aphr. (p. 792)  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} : \text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$   
 $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$

Three other cases of like divergence are probably accidental.

It would seem therefore that Aphraates used a text which followed the Hebrew more closely than did the text in common use in the sixth century, i.e. his text belonged to a more literal type than that found later.

(b) Ephraim (+373) wrote a commentary on Genesis and Exodus,<sup>1</sup> and a comparison of the text quoted by him and that found in the MSS which I have collated shews that he is much more familiar with the type found in D than with that found in the later MSS. We find

(A) agreements

(i) *with D alone, e.g.*

Gen. xvi 13  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ } LU = JANZ$

$\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ } D$

Ephr. (66 D)

$\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$

Gen. xviii 20  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ } LU = JAN$

$\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ } D$  79

Ephr. (69 E)  $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים} \text{ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$   
 $\text{אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים}$

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of many of the works traditionally ascribed to Ephraim is open to question, but there is little doubt about the genuineness of this commentary on Genesis and Exodus (to xxxii 26) published in the fourth volume of the Roman Edition. Unfortunately those responsible for this edition did not always follow their MS authority, and their work has to be corrected in places from collations prepared by A. Pohlmann in 1862-1864.



Gen. xlviii 16

 LU = EAH


 DN


79

Ephr. (104 F, Pohlmann 52)



Exod. xv 4

 LU = ETH

 DA

79

Ephr. (216 D)





I have observed 9 other examples of this type.

(B) disagreements


(i) *with D alone*, e. g.

Gen. xx 16

 LU = JeANHXZ

 D
Ephr. (75 A)



Exod. xxiv 16

 LU = EATH

om. D

79

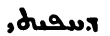
Eph. (223 C)



I have observed 13 other disagreements of this type. In some of these cases the scribe of D may be at fault.


(ii) *with D and other MSS*, e. g.

Gen. xx 16

 LU = JANX

 DeH
Ephr. (75 A)


Gen. xlix 22

 LU = X

 DEANH

Ephr. (110 E, 114 A)



I have observed 4 other disagreements of this type.

Not merely do the agreements between Ephraim and D outnumber the disagreements, they also outweigh them in value and importance.

We may therefore conclude that the text used by Ephraim followed the more literal type represented by D more closely than the fuller form of the text used in the sixth century.

(c) It has been suggested that some time before the sixth century there may have been in the Syrian Church a man like Aquila or Jerome, who, acquainted with Hebrew, revised the text in common use in accordance with the Hebrew Scriptures. The result of his labours, it might be held, is more or less represented to us in D.

The possibility of such a revision has to be acknowledged, but there seems to me to be no conclusive evidence of its actually having been made. The early Syrian Fathers are more familiar with the literal type of text. If such a revision ever took place, it must have been carried out before the time of Aphraates and Ephraim. Then, in order to account for the widespread use of the fuller text in the sixth and subsequent centuries, we have to assume the abandonment in the fifth century of the literal type, and the revival of the older fuller text, or the formation of a new fuller text. Such a complicated hypothesis does not commend itself. Furthermore, we might expect such a revision to have been more thorough-going than it seems to have been.

On these grounds therefore—the evidence of the quotations of Aphraates and Ephraim, and the absence of any conclusive proof of a revision according to the Hebrew text—I conclude that the literal type preceded the fuller type.

## VI

As regards the question how the change was made from the one type to the other, the following points only can be noted here :—

(1) Investigations upon the whole Peshiṭta, made by Dr. Charles Heller, and published by him in a monograph entitled *Untersuchungen über die Peschitta*, suggested to me the possibility that the original literal version had been revised in accordance with certain Talmudic principles of interpretation of the use of which Dr Heller finds evidence throughout all the Peshiṭta. Further consideration shewed me, however, that this view was not the true solution, because the use of these rules does not account for all the facts, e.g. the omission of the connective before **וְכֵן**, the substitution of **כִּי** for **וְכֵן** in Gen. xxiv, and the very extensive addition of words for the sake of explicitness.

(2) Nor is the influence of the LXX sufficient to explain the change. For every one agreement of the LXX with the fuller form there are three or four agreements with the simpler. Such coincidences as exist between the LXX and the Peshiṭta are very probably due to the fact

that both versions were produced under similar influences, e.g. common rules of exegesis, and as both have the same starting-point—the Hebrew Scriptures—it is not surprising that they often come to the same result.

(3) The chief explanation of the change through which the Syriac Version of the Pentateuch passed prior to the sixth century is to be found, it seems to me, in the genius of the language itself. Syriac prefers an easy flowing style; the terseness of the Hebrew is not characteristic of the Syriac language in general. The original version had the advantage of being faithful to the Hebrew, but it had the disadvantage of being in places poor Syriac. There was need for a stylistic improvement of the Peshitta, and the need was gradually supplied. The rules of exegesis observed by the Jews and Christians suggested how the ambiguities and the indefiniteness of the version might be removed by the addition of explanatory words or phrases, some drawn from the context, some from parallel passages. Irregularities were dealt with by transposition or omission. The frequent recurrence of **ܐ** (=and) at the beginning of sentences in the rendering of the 'vav' conversive was felt to be exceedingly monotonous, and many of these were omitted. For a similar reason numerous redundant expressions were omitted. Desire for variety or a preference for the usual word led to the replacing of one word by another of like meaning.

That this change was brought about gradually is in the highest degree probable. Every MS, even D, shews examples of these tendencies, and the changes and corrections have been carried out in a very irregular and intermittent manner. How otherwise are we to explain the fact that in Gen. xxiv **ܐܝ** is regularly rendered by **ܐܝܢܐ** in D, but in other MSS **ܐܝ** is found in every instance, save in ver. 45 where **ܐܝܢܐ** is the reading of all the authorities?

At the same time I feel that this is not the complete answer to the question under discussion. No purely stylistic reason can explain the change made in Exod. xxxviii 24 **ܐܝܢܐ**  $L = D$  **ܐܝܢܐ**

**ܐܝܢܐ**  $U = \text{ETAH } 1$

It must not be thought that this change, however effected, was of a very radical or far-reaching nature. The first form of the version now best represented to us in D differs, comparatively speaking, little from the form in use in the sixth century—certainly much less than do MSS of other versions of the Bible among themselves, e.g. the MSS of the Vulgate N. T. The 'Codex Ambrosianus', though differing in many points from D, still presents what is essentially the same text as that found in D. The variations are usually minute and insignificant,

affecting single words or particles. They very seldom involve the recasting of a whole sentence or verse.

Reference has already been made to the irregular character of the change from the more literal to the fuller type of text. Recognition of this fact, and of the uniformity of the text in the sixth century, prompts the question 'Why has this process of alteration been carried in almost all the early MSS to the stage to which it has been carried, and no farther?' No answer to this question is, I feel, wholly satisfactory, save that which postulates the standardization of a MS or a group of MSS at a certain stage in the process. We must imagine to ourselves the process having continued over a considerable space of time. Numerous changes had been made in the oldest form of the text, but in no systematic way. Then some event happened, whereby one MS, or group of MSS, was set up as the standard form of the Scriptures. From it most of our MSS have been derived. In this way we account for

(1) the uniformity of the text found in MSS of the sixth and subsequent centuries. The extent of this uniformity may be gauged from the fact that D alone provides about half the total number of variants found in Genesis, and D is one out of ten MSS and editions used, nine of which were fully collated.

(2) the irregular nature of the change wrought in the Peshiṭta text. There was no systematic revision made—only the standardization of a certain form of the text.

(3) the disappearance of many readings found only in D, the existence of which is vouched for by the early Fathers. The older, more literal, form of the text, not possessing the official *imprimatur*, gradually fell out of use.

When exactly this standardization took place is uncertain. The *terminus ad quem* is the sixth century, and the *terminus a quo* is perhaps given by the fact that Ephraim and Aphraates seem to know the more literal text better than the other.

If the conclusion arrived at above be accepted as true, that the earliest form of the Syriac version of these two books was conspicuous for its faithful adherence to the Hebrew original, the fact may be used to aid in determining by and for whom the version was made. All that we know of the attitude of the Jews and of the Christians to the Old Testament in the period after the beginning of the Christian era makes very probable the conclusion that it was only by a Jewish translator, and for use in a Jewish community, that a version like the archetype of D would be made. The attitude of mind, which led a religious community to prefer the Greek version of Aquila or Theodotion to that of the Alexandrine translators, is exactly the attitude which would welcome a literal version of the type represented to us by D.

In summing up, I tentatively suggest the following as a probable account of the origin of the version, and of the course of its early history. The Syriac version of the Pentateuch was made by a Jew (or Jews) for the use of Jews, its chief characteristic being faithfulness to the Hebrew original. The Christian Church took over this version, and acting in accordance with exegetical principles current at the time, as well as with the genius of the language, it gradually amplified and improved the style of the original translation. Somewhere about the fifth century a certain form of this ampler text was made standard in the Christian Church—there may have been simultaneously an irregular revision—and henceforth all codices more or less conformed to this type. The best example of this class is, on the whole, the ‘Codex Ambrosianus’. The older, more literal, type of text prolonged a waning existence for some centuries, but was finally ousted by the ‘standard’ text.

JOHN PINKERTON.

## A NEW EDITION OF THE PENTATEUCH IN SYRIAC.

IN November 1910 the British and Foreign Bible Society entrusted me with the preparation of an edition of the Peshitta Pentateuch in Estrangela type, intended for the use of the Syrians of Mardin and its neighbourhood. In this new edition the misprints of Lee were to be corrected, and the text was to be revised with the help of ancient MSS. In accordance with the practice of the Society all critical notes were to be excluded.

I was fortunate in securing two valuable helpers in the work of collation: Mr C. W. Mitchell of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who is editing Ephraim's *Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, for the Text and Translation Society, and Mr J. Pinkerton (also of Emmanuel College). These two scholars shared with me the heavy labour of collation. For some acute suggestions as to particular readings I am under obligation to Mr Pinkerton, but for the revision of the text I am alone responsible. The printing took about two years. Every page was revised for the press by two of the three workers.

The list of MSS used may be presented as follows:—

A = Ceriani's facsimile edition of the Ambrosian MS (for the Pentateuch). Century VI.

B = Camb. Univ. Lib. Oo. 1. 1 (Pentateuch). Century XII.

C = British Museum Add. 14,438 (Deuteronomy). Century VI.

D = B. M. Add. 14,425, dated A.D. 464 (Gen., Exod., Numb., Deut.).

E = B. M. Or. 4400 (Exod., Lev., Numb., Deut. i-xi). Century VI (?).

F = Florence, Laurent. Orient. 58 (Lev. xv 14—ad fin., Numb., Deut.). Century IX. Photographs of this MS procured by Mr Pinkerton were used.

G = B. M. Add. 14,427 (Lev., Numb., Deut.). Century VI.

H = B. M. Add. 14,671 (Pentateuch). Century XIII.

J = B. M. Add. 14,426 (Genesis). Century VI or VII.

N = B. M. Add. 12,172, foll. 136-164 (Genesis). Century IX or X.

R = B. M. Add. 14,428 (Numbers). Century VIII.

W = Bodleian C. 335 (Pentateuch). A.D. 1193-94 New College MS.

Y = B. M. Add. 14,669, ff. 23, 24 (Deut.). Century VI.

l = Camb. Univ. Lib. Oo. 1. 27 (Pentateuch). Nestorian; century XVIII (probably).

X = B. M. Add. 12,138 (Nestorian Syrian Massora). A.D. 899.

Z = B. M. Add. 12,178 (Jacobite Syrian Massora). Century IX or X.

Of these MSS a few (B, W, X, Z) were consulted only occasionally. Y is but a fragment (Deut. xxxii 51—xxxiv 7).

The American edition published at Urmi, 1852 ('U'), was freely referred to.

The problem presented by these MSS is a difficult one, specially in the first two books of the Pentateuch. 'D' occupies the place of dignity, for at the end of the book of Exodus it bears a date which is the earliest attached to any Biblical MS. But when its text is examined two facts become clear: (1) that it differs from that of all other MSS, (2) that in these differences it agrees with the Massoretic text. Thus in Exod. iv 13-31 there are eleven cases in which D differs from A B E H l and agrees with the Massoretic text. It is probable that there are two recensions of the Peshitta of the books of Genesis and Exodus represented respectively in D and in A B E H l. The former of these has possibly been accommodated to the Massoretic text, while the text represented by the agreement of A and E is, at least, as ancient as that of 'D', and may be a more faithful copy of the original Peshitta. Accordingly, in forming the present text of Genesis and Exodus, the group A B E H l has been followed as far as possible, while D has been used with caution to promote a decision in cases in which the members of the group differ among themselves.

For the book of Leviticus 'D' does not exist, and the textual problem is comparatively simple.



For Numbers and Deuteronomy D is once more available, but the text has not the same striking character as for Genesis and Exodus. Probably it is very near to the original text of the Peshitta. Its reading has been adopted in most cases in which it is supported by one or more of the best of the remaining MSS ('A', 'F', or 'G').

Lee's text is over-full of marks of punctuation; these have been much reduced in number in the present edition. *Seyame* is more sparingly used, for in the ancient MSS it often seems a recent addition. On the other hand, *seyame* is restored to the singular word *maumāthā*, 'an oath', in deference to the weight of external evidence (including Barhebraeus on Gen. xxiv 8).

The number of new readings introduced on the authority of the oldest MSS is considerable, while their importance, it must be confessed, varies very much. In Gen. iii 12 the true reading of the Peshitta agrees exactly with MT, 'the woman whom thou gavest [to be] with me.' In iv 15 the text of the MSS (if it will stand) is to be rendered:—

'No! Thus [shall it be] with any slayer [of Cain]:  
Cain shall be avenged sevenfold.'

In vi 17 the difficult construction accepted in the MT is reproduced in the best Syriac MSS, 'the flood [even] waters' (so A D J N). In Exod. vi 2 the reading 'And God (*Allaha*) spake' is adopted on the evidence of A D against B<sup>vid</sup> E H (*Marya*, 'the LORD'), but in agreement with MT (vulgo et ed. Ginsburg). In ix 16 Lee (with A H W and MT) reads, 'that I might shew thee my power', but E (with some support from D) gives 'that I might *shew in thee* my power', and this reading has been preferred in the present edition. In Lev. i 16, the reading 'And he shall remove' (so MT) has been restored on the authority of A E H (with U), and on the confession of Barhebraeus who testifies that this was the *Nestorian* reading. Numb. ix 20, according to the corrected text, runs, 'And when the cloud was *stretched* for days over the tabernacle' (so A D E G W and U). In xii 8 the true reading is, 'The glory of the LORD he *hath seen*' (so A B D E G R W and U). In xiv 1, 2 three omissions have to be made from Lee's text, viz. 'a great weeping'—'on that day'—'by the hand of the LORD'. In Deut. xvi 10 the true reading is, 'According as he hath blessed thee', not as Lee, 'In order that he may bless thee'.

Some difficult readings remain after all available MSS have been consulted, e.g. in Exod. iv 25 the MSS read, 'I have (*'ith li*) a bridegroom of blood', instead of '*Thou art* to me' (*'att li*). The former reading looks like a corruption of the latter (within the Syriac), but I judged it right to follow the consensus of the MSS.

Owing to the exclusion of critical notes an arbitrary decision had

sometimes to be made between two readings possessing an equal amount of support. Thus in Gen. xiii 10 authority is equally divided between *Allaha* ('God') and *Marya* ('the Lord'). Similarly in Deut. xx 8 *lebbeh* and *dileh* are equally well attested, though the former only appears in this edition.

In Deut. xi 14, 15 the reading of Lee 'I will give rain . . . and I will give grass' has been retained, but the attestation of the variant, '*He* will . . . and *He* will', is equally strong. The first person is read by A F G in agreement with MT, while the third person has the support of D E H in agreement with LXX.

Further, it is right to call attention to some of the readings of D which have been rejected for want of support from other early MSS. In Gen. vi 1, 4 for 'Sons of God', D seems to be alone in reading '*Bnai dayyane*', 'sons of the judges'. In vii 1 D (again alone?) reads *Marya*, 'the LORD' (so MT), for *Allaha*, 'God'. In viii 21 the words 'the sweet savour' are translated doubly in the Peshitta, but D omits the first rendering (*rêhâ daswatha*). In Exod. i 15 the names of the two midwives are given in A B E H 1 and Barhebraeus in the order 'Puah and Shiphrah', but D agrees with MT in giving the reverse order. In the last three instances it seems to me that D may preserve the original reading of the Peshitta.

The revision of Lee's edition of the Pentateuch has proved itself a task worth attempting, and it may be claimed for the new edition that it is a contribution to our knowledge of the Peshitta text. I cannot conclude these introductory words without expressing my deep sense of gratitude to the two scholars whose co-operation made the work possible, and to the British and Foreign Bible Society which through its Editorial Secretary, Dr Kilgour, has facilitated all my labours.

W. EMERY BARNES.

## THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

By his article in the last number of the JOURNAL (vol. xiv pp. 530-538), entitled 'Greek the Original Language of the Odes of Solomon', Dom Connolly has once more earned the hearty thanks of all students of the Odes. But it contains at least one serious error, in regard to one of the passages dealt with, which, in the interests of readers of the

JOURNAL who have not ready access to the MSS of the Odes, ought not to pass uncorrected.

In Ode xx 5 Dom Connolly gives as the literal rendering 'Thou shalt not acquire an alien the blood of thy soul', omitting the preposition *beth* (i. e. 'with' or 'in') before 'the blood'. He adds, 'The Nitrian MS discovered by Professor Burkitt supports the reading of Dr Harris's own MS'. On this hypothesis, he argues that 'acquire' is to be taken as a mistranslation of the Greek  $\epsilon\chi\omega$ , meaning 'hold' or 'regard', and that the original, which was Greek, meant 'thou shalt not regard as an alien thine own (flesh and) blood'.

But this hypothesis is wrong. Dr Harris's printed text includes the preposition 'with', and, as I have ascertained, the facsimile of his MS in the British Museum also includes it. So too does the Nitrian MS. Accordingly, as regards this particular passage, Dom Connolly's argument, as stated by him, falls to the ground, unless the text be first emended by the omission of the preposition.

This and other portions of Dom Connolly's deeply interesting paper I hope to discuss fully in a forthcoming volume of 'Diatessarica'. I will therefore add nothing but a reiteration of thanks, to which I am especially bound by the fact that Dom Connolly wrote his paper 'in the hope of persuading Dr Abbott, and others also', that Greek was the original Language of the Odes of Solomon. I am not 'persuaded'. But I am none the less grateful.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

In a Note in the July number of the JOURNAL entitled 'Greek the original language of the Odes of Solomon', I quoted (pp. 531-532: item II of the Note) the first words of Ode xx v. 5 as follows:  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ}$ ;

and I stated that this was the

reading both of Dr Harris's MS and of cod. N, discovered by Professor Burkitt. It has been pointed out by Dr Abbott that this is incorrect, and that in both MSS the last word but one is  $\text{ܕܡܝܬܐ}$ , with the prepositional prefix  $\text{ܕ}$ . As I proceeded to argue from the Syriac text (in the form quoted above) to an underlying Greek text, and as the presence of the preposition would, had I been aware of it, have involved a somewhat different treatment of the case, I may be allowed to explain how it was that I came to make so strange a misquotation.

In writing the Note I used Dr Harris's second edition of the Odes, in which several textual errors of the first edition are corrected; and I had not the first edition by me at the time. Some time previously

I had entered in the margin of my copy of the second edition the variants of cod. N, published by Prof. Burkitt (*J. T. S.* April 1912), and later on again I had added the further variants printed by Mr Willey (*J. T. S.* January 1913). Thus when the Note was written I thought I had all the textual evidence before me in my copy of the second edition. Now in this edition Dr Harris has introduced into the Syriac text an emendation of the passage xx 5 by reading ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ; and he records the rejected reading of his MS in

a note thus: 'The MS has ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ, which is clearly corrupt:

but ܕܡܝܬܐ is repeated by an eye-error from the previous line, and the

correction of ܕܡܝܬܐ to ܕܡܝܬܐ is obvious and easy.' I need hardly point out that according to the customary, and only possible, method of collating Semitic texts, this note states that the MS has *not* got the prepositional prefix ܕ before ܡܝܬܐ. That is how I arrived at the belief that Dr Harris's MS omitted the preposition. Even had I remembered that the first edition contains the ܕ, I should, I think, have concluded that this was now corrected in the second edition.

As regards the reading of cod. N, I failed to notice, in entering the readings of this MS in my copy of the *second* edition, that Prof. Burkitt had collated it with the *first* edition, and that the entry 'N (*sic*)' referred to the reading with ܕ. Prepossessed, I suppose, with the notion that Dr Harris's *emendation* was here in question, I understood the '*sic*' as emphasizing the fact that N supported the reading of Dr Harris's MS, as recorded in his note above, against his emendation. This was an oversight for which the responsibility is mine.

In making this correction I must also state how far, in my opinion, the argument I based on an imaginary reading is affected by the substitution of the real one. It will now be observed that the reading which Dr Harris declares to be 'clearly corrupt' is the one *with* the preposition (ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ) not, as I supposed, one without it. In

this view I partly agree with Dr Harris: it is certainly difficult to see what 'thou shalt not acquire an alien *by* (or *with*) the blood of thy soul' can mean. On the other hand I cannot accept Dr Harris's emendation, for these reasons: (1) because it is based on the supposition that the expression 'blood of thy soul' is incapable of a reasonable explanation; whereas I have pointed out that it is merely good Syriac for 'thine own blood'; (2) because the correction of ܕܡܝܬܐ to

ܕܡܝܬܐ is in itself by no means an obvious one, and involves the

further alteration of **לֹא תִקְחָה** to **לֹא תִקְחֶה**; (3) because the meaning arrived at ('thou shalt not acquire an alien by the price of thy silver') is one which, whether the Odes be Jewish or early Christian (particularly if they be Jewish), is altogether unexpected, not to say startling. A prohibition against acquiring even a foreign slave, in such a document as the Odes, would, it seems to me, call for special explanation were it actually attested by the MSS: coming only through an alteration of the text, it can hardly be admitted.

I still think that there was nothing in the Odist's mind about 'acquiring an alien'—about the buying of a slave—at all, whether by the blood of one's soul or by the price of one's silver; but that he meant what is said in Isa. lviii 7, viz. that a man is not to refuse recognition to one of his own race or family, and treat him like a stranger. The difficulty still seems to me to lie 'not in the expression "the blood of thy soul", . . . but in a peculiar use of the verb **קָנָה** "to acquire", or, in one of its forms, "to possess", "be possessed of"'. I shewed by an example, which is attested by several MSS, that the Syriac verb might be used as a makeshift translation of  $\epsilon\chi\omega$  in the sense of 'hold', 'regard', 'have in a certain relation' to oneself. Of course such a use would be rare, and it might well puzzle even a Syrian scribe. It also involves the construction with two accusatives, which would appear quite anomalous with this verb. Failing to recognize this construction, a scribe would be tempted to alter one of the accusatives into an instrument by prefixing to it the preposition 'by' (i.e. the single letter **ב**). The exact sense to be attached to the clause thus grammatically readjusted would probably not trouble a scribe who had just copied out the preceding nineteen Odes. I would therefore now emend the text by omitting the preposition and, for the rest, explain it as I have done in my Note.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

## THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PETER AND THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

A RECENT number in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* is devoted to the problem of 1 Peter (*Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes*, Richard Perdelwitz, Giessen, 1911). The author divides the epistle into two parts, and considers that i 3-

iv 11 was written when persecutions were still in the future, while i 1, 2, iv 12-v 14 is a subsequent letter composed at a time when they had become a present reality. The first part is a sermon delivered on the occasion of a baptism, the second a letter sent probably to the same Church as that to which the newly-baptized addressed in the first part belonged. In the second division of his book Herr Perdelwitz deals with the *religionsgeschichtliche* problem. His method is to apply to this one writing of the New Testament the material recently collected by the students of the mystery religions. Acknowledging the possibility of accounting for certain difficult expressions by other means, e.g., with the aid of the LXX, he claims notwithstanding that the most natural explanation is the influence of the mysteries; the writer and the readers or hearers of the epistle, if they had not been actually initiated into the mysteries, were at least familiar with the ideas and phraseology of these cults.

In view of Dr Bernard's theory that the Odes of Solomon are baptismal hymns (*Texts and Studies* viii 3) I have been led to compare the two documents in the hope of finding interesting parallels. If i Peter and the Odes have a common baptismal background, it is natural to expect similarities of language. In setting forth the evidence I shall assume the truth of Dr Bernard's theory as a provisional working hypothesis. The possibility that some expressions in i Peter are allusions to baptism will be briefly examined, but Perdelwitz's theory of the influence of the mystery religions will only be treated incidentally; nor need his partition-theory be discussed.

(i) 1 Pet. i 3-5 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν, εἰς κληρονομίαν ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀμείαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον, τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ φρουρουμένους διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ.

v 23 ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου διὰ λόγον ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος.

The word ἀναγεννᾶν occurs only here in the New Testament; the nearest parallel is γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν in John iii 3. Without going into the Hellenistic analogies to this idea of the new birth (see Bauer on John iii 3, Reitzenstein *Die hell. Mysterienreligionen* pp. 26, 31) it will be sufficient to state that the aorist participle ἀναγεννήσας points to a definite religious experience, which it is natural to associate with baptism. For the majority of converts at least baptism must have been the conscious crisis of the Christian life. We may compare Tit. iii 5 ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλινγενεσίας and 1 Cor. xv 29, where baptism (for the dead) is combined with the idea of resurrection, as in our passage. The inheritance which falls to the convert is defined as

incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading. Perdelwitz ingeniously explains the terms as chosen to mark the contrast between what the Christian gains at his baptism, and the heathen at his initiation. The Christian's inheritance is *ἄφθαρτος*, while the pagan's initiation has to be renewed after twenty years; it is *ἀμίαντος* in contrast to the blood-stained *Himmelskleid*, with which the initiate is robed as he ascends from the grave in the Taurobolium; it is *ἀμάραντος* in contrast to the fading garland which the mystic wears on his head. Moreover, it is preserved in heaven, while the pagan's garment is kept for him in the temple until he returns to renew his initiation (pp. 45-50). This is perhaps somewhat far-fetched, but in view of the LXX evidence the metaphors contained in these three adjectives would seem to be of Hellenistic rather than Jewish origin. The only occurrences are: *ἄφθαρτος*, Wis. xii 1, xviii 4; *ἀμάραντος*, Wis. vi 12; *ἀμίαντος*, Wis. iii 13, iv 2, viii 20, 2 Macc. xiv 36, xv 34. However, *ἄφθαρτος* and *ἀμίαντος* are found in the New Testament in connexions where there can be no reference to baptism, e.g., 1 Cor. ix 25 *ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον*, Jam. i 27 *θρησκεία καθαρά καὶ ἀμίαντος*. In 1 Pet. i 23 the idea of incorruption recurs in connexion with the new birth.

Let us now turn to the Odes. Dr Bernard (whose translation, agreeing in the main with that of Dr Rendel Harris, will be used) gives instances from Eastern baptismal rites to illustrate Odes i 1, 3 'The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him . . . For it is not like a withered crown which blossometh not'. Further references to the baptismal crown or garland occur in v 10, ix 8, xvii 1, xx 7, 8. The Odist regards the Christian as winning the *φάρμακον τῆς ἀθανασίας* by his baptism, for by union with the Lord in it he gains immortality. See iii 10, v 11, ix 3 'your perfection is incorruptible', xi 10 'from above' He gave me rest in incorruption', xv 8 'I have put on incorruption through His name', xvii 2 'My incorruptible salvation is He', xxviii 7, xl 8 'His profit is immortal life, and those who participate in it are incorrupt'. It should be noted that the thoughts of immortality in v 11 and of incorruption in xvii 2 come in immediate association with the thought of the garland, and thus illustrate the combination of *ἄφθαρτον* and *ἀμάραντον* in 1 Peter. If Perdelwitz is right in seeing a reference to a robe in *ἀμίαντον*, it is easy to find parallels in the Odes. See Dr Bernard's notes on xi 10, xv 8, xxi 2 (cf. iv 8, xxv 8). In xv 8 'I have put on incorruption' the figure of a robe is associated with the idea of incorruption.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ἀνωθεν*, John iii 3.

<sup>2</sup> May not this be a reminiscence of 1 Cor. xv 53 *δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν*?

(ii) 1 Pet. ii 2 ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αὐξηθῇτε εἰς σωτηρίαν, εἰ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος. Here also a baptismal background may be discerned. The writer compares his readers to newly-born infants (the ἀναγεννᾶσθαι of i 3, 23) and bids them desire the genuine milk of the word.<sup>1</sup> But the pre-supposition of their desire is the fact that they have recently<sup>2</sup> tasted and found that the Lord was good. In *χρηστός*, as Perdelwitz points out (p. 65), there is a play on words, namely, the similarity of *χρηστός* and *χριστός*. But as *milk* comes in the context the original meaning of *χρηστός* = good (food or drink) is probably in the writer's mind. Reitzenstein (*op. cit.* pp. 84, 157) shews that milk plays a prominent part in the mystery-cults, and quotes Sallust *περὶ θεῶν* 4, where milk, the new birth, and crowns are all mentioned together (ἐορτὴν ἄγομεν διὰ ταῦτα . . . ἐπὶ τούτοις γαλακτὸς τροφή, ὡς ἀναγεγνημένων. ἐφ' οἷς ἱλαρεῖαι καὶ στέφανοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶον ἐπάνοδος). Milk is mentioned in the Odes several times in other connexions, see viii 17, xix 1-4, xxxv 6. The passage of importance for our purpose is iv 10 'Open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey'. Dr Bernard, commenting on this passage, traces the ceremony of giving milk and honey in baptism back to the middle of the second century. In any case, in the Odes, 1 Peter, and the Sallust passage, we seem to be moving in the same circle of ideas, and each illustrates the others. In 1 Cor. iii 2, Heb. v. 12 'milk' is a natural metaphor, and connotes the immaturity of those who use it. In 1 Peter there is no such implication, and it looks as if some religious ceremony of giving milk is to be postulated to account for the metaphor.<sup>3</sup>

(iii) 1 Pet. ii 9 ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκοτῶν ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θανμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς.

The conception of baptism as φωτισμός is so common in early Christian literature that there is no need to illustrate it here. Similar passages in the Odes are x 2 'He hath caused to dwell in me his deathless light', xi 16 'They have changed from darkness to light', xv 2 'His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face', xxi 2 'I put off darkness and clothed myself with light', xxv 7, xli 3. But the metaphor is obvious (cf. Acts xxvi 18 τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκοτῶν εἰς φῶς) and must have been in general use before it was applied to baptism. Perdelwitz gives a number of parallels from pagan sources, including the well-known

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein *op. cit.* p. 156 takes ἄδολον = πνευματικόν.

<sup>2</sup> They are ἀρτιγέννητα 'neophytes' (Perdelwitz, p. 59). But it may be just a picturesque epithet.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that milk alone was the original ceremony in Christian baptism and that honey was added later to complete the symbolism of the entry into the Promised Land.



passage of Apuleius xi 23 *nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*, but the phrase is simple enough to render such parallels unnecessary. Similar phrases are found in the LXX (Job xviii 18, xxii 11, xxxvii 15, Isa. xlii 16).

(iv) One of the most difficult passages in the New Testament is 1 Pet. iii 18-22, where Christ is described as having gone in the Spirit to preach to the spirits in prison which were disobedient in the days of Noah. This leads on to the mention of the Ark, in which a few were saved through water, *διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος*. 'Which (water) in an anti-type, that is baptism, is now saving us', *ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα*.<sup>1</sup> This is not the place to discuss the exegesis of the passage; it is enough to note the close association of baptism with the *Descensus ad Inferos*.

The same association is observed in the Odes. See xv 8, 9 'I have put on incorruption through His name . . . Death hath been destroyed before my face: and Sheol hath been abolished by my word'; also xxii, xxix 4, xxxi, xxxiii, xlii. The connexion between the Harrowing of Hell and the Baptism of Christ, and consequently that of believers, is worked out in full by Dr Bernard on pp. 32-39 of his edition; he refers to the 1 Peter passage as 'noteworthy'.

It will hardly be denied that the resemblances, as shewn above, are more than can be accounted for by mere coincidence. The possible explanations seem to be three in number.

(i) 1 Peter and the Odes are dealing with the same subject and therefore quite independently use similar language. This would mean that the hypotheses with which we started had corroborated one another. To a certain extent perhaps this is true; but there are grave objections to attaching much weight to this explanation. We have already seen that some of the expressions in 1 Peter may be interpreted equally well apart from any reference to baptism; and the others, while suiting a baptismal context very well, do not necessitate it. In a sense Perdelwitz's thesis may be accepted without difficulty. The conscious crisis of the Christian life represented by baptism was no doubt still present in the minds of the recipients of the letter, and may well be reflected in the writer's language. But might not as good, or nearly as good, a case be made out for some of the Pauline epistles being baptismal addresses in this sense? Again, Dr Bernard's thesis, purposely stated by him in the strongest possible way, has not yet won the approval of specialists, and Dr Headlam's criticism of his earlier exposition of the theory still holds good: 'It would be far truer to say that language which is here as elsewhere used of the Christian Life as

<sup>1</sup> If this part of the Epistle is a baptism address, the present tense *σώζει* is significant.

a whole was quite naturally introduced into baptismal services and songs, and so obtained a specialized use' (*Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1911). We conclude that neither theory can be accepted in its entirety.

(ii) Both 1 Peter and the Odes borrow phraseology from the mystery religions. An obvious difficulty in the case of 1 Peter is that of date. Perdelwitz hardly deals with this in a satisfactory way. In reference to the Taurobolium, for instance, he contends that it can be proved at Lyons in A.D. 160; there is therefore reason to suppose that its Phrygian beginnings were as early as A.D. 100, about which date 1 Peter is put by the majority of scholars. But the majority of English scholars at any rate assign the epistle to an earlier date, and demand cogent proofs before accepting the influence of the mysteries on the New Testament. The Odes on the other hand may well have points of contact with the mysteries. Professor Burkitt has characterized them in the following terms: 'Like the Fourth Gospel, the religion of the Odes may be described as the Greek Mystery-religion, transfigured by the historical event of the Incarnation, an event which brought the life-giving πνεῦμα to men and thereby gave them salvation and a foretaste of apotheosis' (*J. T. S.* 1912, xii 376). Reference may be made to Stölten's article in *Zeitschrift für d. N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1912, pp. 29-58, where he gives a long list of parallels to the Odes from Christian and heathen *gnosis*.

(iii) Whatever elements of truth there may be in the foregoing hypotheses, is not the simplest explanation also the best—that the Odes are dependent on 1 Peter? Dom Connolly has made this practically certain in the case of one passage, Odes xli 16 'the Christ is truly one; and He was known before the foundation of the world' = 1 Pet. i 20 προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου (see *J. T. S.* 1913, xiv 315). To this passage may be added some of those discussed above. There is no question of formal quotations, but there are distinct reminiscences. Dr Headlam's words (*loc. cit.*) with reference to the Johannine reminiscences in the Odes can be also applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to 1 Peter: 'There are no quotations, but there are many echoes of the subject-matter, and many words with a definite religious signification derived from it.'

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

## A PRIMITIVE EDITION OF THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS: AN EARLY LIST OF APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES.

THE following paper is an enlargement and re-statement of results first formulated in the JOURNAL for July 1912 (pp. 492-514). During the twelve months that have intervened since that publication I have devoted a good deal of time to the further study of the Verona fragment of an early Latin version of the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons to which I there called attention: the texts have been re-examined, and have now appeared in a much more complete and correct form in my *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* i pp. 32 a-32 nn. The introduction I propose to develope here.

When I began work at the fragment I used Lagarde's edition of the Greek text of the *Constitutions*. It was the edition of which I had availed myself for many years for purposes of reference, and the name and deservedly honoured reputation of the editor warranted me, as I supposed, in regarding it as an adequate critical text. It was obvious at once, and I pointed it out on pp. 505-510, that Lagarde's Greek represented a very inferior text to that of the Latin fragment, while his citations of the *editio princeps* of Fr. Turrianus or Torres<sup>1</sup> (Venice 1563) shewed that in some important points the developement of the text from Turrianus to Lagarde was not for the better but for the worse. So clear was this in the list of Canonical books—the last of the Apostolic Canons—that I printed in the parallel column (pp. 513, 514) no longer the text of Lagarde, but the text of Turrianus.

Meanwhile I was neglecting the most recent and fullest statement of the evidence for the Greek text of the *Constitutions*, which would have saved me, if I had consulted it earlier, a good many hours of painful labour. I knew of course of the existence of Funk's great edition (*Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2 vols., Paderborn, A.D. 1905): but I supposed that it confined itself to the collocation of the printed texts of the *Constitutions* with their sources,<sup>2</sup> and either I did not know or had forgotten that it included a critical apparatus. In order to leave

<sup>1</sup> 'Francisco Torres, S.J., born 1509 at Herrera, present at the Council of Trent, died Nov. 21, 1584. Fifty-eight of his works are fully described in Sommervogel's *de Backer Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*.' I owe this information to the kindness of Bodley's Librarian, Mr Falconer Madan.

<sup>2</sup> As indeed had been the editor's intention; p. xxiii 'sperabam harum textum me ex editionibus recentissimis repetere posse'.

no stone unturned, I examined it before the last stage of the re-edition of the texts for my *Monumenta Iuris*; and I found at once that the answer to a good many difficult problems was in my hands.

In the first place the secret of the superiority of Turrianus to Lagarde is at once revealed: for whereas Lagarde used no MS earlier than the twelfth century, Funk has utilized four Vatican MSS of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and among these four are to be found, if not all the three MSS of Turrianus, certainly two of them: Vat. 839 is Turrianus's leading MS, obtained from Crete, Vat. 2088 is Turrianus's Sicilian MS, and I can hardly doubt that Vat. 1506 (a Grottaferrata MS) was his third or Calabrian MS from the monastery of Patiro at Rossano.<sup>1</sup> It follows of course that, if we have Turrianus's MSS, we are independent of his edition, and a new edition with more extensive material might even be as much superior to Turrianus as Turrianus is to Lagarde.

And no doubt Funk's text has superseded those of all previous editors: but that does not mean that his text is always right against Turrianus, but rather that his excellent *apparatus criticus* enables us to control his text. In my previous paper I pressed as the most incontestable indication of the superiority of Turrianus to Lagarde that the former retains far more frequently than the latter the archaic form of doxology δι' οὗ σοὶ . . . ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι: it is a grave blot on Funk's critical methods or acumen that he systematically prefers what seems to me obviously the secondary reading. Between chapters 12 and 41 inclusive of book viii of the *Constitutions* I have counted fourteen cases in which he prints the form μεθ' οὗ σοὶ . . . καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, and two in which he prints variations of the καὶ . . . καὶ form, although one of his MSS faithfully reproduces the διὰ . . . ἐν form in every one of the sixteen passages. For the most part the variation does not extend beyond the difference of μετὰ . . . καὶ on the one side as against διὰ . . . ἐν on the other: but in the two remaining instances the variations are worth setting out in parallel columns:

Funk 514. 7 (c. xii § 50)

*Melius*

ὅτι σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα σέβας καὶ εὐχα-  
ριστία τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρὶ  
καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ σοὶ πᾶσα ἡ δόξα  
σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, καὶ διὰ σε καὶ  
μετὰ σε αὐτῷ τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις  
ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Funk's edition, by an unfortunate confusion, frequently prints 'Vat. 1056' for 'Vat. 1506', and 'Vat. 838' for 'Vat. 839'.

<sup>2</sup> The genuineness, in this and the following passage, of the phrase διὰ σε καὶ μετὰ σε, is further borne out by the parallel in vii xliii (Funk 448. 14, 19), where the reading is undoubted, εὐλογεῖ καὶ δοξάζει τὸν δεσπότην θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα . . . ἐπὶ τούτοις προσκυνεῖ αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ θεὸν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ δι' αὐτόν. Note the distinction both there and here between δόξα to the Father and προσκύνησις to the Son: and contrast Origen in *Aproc.* Scholion vii.

ib. 520. 24 (c. xv § 9)

ὅτι σοὶ δόξα αἶνος μεγαλοπρέπεια  
σέβας προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδί  
Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου τῷ κυρίῳ  
ἡμῶν καὶ θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ  
ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

ὅτι σοὶ δόξα αἶνος μεγαλοπρέπεια  
σέβας προσκύνησις, καὶ μετὰ σε καὶ  
διὰ σε τῷ παιδί σου Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ  
ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ, δι' οὗ σοι ἐπ-  
οφείλεται παρὰ πάσης λογικῆς καὶ  
ἀγίας φύσεως ἡ ἐπάξιος εὐχαριστία  
ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

The manuscript whose unique readings are here recorded in the right-hand column is Vat. gr. 1506, about which we have already seen that it was in all probability one of the three MSS employed by Turrianus ; and no doubt the excellences of the texts of both Turrianus and Funk are in large part due to it. One would have thought that its consistent support of the archaic doxology would already have been enough to put a modern editor on the track : but anyhow, whatever excuses may be made for editors who have worked on the *Constitutions* hitherto, they will no longer be open to their successors. The discovery of the Latin version contained in the Verona fragment has brought conclusive testimony to the unique value of this Greek MS, and the Greek text that I have printed in *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* at the foot of the page, below the transcription of the Verona Latin, as representing its original, is in all essentials the text of Vat. gr. 1506. The following are some of the readings in which the Verona fragment and Vat. gr. 1506 agree against all previous editors (the references within brackets in the left-hand column are to the pages and lines of *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.*, but the numbering of the Canons is that of Funk) :

Constit.	Vat. gr. 1506	Verona LI ( <i>Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.</i> i pp. 32 a-32 hh)	Edd.
viii 44 (e 18)	περὶ τῶν κληρικῶν	de clericis	περὶ τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ
viii 46 (j 18)	ἀλλὰ καλούμενος	sed uocatus	ἀλλ' ὁ καλούμενος
(m 5)	τὸν Χριστὸν ὄρων	Christum uidens	ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ὄρων
Can.			
i (n 5)	χειροτονεῖται	ordinatur	χειροτονεῖσθω
v (o 6)	ἐπιμένων	perseuerans	ἐπιμένων δέ
viii (o 17)	ἡ τὴν αἰτίαν . . . ἡ ἐάν	aut causam . . . aut si <sup>1</sup>	τὴν αἰτίαν . . . ἐάν δέ
xviii (r 2)	ἡ τοῦ καταλόγου	aut de collegio	ἡ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου
xxv (s 1)	Κύριος	dns ut uid <sup>1</sup>	om
xxxvi (v 12)	τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην	ipsius uoluntate	τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην
xlvi (x 25)	σχολάζοντα	uacantem	σχολάζων
xlvi (y 12)	ἐνεργῆσαι	operari <sup>1</sup>	ἐνεργῆσαι τι
lvii (z 19)	πεπληρωμένον	fracto	πεπληγμένον
lviii (z 24)	ἡ ἐπιμένων	uel si perseueret	ἐπιμένων δέ
lix (aa 5)	φονεὺς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ	fratris interfe(ctor)	φονεύσας τὸν ἀδελφόν

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius Exiguus goes with the Verona fragment and Vat. gr. 1506 in these instances.

<i>Constit.</i>	Vat. gr. 1506	Verona LI ( <i>Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.</i> i pp. 32 a-32 h <sup>h</sup> )	Edd.
lxi (cc 3)	παρασκευὴν ἢ τετράδα	sextum diem vel quartum	τετράδα ἢ παρασκευὴν
lxxi (cc 15)	ἡ λύχνους	aut lucernas	ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αὐτῶν λύχνους ἄβη
lxxiv (dd 1)	ἐπὶ ἀξιοπίστων	praesentibus fide dignis	ὑπὸ } ἀξιοπίστων παρὰ }
(dd 14)	τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ δόξαντα	quae in eum placuerat	κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντα
lxxxv (gg 6)	Μωσέως ἔ	(Moyasis) quinque	Μωσέως πέντε Γένεσις Ἐξόδος Λευϊτικόν Ἀριθμοὶ Δευτερονόμιον
(gg 12)	Βίβλος ψαλμῶν	codex psalorum	ψαλμοί
(gg 14)	Σολομῶντος βιβλία ἔ	Solomonis libri quinque	Σολομῶντος βιβλία τρία Παροιμιαὶ Ἑκκλησιαστής Ἀίσμα ἁσμάτων

If this list were extended to include the cases where Turrianus or Funk has adopted a reading on the sole authority of this Vatican MS, it would be still more impressive, because such readings are generally striking ones.

I cannot doubt that Vat. gr. 1506 is not only the best individual witness to the text of the *Constitutions* and *Canons*, but that where supported by the Verona fragment it is very rarely wrong. For the text of the greater part of the Apostolic Canons we have now for the first time indubitable testimony to an edition which is both very early and very good. Even those elements of the joint tradition which are not original are likely at least to be very interesting. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to the consideration of two features common to both Vat. gr. 1506 and Verona LI which appear to reflect the work of an editor, though of an editor who worked by addition to the original text rather than by modification of it.

1. Between fol. 151 *b* and fol. 152 *a* of the Verona MS a leaf must have been lost, for the previous leaf (151) has barely reached the end of canon xlvii, while the next leaf (152) commences in the middle of canon lii. Now as long as I was working on the printed texts of the Greek Canons, a serious difficulty here stood in the way: the amount of matter intervening between the end of canon xlvii and the middle of canon lii was not enough, or nearly enough, to fill a leaf of two pages. It was only when I made the acquaintance of Vat. gr. 1506 that I solved the difficulty. At the end of canon 1 after the words βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος there is added a long dogmatic statement in the following terms:

Διδασκέσθω μέντοι ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ὅτι πατὴρ οὐκ ἐσταυρώθη οὔτε γέννησιν ὑπέμεινεν ἀνθρώπων· οὔτε δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀνθρώπος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ πάθος ὑπέστη, οὐ γὰρ ἐσαρκώθη· ἐλυτρώσατο δὲ τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός. ἐνηνθρώπησε γὰρ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, ἐαυτῷ σῶμα ἐκ παρθένου ἀναπλάσας (ἡ γὰρ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐαγτῇ οἶκον ὡς δημιουργός), 5 σταυρὸν δὲ ὑπέμεινεν ἐκὼν, ἐξείλατο δὲ τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς. βαπτιζόμεθα οὖν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπου γενομένου ἢ παθόντος, εἰς δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ γιού, ὡς ὑποστάντος γέννησιν, ὡς ὑπομείναντος σταγρὸν, ὡς ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὡς ὁμοουσίου πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ. οἱ δὲ μὴ οὕτω βαπτίζοντες, ὡς ἀγνωστοὺς τὸ 10 μυστήριον τῆς εἰσεβείας, καθαιρέσθωσαν.

‘Ὁ τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι λέγων ἀσεβεῖ Ἰουδαίων βαρύτερα, μετὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα προσηλῶν· ὁ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἀρνούμενος τὸν μονογενῆ δι’ ἡμᾶς σαρκωθῆναι καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπομεμενηκέναι, θεομάχος ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πολέμιος· ὁ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον πατέρα ὀνομάζων ἢ υἱὸν ἀνεπιστήμων 15 ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνόητος. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς συνδημιουργὸς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ σύνθρονος καὶ συννομοθέτης καὶ κριτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αἴτιος· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁμοούσιον θεότητι· ἐφ’ ἡμῶν γὰρ Σίμων ὁ μάγος ἐξηρεύετο σπάσας τῷ λαῷ πλάνον καὶ ἄστατον καὶ πονηρὸν εἰς ἐαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἓνα τριῶνυμον εἶναι φλυαρήσας τὸν θεόν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν γέννησιν 20 περικόψας.

Ὑμεῖς οὖν, ὡ ἐπίσκοποι, εἰς ἓνα πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τρίτον βαπτίσατε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν πνεύματι διάταξιν.

3, 6. Cf. 1 Thess. i 10    5. Prov. ix 1    7-9. Matt. xxviii 19    8. Heb. xii 2  
9. 1 Thess. iv 14    10. Rom. xi 25; 1 Tim. iii 16

10. ὁμοουσίου : ὁμοουσίου Vat    12. ἀσεβεῖ Ἰουδαίων : ἀσεβῆ ἰουδαίων Vat  
18. σπάσας τῷ λαῷ πλάνον Vat. : σπάσας τὸ ἔλαλον πλάνον Joannes Scholasticus, ed.  
Justel (cf. Mark ix 25) ; perhaps σπάσας τὸ λαοπλάνον Turner

This long statement has nothing in common with the character of the Apostolic Canons, which for the rest are what their name suggests, Canons and not doctrinal definitions. Nor can we attribute to the compiler of the *Constitutions* and *Canons* the authorship of any dogmatic passage so definitely orthodox as this—witness the use of the term ὁμοούσιος in relation to the Holy Spirit, lines 10, 18. Neither, on the other hand, is it possible that the lost leaf of the Verona fragment can have contained (besides the four Canons missing, which must have occupied more than a page) an addition anything like as long as that printed above.

As it stands, then, the insertion of the Vatican MS cannot be original. Yet neither can it be other than old, seeing that it appears also in both the Syriac versions cited by Funk, and in the ‘systematic’ collection published about the middle of the sixth century by John Scholasticus of Antioch, where it constitutes the greater part of ‘canon 50 of the holy Apostles’ and the whole of ‘canon 51 of the same’. Since the

insertion is headed in the Vatican MS *τίτλον λς'*, and since it is actually in the 36th chapter of John's collection that the corresponding matter is found, it is possible that the Vatican MS may be depending ultimately upon John.

John, however, was certainly not himself the author of the passage. He found it in his copy of the Canons, and incorporated it in his Collection as such. And the Verona fragment, though it cannot have contained all that the Syriac versions and John and the Vatican MS unite in presenting, must have contained something more than the ordinary texts: if I calculate rightly, there was room in the Latin MS for half or almost half of the extra material of the Greek.<sup>1</sup> Probably therefore the Latin MS, if we had it complete, would be found to give the nucleus of the insertion, to represent it, in fact, in its first stage. In that form it is even conceivable, though perhaps not probable, that it may have gone back to the compiler of the *Constitutions* and *Canons* himself.<sup>2</sup>

2. A somewhat similar relation exists between the Verona Latin and the Vatican Greek in regard to the matter appended after the last of the Canons. In the Verona MS, after the list of Canonical books (canon 85) and the doxology which follows it and concludes the whole work, there are still left three pages: but they are so badly preserved that it was impossible to decipher them as a whole, and all that could be said with confidence was that the last page of all consisted of some summary statement upon the origin of the Four Gospels. Here again it was the Vatican MS which put into my hands the key that solved the problem: for the greater part of the last three leaves in that MS consist of various appendices, and careful comparison soon shewed that foll. 78 *a b* contained the Greek original of the matter that had been transcribed at the end of the Verona MS. Even in this common matter, however, the Vatican Greek represents a later stage of develop-

<sup>1</sup> A page of the Latin of the Verona MS corresponds to from 30 to 36 lines of the Greek of the Vatican MS, and a leaf therefore to from 60 to 72 lines. The ordinary text of the Canons that were contained on the missing leaf amounts to some 41 lines of the Vatican MS: as the insertion we are considering extends to 57 lines of the same MS, it is clear that not more than about half of this (20 to 30 lines) can have been represented in the Verona Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Chr. Justel, the editor of John Scholasticus's collection of Canons, points out the resemblance between the inserted passages and the *Epistle to the Philippians* of pseudo-Ignatius: compare in § 2 of the *Epistle* the emphasis on the distinction of Father Son and Holy Spirit, and note the phrases *ἐνα τριάννυμον* (Lightfoot, ii 774. 14), *ἡ γὰρ σοφία ἡκοδόμησεν ἑαυτὴν οἶκον* (ib. 775. 18), *ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν σταυρὸν, τὸ πάθον ἐπαισχύνεσθαι* (775. 9), *περικύπτεις τὴν γέννησιν* (777. 21). If the Verona MS did represent an original nucleus of the inserted passages as we know them, it is at least quite possible that that original nucleus did go back to the circle which produced the Apostolic Constitutions and the Pseudo-Ignatian letters. Much of the phraseology is undoubtedly similar.



ment than the Verona Latin ; it will be noted that with regard to the apostles James the son of Zebedee, Philip, James the son of Alphaeus, Thaddaeus, and Paul, the place of burial, and with regard to Bartholomew the manner of his martyrdom, is given in the Greek but with nothing to correspond in the Latin. Dr Spagnolo has even now not been able to decipher more than fragments of the three pages, so deplorable is their state of preservation ; but quite enough is preserved to restore the contents, although not the exact wording, for all but the upper half of the second page, and so I have felt justified in excluding from the Greek text (while recording in the apparatus) clauses that are clearly absent from the Latin.

The Latin in fact presents what is apparently the most primitive form known of the lists of apostles and other early preachers of the Gospel of which so many different specimens are known under the name of Hippolytus or Dorotheus or Epiphanius as authors. A large number of these lists are printed in the very useful collection of Theodor Schermann *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae ; indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini ; Dorotheo Epiphanio Hippolyto aliisque vindicata* (Teubner Series, 1907) : but none of Schermann's Greek MSS go back behind the tenth or eleventh century ; and though some of his Latin authorities are earlier, the oldest of them are not only two centuries later than our Verona fragment but quite obviously are either not translated from the Greek at all or, if they are, deviate much further from the Greek originals. The Verona fragment—or, to put it otherwise, the Greek text of the Vatican MS after abstraction is made of the clauses not represented in the Latin—gives us in fact for the list of the thirteen apostles the primitive text which lies behind both the Epiphanian and the Hippolytean form (Schermann, pp. 107-115, 164-167).<sup>1</sup> If the text printed below be assumed as the original, it becomes at once easy to explain the divergences of 'Epiphanius' and 'Hippolytus' in one or other direction—so easy indeed that it seems rather strange that the editor had not thought of conjecturally restoring the original by simply isolating the common nucleus of the two forms of text from the parts which are peculiar to only one of them. The result would not perhaps have exactly corresponded to the document I am here printing : but it would have been in some cases singularly near to it, as the two examples I proceed to cite will be enough to shew.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Dorothean form (pp. 153-157) is further removed from the original : yet even that contains some reminiscences of it which do not seem contained in either Epiphanius or Hippolytus. Why Schermann cites our Vatican MS as one of the authorities for the Hippolytean form I am quite unable to say.

<sup>2</sup> If Schermann had constructed his Epiphanian text with less regard to his MSS A and B, and more regard to his CDEF, the resemblances would have been still closer.

## Ps.-Epiphanius

δ' Σίμων Πέτρος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος, ὡς διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ φαίνεται δηλῶν, ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ<sup>1</sup> ἐκήρυξε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος βασιλείῳς σταυροῦται κατὰ κεφαλῆς, αὐτοῦ οὕτως παθεῖν ἀξιώσαντος. θάπτεται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πρὸ τριῶν καλανδῶν Ἰουλίῳν ὃ ἐστὶν Ἐπιφίι ε'.

ιγ' Παῦλος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάληψιν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κυρίου ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰσπανίας, οὗ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ μετὰ σοφίας παρ' ἡμῖν φέρονται. ἐπὶ δὲ Νέρωνος νιὸς Κλαυδίου βασιλέως ἐν πόλει Ῥώμῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη. ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἐπιφίι ε', πρὸ γ' καλανδῶν Ἰουλίῳν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐτάφη πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, ἐκεῖ εἰσιν ἕως σήμερον ἐν Χριστῷ.

As a specimen of the result of adopting an alternative text given in a secondary position by Schermann (p. 113), I add the notice of the apostle Simon.

## Ps.-Epiphanius

ιδ' Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὁ καὶ Ἰούδας, μετὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπος γέγονεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ζήσας ρκ' ἔτη σταυρῷ παραδοθεὶς ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπὶ Τραιανοῦ βασιλείῳς.

It seems then sufficiently well established on a comparative treatment of the texts that we have in the document now published for the first time a more primitive form than any yet known of the 'Places of the

## Ps.-Hippolytus

δ' Πέτρος μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὕστερον ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ σταυροῦται κατὰ κεφαλῆς οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἀξιώσαντος παθεῖν.

ιγ' Παῦλος δὲ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ προῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σπανίας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔτη λέ'. ἐπὶ δὲ Νέρωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ.

## Ps.-Hippolytus

ιδ' Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὁ καὶ Ἰούδας, μετὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπος γενομένος Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκοιμήθη καὶ θάπτεται ἐκεῖ, ζήσας ἔτη ρκ'.

<sup>1</sup> I omit here words bracketed by Schermann.

preaching and death of the twelve apostles'. Possibly the original appendix stopped here; for as the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons purport to have been delivered to the bishops by the Twelve with St Paul, it is exactly a notice concerned with their lives and deaths which might serve as a fitting close to the whole work. But so far as the evidence of our document takes us, there is no reason for separating from the notice of the Apostles the notices that follow with regard to the other 'Apostolic' men, or indeed these again from the notice about the Four Gospels. Is there such reason to be found on comparison with the related texts?

For the former of these sections parallels appear to be wanting in both Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus: on the other hand most of the MSS of Pseudo-Epiphanius—not including the one on which Schermann has founded his text—give a text of the 'apostolici' (Schermann, p. 127), which stands in exactly the same relation of expansion to the document now printed as I have shewn above to exist in the notice of the twelve apostles. But with regard to the notice of the Gospels the matter stands quite differently: it is found in no 'Epiphanian' MS at all, and is taken by Schermann (p. 129, lines 6–17) solely from our Vatican MS (gr. 1506) and one other Vatican MS (Vat. 1974, saec. xii–xiii), the latter being of the 'Dorothean' type. As Vat. 1974 is later than Vat. 1506, this piece may actually have been derived by the later MS from the earlier. Speaking generally, it may be said that the notice of the Gospels is peculiar to our document and preserved only in its Greek and Latin representatives.

Comparison of texts, then, does suggest somewhat clearly a separate origin for the third section in our document, the passage about the Gospels: but it does not suggest, or at any rate does not suggest at all definitely, that any break ought to be made between the section on the Apostles and the section on the Apostolici. And this conclusion is rather curiously borne out by the remaining line of investigation on which a word must now be said, namely the sources exploited in our document. For whereas the evidence for the employment of the *Church History* of Eusebius as a source amounts, in the case of the first two sections, almost to demonstration, no point of contact can, it would seem, be established between the *Church History* and the section on the Gospels.

Thus *H. E.* i 12 contains some notes about the Seventy, with names of Barnabas, Sosthenes, Cephas, Matthias (Barsabas), and Thaddaeus, and with reference, in the case of Cephas the *ὁμώνυμος Πέτρος*, to the fifth book of Clement's *Hypotyposes*: i 13 relates the mission of Thaddaeus, one of the Seventy, to Edessa and the Abgar, and will account for the notice of Thaddaeus the Apostle, just as the words used of

Matthias in the preceding chapter of the *History*, καὶ Μαθθίαν δὲ τὸν ἀντὶ Ἰούδα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλεγέντα . . . τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν ὁ κλήσεως, account for the notice of Matthias among the apostles. In ii 1 we hear of the Ethiopian eunuch returning to his own country as a preacher of the Gospel under the phrase κατέχει λόγος. In iii 1 we have Thomas connected with Parthia, Andrew with Scythia, John with Asia, Peter with Pontus and the other provinces of Asia Minor, Paul with Jerusalem, Illyricum, and Rome. In iii 2 to the name Linus is subjoined the note that 'Paul mentions him in writing to Timothy': in iii 4 the Γαλατία of 2 Tim. iv 10, to which Crescens departed, is interpreted, as in our document, to mean Gaul. Of Symeon son of Clopas as successor to James the Just we hear in *H. E.* iii 11 (iv 22), and of his martyrdom under Trajan at the age of 120 in iii 32.

The passage about the Gospels has difficulties of its own, not easy of solution. But for the rest our document is more largely indebted to Eusebius than to any other source: I do not see any reason why it should be much later in date than the Constitutions and Canons to which it is not inappropriately appended.

[Vat. gr. 1506 fol. 78 a]

περὶ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστόλων ἐν  
ποίοις τόποις ἐκήρυξαν καὶ ἐν  
ποίοις ἐτελειώθησαν.

α' Σίμων Πέτρος Πόντῳ Γαλατία  
Καππαδοκίᾳ Βιθυνίᾳ Ἀσίᾳ  
κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπὶ  
Νέρωνος σταυροῦται.

β' Ἀνδρέας Σκύθαις Ὀγδοανοῖς  
καὶ Σάκαις.

γ' Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου ὑπὸ  
Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου ἀναι-  
ρεῖται μαχαίρᾳ.

δ' Ἰωάννης ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐξορισθεὶς  
ἐν Πάτμῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ  
Κυρίου συνέγραψε τὸ εὐαγ-  
γέλιον.

ε' Φίλιππος ἐν Φρυγίᾳ σταυροῦται  
κατακέφαλα.

ς' Βαρθολομαῖος Ἰνδοῖς, ὃς καὶ  
τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον  
αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν.

ζ' Θωμᾶς Πάρθοις Μήδοις Καρ-  
μανοῖς Ὑρκανοῖς Βάκτροις  
Μάργοις.

η' Ματθαῖος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον  
Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ συγγράψας  
ἐκδέδωκεν ἐν Σιών.

θ' Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς  
Δίκαιος λίθοις ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων  
ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναιρεῖται.

ι' Θαδδαῖος ὁ καὶ Λεββαῖος καὶ  
Ἰούδας Ἑδεσηνοῖς καὶ πάσῃ  
Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐπὶ Ἀβγάρου  
βασιλέως Ἑδεσηνῶν τελευτᾷ.

γ'. μαχαίρᾳ] + ἐκοιμήθη δὲ ἐν Ἀκείμ  
τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς cod ε'. κατα-  
κέφαλα] + τέθπται ἐν Ἱερραπόλει τῆς  
'Ασίας cod ς'. δέδωκεν] + πρὸ τῆς  
σφαγῆς ἐκδραθεῖς ὡς περ θήλαξ καὶ  
ἐπειτα κατατομηθεὶς ὡς ὁ Παῦλος cod  
η'. ἐκδέδωκεν] δέδωκεν cod θ'.  
ἀναιρεῖται] + καὶ ἐκεῖ θάπτεται παρὰ  
τῷ ναφ cod ι'. τελευτᾷ] + θάπτεται  
δὲ ἐν Βυριτῷ cod

Verona LI (49)

fol. 156 b

*De xii apostolis in quibus locis*

*predicauerunt et consummati sunt.*

Simon petrus ponto galatia capa  
docia bytinia [asia] praedicans aeu-

gelium praesente Nerone cruci fi- 5  
gitur. Andreas scytis ogdoanis

et sacis. Iacobus Zebedei ab Hero  
de tetrarca gladio occiditur.

Iohannis in asia deportatus 10  
in patmos propter uerbum dñi

conscripsit aeuangelium. Fi-  
lippus in frigia cruci figitur

capite prono. Bartholomeus in 15  
dis qui secundum Mattheum

aeuangelium ipsis dedit. Tho-  
mas partis medis germa

nis hyrcanis bactris margis.  
Mattheus aeuangelium hebrai-  
ce conscripsit et aedidit in sio- 20

Iacobus Alphei cognomine ius-  
tus lapidibus a iudeis in hiero-

solymis occiditur. Thaddaeus qui  
et Lebbeus etdesenis et omni

mesopotamiae: mortuus est 25  
sub Abgaro rege etdesenorum

Dr Spagnolo could only decipher the words or letters printed in roman type; the rest I supply by translation from the Greek, or so much of it as would correspond to the spaces undeciphered in the Latin.

4. Asia: I have placed this word in brackets, as (1) the line is over long, (2) 'Asia' is in its wrong place—it should of course precede 'Bytinia', (3) as 'Asia' is allotted to St John (line 9 *infra*), there was good ground for not assigning it also to St Peter. 16. The line is too short: but I do not see how to fill it out.

[Vat. gr. 1506 fol. 78 a]

14 Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης ὁ τοῦ  
Κλεόπα ὁ καὶ Ἰούδας μετὰ  
Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπος  
γενομένος Ἱεροσολύμων ζήσας  
ἔτη ρκ' σταυρῷ ἐμαρτύρησεν  
ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ.

18 Ματθίας εἰς ὧν τῶν ὁ μαθητῶν  
συγκαταριθμεῖται τοῖς ἑνδεκα  
ἀποστόλοις ἀντὶ Ἰούδα τοῦ  
Ἰσκαριώτου.

17 Παῦλος ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀρξά-  
μενος κηρύσσειν προῆλθεν  
ἕως τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ Ἰταλίας  
καὶ Ἰσπανίας· ἐπὶ δὲ Νέρωνος  
ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπε-  
τμήθη.

Τίτος Κρήταις καὶ ταῖς πέριξ  
νήσοις· Κρίσκης ἐν Γαλλίᾳ·  
ὁ εὐνοῦχος Κανδάκης βασιλίσ-  
σης Αἰθιοπῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τῇ  
5 Εὐδαίμονι καὶ ἐν Ταπροβάνῃ  
νήσῳ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ, λόγος  
δὲ ἔχει ὥς καὶ μεμαρτυρηκέναι  
αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ.

Ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ  
10 Σωτῆρος τῶν ὁ γεγόνασιν (ὡς  
ἱστορεῖ Κλήμης ἐν πέμπτῃ  
τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων) Βαρνάβας,  
Σωσθένης, Κηφᾶς ὁ μώνυμος  
Πέτρῳ, Ματθίας ὁ συγκα-  
15 αριθμηθεὶς τοῖς ἑνδεκα, Βαρ-  
σαβᾶς καὶ Λίνος

17. ἀπετμήθη] + καὶ θάπτεται ἐν  
αὐτῇ cod

5. Ταπροβάνῃ] τῇ Προβάνῃ cod

15. ἑνδεκα] + Εὐβουλος Πούδης Κρίσκης  
ἐν τῇ β' cod, sc. 2 Tim. iv 10, 21

Verona LI (49)

fol. 157 a

*Simon Cananeus filius Cleopa  
qui et Iudas post Iacobum ius-  
tum episcopus factus hieroso-  
lymorum uixit annos cxx et  
cruci fixus est sub Traiano.*

5

*Matthias ex lxx discipulis con-  
numeratur undecim apostolis  
pro Iuda Iscariota. Paulus ab  
hierusalem incipiens praedi-  
care usque illyricum est pro-  
uectus et italiam et spaniam, ro-  
mae uero praesente Nerone ca-  
put c est. Titus cretis  
et quae sunt circum insulae.*

10

*Crescens gallia. eunuchus Can-  
daces reginae ethiopum arabia  
felici et taprobana insula  
quae in mare rubro est, et sermo  
tradit quod martyr ibi fuerit.*

15

*Ex lxx apostolis Saluatoris  
facti sunt ut refert Clemens  
in quinto Informationu-*

20

*Barnabas Sostenus Cephas cog-  
nomine Petri Matthias conu-  
meratus undecim Barsabas et*

25

Linus

[Vat. gr. 1506 fol. 78 b]  
(οὗ μέμνηται Παῦλος Τιμοθέω  
γράφων), Θαδδαῖος, Κλεόπας  
καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον  
'Εβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ γραφέν ὑπ'  
αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐξεδόθη,  
ἐρμηνεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου. τὸ  
κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ  
Πέτρου ἐρμηνεύθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ.  
τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐν τοῖς χρό-  
νοις Τραϊανοῦ ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ  
Ἰωάννου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Κομόδου  
ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ἐγράφη.  
τὸ δὲ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ὑπὸ Λουκᾶ  
μαθητοῦ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ ἀπο-  
στόλου Παύλου, οὗ μνημονεύων  
ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν τινὶ ἐπι-  
στολῇ γράφει Ἀσπάζεται υἱὰς  
Λουκᾶς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἰατρός· καὶ  
τὰς Πράξεις δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εὐ-  
αγγελιστὴς τῶν [ἀγίων] ἀπο-  
στόλων συνεγράψατο.

Verona LI (49)

fol. 157 b

(cuius mentionem facit Paulus  
Timotheo scribens), Thaddeus, Cleo-  
pas et qui sunt cum eo. secundum  
Mattheum aeuangelium hebraea  
lingua conscriptum ab ipso in hie  
rusalem aeditum est et trans  
latum est ab Iohanne. secundum  
Marcum aeuangelium a Petro  
dictatum est Romae. secundum  
Iohannem temporibus Traiani  
dictatum est ab ipso Iohanne sub  
Commodo scriptum in Patmo. quod  
autem a Luca, discipulo constitu-  
to apostoli Pauli, cuius mentione-  
faciens ipse apostolus quadam  
epistula scribit SALVTAT VOS LVCAS  
MEDICVS DILECTVS : et Actus uero  
ipse aeuangelista conscripsit  
apostolorum. amen

**Explicuerunt canones**

**apostolorum missi ad**

**Clementem in quibus sunt  
canones Nicenorum**

9. ἐρμηνεύθη *cod*: read ὑπηγορεύθη  
as in l. 11; the Latin has 'dictatum'  
in both places. 21. ἀγίων *cod*:  
but the Latin shews that it is an  
interpolation.

1. 2 Tim. iv 21 16. Col. iv 14

12. quod autem a Luca *cod*: read with  
the Greek 'quod autem secundum Lucam  
a Luca'. 18. aeuangesta *cod*

C. H. TURNER.

## THE ORDER OF 1 AND 2 THESSALONIANS.

THE two Epistles to the Thessalonians raise several problems well known to critics of the New Testament, and it is as a solution of some of these that what follows is offered. The main contention is simple: it is that 2 Thess. was written first.<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the order of St Paul's Epistles in the present Canon has no authority as against this suggestion. The arrangement is certainly not chronological. In general the longer Epistles come first; but beyond that there does not seem to be any principle of arrangement. Hence after the collection of the Epistles the words *πρώτη* and *δευτέρα* would be added merely to describe their relative positions in the Canon and not their chronological order of writing.

One *prima facie* objection needs to be discussed at once. It is often held that 1 Thess. must be placed first because in 2 Thess. St Paul refers back to it.<sup>2</sup> In 2 Thess. ii 2 the words *δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν* are believed to contain a reference to 1 Thess. as the letter in question. Certain Thessalonians, it is held, had misunderstood 1 Thess., and it is this misunderstanding which St Paul is believed to be combating in the present passage. Against this interpretation—fatal as it would be to the contention of this paper—the following considerations may be adduced.

(1) Such an interpretation strains the grammar. The words *ὡς δι' ἡμῶν* most naturally mean 'as though from us' and most probably qualify all three substantives. Nor can the interpretation in question claim the support of the commentators. For while it is admitted as a possibility, no critic seems to hold it to be necessary.<sup>3</sup> Hence many prefer to suppose that St Paul is referring to possible forged letters and not to misinterpretations of a genuine letter. The difficulty of supposing a forgery at so early a date is not insurmountable, since in 2 Thess. iii 17 a caution against forgeries is expressly inserted.

<sup>1</sup> Information as to the authorities hitherto for and against this suggestion will be found in Milligan *St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians* p. xxxix; Moffatt *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* p. 75, and Frame *The Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians* p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See Milligan *ibid.* The two other objections there raised do not seem to necessitate an immediate discussion.

<sup>3</sup> See Lake *The Earlier Epistles of St Paul* pp. 95, 96; Milligan's note *in loc.*; Moffatt *Historical New Testament* p. 142 note; Jowett's note *in loc.*



(2) No misunderstanding on the part of the Thessalonians of anything in 1 Thess. can be discovered which will fit the case. This will be at once clear if the question be asked, what the misunderstanding was. To this it is generally replied that they had read into 1 Thess. the belief that the Day of the Lord was imminent, and had thereupon developed a tendency to idleness. But an examination of the context in 2 Thess. shews that the state of mind against which St Paul is warning his readers is precisely not—as upon such a hypothesis should be the case—that of a passive resignation, that of doing nothing because the Day of the Lord was all but at hand. On the contrary it is against a state of nervous dread (*μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι*) lest the Day of the Lord should be already present (*ἐνέστηκεν*).<sup>1</sup> Hence to suppose such a mistake completely inverts St Paul's meaning.

But on the other hand, if the mistake was that some had come to believe that the Day of the Lord had already begun, to refer this belief to a mistaken interpretation of 1 Thess. involves even greater difficulties. Such an interpretation, it is true, suits the requirements of 2 Thess., but by no possibility can 1 Thess. be construed as teaching a present Day of the Lord. Conceivably 1 Thess. v 5 might be read in this way. When St Paul says 'Ye are all sons of the light and sons of the day', he might be supposed to mean the Day of the Lord. But what would have been the intelligence of Thessalonians who could twist this particular passage into such a meaning and entirely ignore, not only the immediate context, but all the rest of the Epistle? For immediately above St Paul teaches the uncertainty of the time (v 1-3), while in iv 13-18 he expounds the doctrine of the Resurrection in the light of the future Advent of the Lord. Further, if the expressions of 1 Thess. i 10, iii 13, and v 23 be compared, it will be seen that 1 Thess. cannot be interpreted as teaching a present Day of the Lord. The letter, then, whether genuine or forged, cannot have been 1 Thess. There is nothing therefore in 2 Thess. which presupposes of necessity 1 Thess. What actual mistakes and errors St Paul appears to combat in 2 Thess. will be discussed later.<sup>2</sup> At present it is sufficient to prove that they do not constitute evidence which makes it *necessary* to place 1 Thess. before 2 Thess.<sup>3</sup>

What, however, are the principal advantages gained if 2 Thess. be placed before 1 Thess.?

(A) Hitherto the main problem connected with the two Epistles has

<sup>1</sup> See Lake *op. cit.* p. 94, and in support of this translation of *ἐνέστηκεν* Frame *op. cit.* pp. 248 and 249.

<sup>2</sup> See below (B).

<sup>3</sup> The fact that 2 Thess. ii 15 seems to presuppose a letter or letters previous to 1 Thess. will be considered below.

been the question of their eschatology. It is difficult to see how the eschatology of 2 Thess., with its strongly marked Jewish colouring, could have followed 1 Thess., where the tone is more advanced. The problem is to discover why the same writer in an earlier Epistle should shew a wider and more Gentile outlook and in a later revert to what was crude and Judaistic? More especially is this the case with St Paul, since the whole trend of his mind was plainly away from what was bizarre and Judaistic in favour of what was universal and spiritual. Upon the old hypothesis, however, 2 Thess. represented an unexplained retrogression. But if 2 Thess. is the prior Epistle, the contrast between that and 1 Thess. is exactly what would be expected. The development of St Paul's mind is now natural and continuous, instead of chequered and interrupted. The Christ, for instance, who slays the Man of Sin with the breath of His mouth, &c., appears in 2 Thess.; while in 1 Thess. the conception of the Messiah has for the most part lost what was bizarre and crude. The flaming fire, the Man of Sin, the signs and portents which herald the Messiah, all belong to a cycle of ideas which were still uppermost in St Paul's mind when he wrote 2 Thess.; but how different is the tone of 1 Thess.! Compare 'But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief: for ye are all sons of light, and sons of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darkness; so then let us not sleep, as do the rest, but let us watch and be sober' (v 4, 5).

It is not to be expected that such a contrast will be felt by all minds equally, but on the whole it seems far more plausible to suppose that in this passage and throughout 1 Thess. St Paul has begun to move in the direction of 1 Cor. and Rom. than to suppose that in 2 Thess. he goes back upon this and reverts to what is typical of a crude Judaistic Apocalypse. Hence to change the order of the two Epistles solves completely one of the most pressing problems connected with them. Now the development of St Paul's thought can be traced continuously and naturally. Previously 2 Thess. represented an inexplicable retrogression; it now falls into line admirably as St Paul's earliest extant Epistle.<sup>1</sup>

(B) According to the current theory, St Paul in 2 Thess. merely postpones the immediate coming spoken of in 1 Thess. In fact, however, 1 Thess. almost presupposes 2 Thess. It was said above that broadly 1 Thess. presents a wider and more advanced outlook than 2 Thess. It will now be shewn that what St Paul says in 2 Thess. was dictated by a series of difficulties which must of necessity have

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Lake's hypothesis that Galatians and Romans (in the shorter recension) are previous to 1 and 2 Thess. (*op. cit.* pp. 301, 302, and 363) would necessitate some changes in the wording of the above paragraph.

been already met *before* the questions treated in 1 Thess. could have been discussed; and similarly that what St Paul says in 1 Thess. presupposes the argument of 2 Thess. In 2 Thess. St Paul is writing to combat a twofold error as to the fact of the Parousia. Some had come to give up their belief in a Parousia at all; they had been 'shaken from their mind'. Others were troubled lest it should have happened already (2 Thess. ii 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup> Common to the two difficulties is misapprehension as to the time of the Parousia. No difficulty has yet arisen as to whether their conception of the Parousia is adequate. It is not the efficacy of the eschatological hope as a solution of their problems that is called in question; it is only the time of the Coming that is the difficulty. Hence in this Epistle to meet this primary difficulty is St Paul's only object, and this he achieves by shewing that the Parousia is not an isolated event, but the climax of a series of events, which take their rise in present history. The Day of the Lord cannot come until events have made it inevitable. Hence he says 'Time is not the criterion by which you are to judge of the approach of the Parousia: it is rather in events of history that you must look for signs. The series of events leading up to the Parousia may be long and it may be short: their significance does not lie in the time they take but in the consequences they involve. And this series has already begun: τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας'. Such seems to be St Paul's position in 2 Thess. as against the old hypothesis that in 2 Thess. St Paul merely postpones the immediate Coming of 1 Thess. In 1 Thess. the case is different. It is now no longer a difficulty of times and seasons: 2 Thess. has removed the necessity for reopening that question (1 Thess. v 1, 2), but it has raised another. In his anxiety to shew that the Parousia is inevitable, and not fortuitous, St Paul had never faced the question whether any might die before it happened. He was certain that the Parousia would bring retribution to the lawless and reward for those who had suffered (2 Thess. i 6, 10). But he is now (in 1 Thess.) faced by the difficulty that some have died in the hope of the Parousia and their sufferings seem destined to go unrewarded. This is a new difficulty. The Thessalonians now ask 'Will the Parousia affect those who have died in the faith with suffering unrecompensed, or has death cut them off from the Divine Restitution and the Messianic Kingdom?' Hence it is now the conception of the Parousia that must be enlarged: it is no longer a misapprehension as to the circumstances of its happening, it is a difficulty as to its validity as a solution. This, however, St Paul maintains by deepening the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Tim. ii 18 τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγενῆσθαι and above on the meaning of ἐνέστηκεν. The division into two classes is not necessary to the argument. It is equally valid if σαλευθῆναι and θροεῖσθαι refer to the same people.

conception, and teaching that the dead will be raised to join in the Kingdom. The answer he gives, however, could not have been given unless, as he says, he had no need to write to them of times and seasons. In this way by reversing the order a more natural and coherent account of the development in the eschatology can be given than upon the old hypothesis that 2 Thess. merely taught a postponement of the immediate Parousia of 1 Thess.; for St Paul seems never to have given up the hope of an immediate Coming.

(C) The distinction between the Gentile tone of 1 Thess. and the Jewish tone of 2 Thess. is not one that is confined to their eschatology: the difference is noticeable throughout both Epistles. It is inferred then that the two Epistles reflect a change in the aspect of the Church. The Judaistic Epistle would be addressed to a Church in which the Jewish element predominated, and the Gentile to a more Gentile Church. Clearly, therefore, the more Gentile epistle (1 Thess.) is the later and the Jewish (2 Thess.) the earlier. For St Paul's Churches grew more Gentile and not more Jewish. Recent research has made it clear that beyond its message to the Jews, Christianity made a special appeal to the large class of God-fearing Gentiles.<sup>1</sup> It would be in the main from the Gentiles that fresh converts would come, and it would be the hope of attracting these that would mould the thoughts of a young Church. The original Jews converted by St Paul's preaching would remain as a nucleus; but the violent hostility of the Jews as a body would compel the Christians to concentrate their efforts on others. Such a reconstruction of circumstances is well confirmed by references in 1 Thess. In 2 Thess. there are no references to any such developments in the Church, but in 1 Thess. (i 8) St Paul refers in terms of high praise to missionary enterprise carried on by Thessalonians, not only 'throughout Macedonia and Achaia', but also 'in every place'. Clearly, therefore, a considerable interval of time has intervened. Again, in 1 Thess. i 10 he refers to the old paganism of the converts. They had therefore originally been Gentiles: hence it is the Gentile element in the Church which is increasing. Originally then the Jewish element had predominated and so determined the tone of 2 Thess.; but later missionary work had brought the Gentile element into prominence, and so the tone of 1 Thess. is explained. Harnack's suggestion<sup>2</sup> of two separate Churches—the one Gentile to which 1 Thess. was addressed, and the other Jewish to which 2 Thess. was sent—shews how pressing is the problem of the change in tone, but the above suggestion of a change in the order of the Epistles is far

<sup>1</sup> See Lake *op. cit.*, especially pp. 38 sqq. with references there.

<sup>2</sup> See Lake *op. cit.* pp. 83 sqq.

simpler and cannot be said to raise the difficulties which are involved in his suggestion.

(D) In 1 Thess. ii 17-18, St Paul refers to an unexpected delay in paying a visit to Thessalonica, and in iii 10 he raises the strongest expectation of an immediate visit; but in 2 Thess. (which on the old hypothesis was written shortly afterwards) there is no reference to the delay nor to any approaching visit, nor does St Paul refer to a visit which fell through. Upon the old hypothesis this silence is hard to explain. If the reason why the proposed visit fell through was on St Paul's side, it is improbable that he should give no explanation of it in a subsequent letter; if on the other hand some cause on the Thessalonian side prevented the visit, it would have been natural for St Paul to express some regret in 2 Thess. This difficulty, however, completely disappears if 2 Thess. was written before 1 Thess.

(E) Timothy's mission fits in better if it was subsequent to 2 Thess. and prior to 1 Thess. The only source of information as to how the Thessalonians are faring to which St Paul refers in 2 Thess. is hearsay (*ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινας* iii 11). There is no reference to Timothy's visit at all. In 1 Thess., however, the importance of Timothy's visit is obvious. St Paul reports his return, and clearly he is largely dependent on Timothy's information in what he says (iii 1-7). It seems improbable that the news which he brought should bulk so largely in 1 Thess. and yet be conspicuous for its absence in 2 Thess., if this was also written shortly after his return.<sup>1</sup> Nor is the difficulty lessened, but is rather increased, by the community of subject in the two letters. It is almost incomprehensible that St Paul should write once to the Thessalonians and deal with certain topics on the basis of Timothy's information and shortly afterwards write again to the same people on the same topics and entirely disregard the information which had been at first so important. Hence one can only conclude that when he wrote 2 Thess. St Paul had not received Timothy's information, so that this must have been the prior Epistle.

(F) When then and where was 2 Thess. written? So far two facts are clear. It must have been written (a) when Timothy and Silas were with St Paul; for they both join in the greeting (2 Thess. i 1), and (b) if the above argument is sound, before Timothy's mission. When therefore were both these conditions satisfied? The answer to this

<sup>1</sup> A long interval between the two Epistles would, it is true, weaken this argument, but correspondingly strengthen those of sections (A) and (C). Moreover, the tendency of modern criticism is to shorten the interval. Cf. Lake *op. cit.* p. 100, 'It is generally conceded that if both Epistles are Pauline they must have been written almost at the same time', and Frame *op. cit.* p. 19, 'An interval of five or seven weeks is ample enough to account for the situation in Thessalonica suggested by 2'.

question will depend on the view taken as to the movements of Timothy, about which there has been considerable discussion.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto, to harmonize the discrepancies between 1 Thess. and the Acts it has been found simplest to assume an additional mission of Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica and back to Corinth, notice of which has been omitted in the Acts. Upon this theory then 2 Thess. might have been written from Athens; nor, apart from the original assumption, is there any difficulty in this. But another solution to the puzzle may be suggested. According to the Acts, St Paul left Timothy and Silas at Beroea with orders to rejoin him as quickly as possible: this, however, they only achieved when he had reached Corinth (Acts xvii 15, xviii 5). Hence, if this account is complete, Paul, Timothy, and Silas were not together between their parting at Beroea and their meeting again at Corinth. Nor does there seem any need to doubt this. For (1) a careful examination of 1 Thess. iii 1 shews that it is not necessary to suppose that Timothy went to Athens with St Paul. Looking back upon his experience afterwards, St Paul might well say *καταλειφθῆναι μόνοι*, instead of (e.g.) *προελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐκεῖ καταλειφθῆναι μόνοι*. Strictly, no doubt, if it was from Beroea and not from Athens that he sent Timothy, he should have said 'I chose to send Timothy to you and go on to Athens by myself and stay there alone', but the abbreviated expression is quite natural and characteristic of St Paul.<sup>2</sup> (2) It is equally natural that St Luke in Acts xvii 14 should sum up the orders Timothy and Silas received as 'to come to him as quickly as possible' and omit to mention what would naturally be taken for granted 'after having accomplished the purpose for which they were left behind'. St Luke was more interested in the movements of St Paul than in those of Timothy and Silas, and therefore he omitted what seemed to him irrelevant and superfluous.<sup>3</sup>

If therefore Timothy was sent, not from Athens, but from Beroea, the discrepancies between Acts and Thessalonians disappear: but in this case 2 Thess., if prior to 1 Thess., must have been written at Beroea before Paul, Silas, and Timothy separated.

(G) While admitting Athens as a possibility, there is certainly evidence which favours Beroea as the place where 2 Thess. was written. (1) In 2 Thess. iii 11 (*ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινος*) St Paul refers to rumours he has heard of laxness and idleness on the part of certain Christians. It is also known (Acts xvii 13) that Jews, enemies of St Paul, went down to

<sup>1</sup> For a complete account of the discussion see Lake *op. cit.* pp. 73-77. The results there reached are here assumed.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the plural *μόνοι* may point to the presence of Silas.

<sup>3</sup> For St Luke's habit of omissions cf. Rackham *Acts of the Apostles* on xii 25, p. 186, 'It is (St Luke's) way to leave obvious inferences to the reader'.

Beroea from Thessalonica and there stirred up the multitude against him. Nor could they find any better weapon than scandals and slanders. Nothing would suit his Jewish enemies better than to be able to produce cases (real or fictitious) of immorality and laxness as the result of his preaching. Hence when St Paul is found exhorting the Thessalonians to avoid giving any occasion for scandal or slander, and when it is known that men went to Beroea who would be beyond all things glad of an opportunity for spreading evil reports, it is difficult not to suppose that the one is based upon the other. (2) But there is further evidence for connecting 2 Thess. with Beroea. In iii 1 St Paul asks the brethren to pray for him, *ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου τρέχῃ καὶ δοξάζεται καθὼς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων*. The conclusion that St Paul wrote this at Beroea on the eve of the crisis which resulted in his hurried escape to Athens is almost inevitable. The words *καθὼς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς* shew that he was at the time engaged on a mission. St Luke's description of the mission at Beroea is as follows. *οἱ τοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐγγενέστεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, οἵτινες ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας. . . πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν . . . ἐπίστρευσαν . . . ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι . . . ἦλθον κακεῖ σαλεύοντες καὶ ταράσσοντες τοὺς ὄχλους* (Acts xvii 11-13). The correspondence between St Paul's request for prayer and St Luke's description of the circumstances could not well be closer. The *ἄστοι καὶ πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι* can scarcely be others than the Jews who came down and ruined the mission. The article *τῶν* clearly refers to a body of men recognized as such by the readers. The moment can scarcely have been other than when St Paul was in fear and apprehension lest his work should be undone.

(H) The objection that 2 Thess. ii 15 (*εἴτε διὰ λόγον εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν*) presupposes a letter or letters already written, and that if 2 Thess. was written from Beroea this is almost inconceivable, must now be considered. Against it the following considerations may be advanced in favour of interpreting the passage not as referring to a particular letter or letters, but generally to St Paul's correspondence as one source of his teaching.

(1) Whenever St Paul refers to a definite letter he always inserts the article. Cf. :

1 Cor. v 9 *ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.*

2 Cor. vii 8 *ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.*

Col. iv 16 *ὅταν ἀναγνώσθῃ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ ἐπιστολή.*

1 Thess. v 27 *ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.*

2 Thess. iii 14 *εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.*

Hence the omission of the article here (as in ii 2) seems to give a more

general significance to the term, and the reference will then be not so much to particular letters addressed by St Paul to the Thessalonians as to any letter known by them to be his.

(2) That such letters were in existence is shewn by iii 17 (ὁ ἐστὶ σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ); for the caution there expressed not only proves the existence and recognized authority of genuine letters, but has more point if the Thessalonians might be required to test letters not directly addressed to them.

(3) The conclusion that St Paul's letters were by this time widely read is supported by Prof. Lake's hypothesis that Romans (in the shorter recension) was originally written as a general Epistle by St Paul at the same time as Galatians, and therefore, as he would hold, already in existence (*op. cit.* p. 363).

The main contention, however, of this paper is not that 2 Thess. was written at Beroea, but that it was written before 1 Thess. Some less striking points, however, have been noticed which might be brought in as evidence both for the main contention and for the Beroean origin of 2 Thess., but these are for the moment better postponed that the main issue be not lost in side tracks.

J. C. WEST.

### SOME NOTES ON THE TEXT OF JOB.

Few scholars will, I suppose, be satisfied with the Hebrew text in Job xvi 7, 8 which is thus rendered in the R. V. (omitting the margin):—

‘But now he hath made me weary:

Thou hast made desolate all my company.

And thou hast laid fast hold on me, *which* is a witness against me:

And my leanness riseth up against me, it testifieth to my face.’

But when we compare the Hebrew with the Sept. and Vulgate the signs of corruption are evident.

אך עתה הלאני	νῦν δὲ κατάκοπόν με πεποίηκεν,
השמות כל עדתי	μωρόν, σεσηπότα,
וחקמטני לעד היי	καὶ ἐπελάβον μου· εἰς μαρτύριον ἐγενήθη·
ויקם בי כחשי	καὶ ἀνέστη ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ψεῦδός μου,
בפני יענה	κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου ἀνταπεκρίθη.

In the first line the Hebrew and Greek correspond,

‘But now he (or *it*) has made me worn out’,



but in the second line, where the Hebrew has 'Thou hast devastated all my company', the Sept. reads

'(He (or it) has made me) futile, an utter wreck'.

I suggest that the Hebrew text that they had before them ran thus:—

נשמתי כלי נצדתי

i. e. the Niphal of the verbs שמם and צדה.

The verb שמם, 'to desolate', when applied to the mind has the meaning *obstupescere*. See Buxtorf, 'Nam stupor animi est quaedam desolatio'. It is used, as Buxtorf points out, in the Targum on 1 Sam. xxi 13 'And he (David) *pretended to be a fool* in their hands'.

Thus the reading נִשְׁמַתִּי would account for the difficult word *μωρόν* in the Sept. But further; the verbs שמם and צדה often go together, the latter in the Targum being used for the former in the Hebrew. Both are found in the Hebrew text of Zeph. iii 6:

'... their towns are *desolate* (נִשְׁמָו) ... their cities are *wasted* (נִצְדוּ).'

Thus the reading I have suggested

נִשְׁמַתִּי כְּלִי נִצְדַתִּי

would account for the *μωρόν, σσηπότης* of the Septuagint.

I believe that they had a better text before them than our present Hebrew text, and that it ought to be translated

'I am desolate, utterly wasted'.

The reading ערתי, 'my company', in the Masoretic text, makes no sense, but it might easily have arisen from our suggested word נצדתי, צ being often mistaken for ע.

If my contention be right then Kittel's critical text is in error in marking the words כל ערתי as having no corresponding words in the Septuagint.

We now turn to the Vulgate and compare it with the Masoretic text.

אך עתה הלאני	'Nunc autem oppressit me dolor meus,
השמות כל ערתי	et in nihilum redacti sunt omnes artus mei.
ותקמטני לעד היה	Rugae meae testimonium dicunt contra me,
ויקם בי כחשי	et suscitatur falsiloquus adversus faciem meam,
בפני יענה	contradicens mihi.'

In the first line we note that 'dolor meus' is merely supplied from the preceding verse, 'It (i. e. my pain) has worn me out'. But when we come to the second line, where we have shewn reason to believe that the Hebrew is corrupt, we find a wholly new rendering which agrees neither with the Hebrew nor with the Septuagint.

The Vulgate would require some such Hebrew text as the following:—

נִשְׁמָו כְּלִי-יָצְרִי

Compare Job xvii 7, where יָצְרִי is rendered *membra mea* in the

Vulgate. But the text that I have suggested to account for the Septuagint is

נשמתי כלי נצדיתי

The letters י and נ are often mistaken in manuscript, as are, also, the letters ר and ד, consequently the first four letters of נצדיתי might have given rise to the word יצרי which is required by the Vulgate.

Thus, if we adopt the more difficult reading נצדיתי which we have suggested for the Sept., the rendering of the Vulgate can be accounted for. As to the words that follow, there is but little to say. It is scarcely possible that the *verb* וְחִקְמָנִי (v. 8) can be correct. We should naturally expect a *substantive* rather than a *verb*.

I suggest that the first two letters may have arisen from the last letters of the preceding word.

The parallelism requires some such reading as that of the Vulgate, 'my wrinkles'. Perhaps we might render

'Emaciation is come to be witness

And my leanness is risen against me'

Job means to say that, instead of his affliction bringing him sympathy, it is held to be a witness to his guilt.

I would suggest the following translation of our text thus revised:—

7 'But now it' has made me out-worn ;

I am desolate, utterly wasted !

8 Emaciation is come to be witness

And my leanness is risen against me !

[It testifies to my face.]'

I suspect that the last line is a gloss. It does not suit the metre and is not required by the parallelism.

The next text that we will consider is Job xix 27,

כלו כליתי בחקי

which the R. V. translates

'My reins are consumed within me'.

But בחקי never signifies 'within me', but always 'in my bosom'. The translation of the R. V. would require בקרבי not בחקי.

Thus we must translate

'My reins are consumed in my bosom'.

But the bosom is not the seat of the reins, and we begin to suspect our text.

If we turn to the Sept. and Vulgate we find

Sept. πάντα δέ μοι συντετέλεσται ἐν κόλπῳ.

Vulg. *Reposita est haec spes in sinu meo.*

<sup>1</sup> i. e. my pain.

Here we note that our suspected word '*my reins*' is gone altogether. Instead of בְּלִי בְּלִי the Sept. would seem to have read the absolute infinitive with the tense, i. e. בְּלוּ בְּלִי.

The reading of the Vulgate is more difficult and, at the same time, more interesting.

How did the thought of '*hope*' come in?

It is impossible to suppose the words to be merely a paraphrase of '*my reins are consumed in my bosom*', i. e. *are consumed with longing*: for, though *the eye* is often said to be *consumed with longing*, it implies *disappointment* and not *hope* (Ps. lxix 3 (4), cxix 81, 82, 123; Jer. xiv 6; Lam. ii 11; Job xi 20, xvii 5, &c.).

Is it then possible that the verb בָּלָה should have a different meaning?

I notice, in Buxtorf's Lexicon, that it has, in Chaldee, the sense of *hoping*.

Thus, in the Targ. on Ps. xxxi 7 בְּלִי is used for '*I hope (or trust) in God*' (see also on Pss. xxxii 10, lxii 11, xci 2, cxix 116 quoted by Buxtorf). In the last of these Targum passages בְּלִיִּית signifies '*my hope*'.

How this meaning of the word בָּלָה was acquired in Chaldee I do not know, unless it be that in every language '*to finish*' will necessarily have two divergent meanings, viz. (a) *to end by destroying*, (b) *to end by completing*.

Certainly בָּלָה in Hebrew has these two meanings, though the former is more frequent.

A thing that is *consummated in the bosom* is a *hope*, or *trust*.

I suggest, therefore, that the Hebrew text which was common to the Sept. and the Vulgate read thus,

בְּלוּ בְּלִי בְּחִי

which the Septuagint rendered

πάντα δέ μοι συντετέλεσται ἐν κόλπῳ

and the Vulgate, guided by the use of בָּלָה in Chaldee, paraphrased by  
*Reposita est haec spes in sinu meo.*

If we turn to the whole passage we shall see that the Vulgate gives the meaning which best suits the context. The Hebrew might be translated thus:—

'I know my Redeemer is living,  
And will stand the last upon earth.  
Though my bodily-tent<sup>1</sup> be destroyed,  
Yet apart from my flesh<sup>2</sup> I see God;  
Whom I shall behold as mine,  
And mine eyes shall see (Him) no stranger.'

<sup>1</sup> *Skin.*

<sup>2</sup> Text doubtful.

Then follows the line that, in the Masoretic text, would have to be translated

‘My reins are consumed in my bosom’.

Surely this is a strange ending to the magnificent hope of the preceding words?

If, however, we accept the text which the Sept. seem to have had before them, and read

כָּלִי בְּלִיתִי בְּחִמִּי

we might possibly translate

‘I am fully determined in my bosom’.

Or, if we might accept the guidance of the Chaldee as suggesting the sense of *hope* or *trust* in the word בְּלָה,

‘I fully trust in my bosom’,

or, as the Vulgate paraphrases,

‘Reposita est haec spes in sinu meo’.

I confess that such a sense for בְּלָה is not easy to defend in Hebrew, as it is generally used of that which *comes to an end* through *destruction* rather than through *completion*. But in the difficult passage, Isa. x 22 f (cf. xxviii 22), which is quoted by St Paul in Rom. ix 28, בְּלָה is used of a thing ‘*conclusive* and concise’ or, better still, a ‘*consummation*’, this ‘*consummation*’ being the sure purpose of God with respect to the remnant of Israel that should return. Since this consummation is said to ‘*overflow with righteousness*’ it can scarcely refer to ‘*destruction*’.

We now pass to Job xx 7.

The verse, with the context, in the R. V. is as follows:—

- 6 Though his excellency mount up to the heavens,  
And his head reach unto the clouds;  
7 Yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung:  
They which have seen him shall say, ‘Where is he?’

That a poet, in such a context, should have written *v.* 7 a is simply inconceivable.

We turn then to the Septuagint and we find that *v.* 7 reads thus:—

ὅταν γὰρ δοκῇ ἤδη κατεστηρίχθαι,  
τότε εἰς τέλος ἀπολείται·  
οἱ δὲ εἰδότες αὐτὸν ἐροῦσιν Ποῦ ἐστιν;

This gives a useful hint as to the original text. Evidently the Septuagint read, not כְּלִלָּה, ‘*like his dung*’, but as an *Infin.* (with an affix) of the verb גָּלַל. Now the verb גָּלַל properly signifies ‘*to roll*’, but it is also used in the sense of ‘*trusting*’ or ‘*confiding*’, e.g.

Ps. xxii 8 (9) E.V. 'He trusted on the Lord' (marg. *He rolled himself*).  
See also Ps. xxxvii 5; Prov. xvi 3.

I would therefore suggest that

כָּלָלוּ לְנֶפֶשׁ יִאֲבֹד  
רֵאיוֹ יִאֲמְרוּ אִיוֹ

should be translated

'While he is confiding (i. e. building himself up in self-confidence)  
he perishes utterly ;

Those that were looking at him say, Where is he ?'

I leave the reader to judge whether this be not more suitable to the  
context than the rendering of the R. V.

Job xxxiii 21.

The R. V. translates :

'His flesh is consumed away, that it cannot be seen ;  
And his bones that were not seen stick out.'

Those who can be satisfied with such a translation must be few in  
number.

The Masoretic text reads :—

יָכַל בְּשָׂרוֹ מֵרֵאִי  
וְשָׁפוּ עֲצָמָתָיו לֹא רָאוּ

The Septuagint :—

ἕως ἂν σαπῶσιν αὐτοῦ αἱ σάρκες,  
καὶ ἀποδείξῃ τὰ ὀστά αὐτοῦ κενά.

The first line suggests

יָכַל בְּשָׂרוֹ מֵרֵאִי

i. e.

'His flesh is consumed with leanness'.

In the second line, where the Sept. use the verb ἀποδεικνύναι for שָׁפוּ, they were probably under the impression that the root שָׁפָה signified 'to stand out' (see Isa. xiii 2), whereas it there signifies, not an *eminence*, but a *bare hill* ; the proper meaning of the verb being 'to waste' or 'make bare'. But the chief interest lies in the word κενά. Clearly the Sept. had not the words לֹא רָאוּ in their Hebrew text, but rather לָרֶק.

This gives us a hint to the true text : for the word רֶק is used of *lean* of flesh (Gen. xli 19).

I should therefore translate our revised Hebrew :—

'His flesh is consumed with leanness  
And his bones wasted with emaciation.'

Thus the parallelism is preserved.

Sometimes a Sept. rendering, even when it makes no sense, suggests a text which is better than our present Hebrew, e. g.

Job xxxvi 4.

The Hebrew text has

תָּמִים דַּעוֹת עָפָה, which would make Elihu describe himself as 'One perfect in wisdom', a title that belongs to God alone.

But the Sept. read ἀδίκως συνίεις.

Now, in Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 15, the Sept. use συνίεις for מִבִּין.

No doubt they got ἀδίκως from דַּעוֹת, reading רַעוֹת instead of דַּעוֹת.

But, in any case, there is no interest as there is no sense in their reading.

If, however, we accept מִבִּין as the correct text, i. e. מִבִּין דַּעוֹת עָפָה, we get a reading which harmonizes with the parallelism, i. e.

'For truly my words are no lie;

One is with thee who understands knowledge'.

There is an exceedingly difficult passage in the speech of Elihu (xxxvii 19-21), which the R. V. is contented to translate as follows:—

19 'Teach us what we shall say unto him;

For we cannot order *our speech* by reason of darkness.

20 Shall it be told him that I would speak?

Or should a man wish that he were swallowed up?

21 And now men see not the light which is bright in the skies:

But the wind passeth, and cleanseth them.'

The Hebrew (omitting the vowel points) is as follows:—

19 הוֹדִיעֵנוּ מַה נֹּאמֵר לוֹ

לֹא נַעֲרֵךְ מִפְּנֵי חֹשֶׁךְ

20 הִיִּסְפֵּר לוֹ כִּי אֲדַבֵּר

אִם אֲמַר אִישׁ כִּי יִבְלַע

21 וְעַתָּה לֹא רָאוּ אֹר

בְּהִיר הוּא בִּשְׁחָקִים

רוּחַ עֲבָרָה וְתַטְהֵרֵם

The difficulty begins with v. 19<sup>b</sup>, which the Sept. render καὶ πανσώμεθα πολλὰ λέγοντες, and the Vulgate nos quippe involvimur tenebris. If we seek for common ground in these two texts we note first that both omit the word לֹא, 'not'. This seems probable since the word before it is לוֹ. Next we note that the verbs πανσώμεθα and involvimur might both be accounted for if we used the verb עצר instead of ערך. Compare Job xxix 9, where the Septuagint translate שָׁרִים עָצְרוּ בְּמַלְאִים by ἄδρῳι δὲ ἐπαύσαντο λαλοῦντες. Here, of course, עָצְרוּ בְּמַלְאִים signifies literally 'They were restrained in words'.

Let us, then, suppose that the original text v. 19<sup>b</sup> read as follows:—

כִּי נַעֲצֵר מִפְּנֵי חֹשֶׁךְ

This would account for the Vulgate *nos quippe involvitur tenebris*, and also for *πανσώμεθα* in the Septuagint.

We pass to the next verse. And here the Septuagint render

הִסְפֵּר לוֹ כִּי אֲדַבֵּר

by *μη βιβλος η γραμματεὺς μοι παρέστηκεν!*

Clearly they were in despair and pointed הִסְפֵּר first as *sepher*, 'a book', and then as *sopher*, 'a scribe'. This cannot help us. The only point of interest is that they seem to have read a verb in the 3rd person instead of the 1st person אֲדַבֵּר. Let us follow this hint and write יִדְבֵּר, pointing it as a *Pual* to correspond with the *Pual* in the second member of the verse, thus:—

הִסְפֵּר לוֹ כִּי יִדְבֵּר  
אִם אָמַר אִישׁ כִּי יִבְלֵעַ

The parallelism suggests that we must translate דָּבַר not in the usual sense of *speaking* but of *destroying*, as in 2 Chron. xxii 10,

'and she *destroyed* (וַתִּדְבֵּר) all the royal seed'.

Our verse would then read

'Should it be said of him that he was destroyed  
Or would a man say that he was swallowed up?'

If these slight emendations be accepted we obtain a consistent view of the whole passage. The point of Elihu's contention is that we must not assume that God is not present simply because His action is not seen and understood. He illustrates this by the light that is shining above the clouds while all below, in the valley, may seem dark.

Thus I would translate:—

19 Teach us what we should say about Him:

For we are restrained by the darkness.

20 Should it (then) be said that He is destroyed?

Or should one say that He was swallowed up?

21 Yea now, though men see not the light,

It is bright in the upper-skies.

A wind but passes and clears them (i. e. the clouds) away.'

E. G. KING.

## THE WORDS OF AGRIPPA TO ST PAUL.

At the end of his critical note on Acts xxvi 28, after suggesting that possibly πεποιθας should be read for μεπειθεις, Dr Hort adds 'but it is no less possible that the error lies elsewhere'. These words invite suggestions.

Now any one who reads through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth books of the *Antiquities* of Josephus can hardly fail to be struck by the recurrence of the phrases ἐν ὀλίγῳ ποιεῖσθαι and ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι in the sense 'to make light of'. Thus for ἐν ὀλίγῳ ποιεῖσθαι :—

οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὰς Ἀρχελάου ἐπιστολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. (*Ant.* xvii 223.)

τὰ φρονήματα ἀνδρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ θανεῖν ποιουμένων. (xvii 256.)

πλήθος ἄπορον ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ποιουμένων  
ῥαστώνης χάριτι τῆς εἰς τὸ παρόν. (xviii 367.)

Still more common in these same books is ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι. Thus

θανάτων τε ἰδέας ὑπομένειν παρηλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθενται καὶ συγγενῶν  
τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν  
δεσπότην. (xviii 23.)

ὅπως . . . ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν ἀχθρόνα τοῦ παρόντος τιθοῖο. (xviii 20.)

ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ψεῦδος τιθέμενος. (xviii 85.)

καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὠνούμενος ἐν  
ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους. (xix 10.)

τοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθέμενοις ὅποσα πεπόνθοιεν. (xix 177.)

τὴν μὲν Γαίου τιμωρίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθέμενοι. (xix 214.)

In *Ant.* xvii 278 we find οὐκ ἐν μεγάλοις τίθεσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἀνάλωμα γενησόμενον. In *Ant.* ii 128 κέρδους ἀδίκου τὴν πρὸς Ἰωσήπον φιλίαν ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενοι. This phrase is frequent in the 'Jewish War', e.g. i 100, 150; ii 233, 466; iv 115. Cp. iii 480 (ἐν ἀντιπάλῳ), ii 123 and 146 (ἐν καλῷ).

Polybius writes ἐν μεγάλῳ τίθεσθαι. Thus

ὁ Φάβιος ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενος τὴν ἐπιβολήν, τὰλλα παρεῖς πρὸς ταῖς εἰς  
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἦν ἐπινοοίαις. (x 1.)

ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τὸ τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας. (vi 9.)

ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον. (iii 97.)

Cp. πάντ' ἐν ἐλάττονι θέμενοι. (xxxviii 2, iv 6.)



One other passage of Polybius may be quoted to shew how in such phrases τίθεσθαι and ποιεῖσθαι are interchanged :—

καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐν καλῷ τίθενται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου χρηματισμὸν ('good honest money-making'), κατὰ τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐν ὀνειδὶ ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπειρημένων πλεονεξίαν. (vi 56.)

If now we turn to Agrippa's words, the suspicion is irresistible that ἐν ὀλίγῳ belongs to ποίησαι taken as the imperative middle, and that St Luke wrote πείθειν. Agrippa has come in great state to enjoy an ἐπίδειξις from this gifted prisoner, who is in such deadly earnest that he is spoiling it all. Festus has burst out with 'You are mad'. Agrippa suggests that St Paul should not trouble himself about winning him as a convert to Christianity. Let that be quite a subordinate consideration, he urges. They are there to be entertained, and possibly to get material for a favourable report to the Emperor. 'Pray regard winning me for a Christian as a matter of little moment.'

I have not found πείθειν with a proleptic accusative to express its result. But such an accusative after διδάσκειν is fairly familiar, and πείθειν καὶ διδάσκειν is a frequent collocation in Plutarch (e.g. i 161 B, 206 A, 323 E). Pindar writes νιν φίλον ἔσανεν (*Pyth.* i 51) 'he wheedled him *into friendship*'. And Josephus has

θεραπεύειν πρῶτον (B. J. i 507) and παρασκευάζουσι . . . τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλκίμων (B. J. iii 102).

St Paul's reply is to the effect that the conversion of Agrippa and all his hearers is to him a wholly adequate object. Whether God be using him that day *only* to effect that conversion or be pleased to make it subordinate to some yet higher purpose, His servant will be equally satisfied. It is not for him to say what is primary and what is secondary with God.

G. H. WHITAKER.

## REVIEWS

## THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*The New Testament Documents: their origin and early history.* By  
GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1913.)

PROFESSOR MILLIGAN, who has given proof of his exegetical capacity in an admirable commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, here takes up the rôle of a lecturer who is addressing an audience which is educated and intelligent rather than expert or critical. But this is not to say that the present volume shews any falling off in the fullness of knowledge and exactness in detail which were manifested in the earlier volume. The Croall Lectures were delivered in 1911, and the interval between their delivery and their publication has given Dr Milligan the opportunity of thoroughly revising the text and adding a valuable appendix of notes.

The book, however, is far from being of the nature of a compendium or students' manual. Written in a singularly clear style, printed in a noble type and with an accuracy which reflects credit upon the Glasgow University Press, and illustrated by numerous photographs of papyri and other MSS, this volume will appeal to hundreds of educated men and women who are not professed students of the New Testament, and would be repelled by the technicalities of the ordinary handbook. In *The New Testament Documents* the layman has access to a review, at once attractive and trustworthy, of the most recent information upon a fascinating subject. At the same time the needs of the student have not been overlooked; the foot-notes and appendix throw open to him wide fields of research, if he has a mind to pursue any of the topics which the lecturer has been compelled to touch but lightly in the text.

It was to be expected that Dr Milligan, who shares with Dr J. H. Moulton the honour of having called attention in England to the importance of the papyri for the lexicography and grammar of New Testament Greek, would give prominence to this new and growing source of knowledge; and no part of his book will be read with more interest than the chapters in which he deals with this subject. His conclusions are expressed with great moderation; thus he writes (p. 49):—

‘In the not unnatural recoil from the old position of treating the

Greek of the New Testament as an isolated language, a tendency has shewn itself in various quarters to lose sight of certain distinctive features by which it is none the less marked, and which, notwithstanding all the linguistic and stylistic parallels that have been discovered, impart a character of its own to the language of our New Testament writings.'

Again, it is refreshing to read (p. 67 f):—

'Many passages, especially in the more literary parts of the New Testament, can be adduced where only by a close observance of the distinctions of tense and case construction can the writers' full meaning be grasped.'

The last remark safeguards some of the best work of the last generation from being sacrificed to a too hasty induction from our new knowledge. Similarly, our author refuses to follow Deissmann's sweeping affirmation that the Epistles of St Paul are 'not literary', 'not epistles'; maintaining that 'St Paul stands midway between the literary and non-literary writers of his day', and that 'when, to meet the special circumstances in which he found himself, St Paul struck out this happy combination of the letter with the epistle . . . he invented a form of composition which in its every line bears witness to the commanding personality and genius of its author' (pp. 95, 106 f). The same capacity for holding the balance between extreme opinions shews itself when Dr Milligan proceeds to speak of the interpretative character of the fourth Gospel. He points out that 'only as springing from and growing out of the soil of historic fact does the Johannine conception of Christ become for a moment possible', and that 'in certain particulars where he (St John) differs from the Synoptists . . . it is apparently they who require to be corrected by him, and not he by them' (p. 157). With like good judgement Dr Milligan is proof against the temptation to seize upon a mere conjecture and turn it into a fact. Thus (p. 181) he seems to incline to the theory that a leaf has been lost at the beginning of Hebrews, but this suggestion is at once dismissed with the remark that there is 'absolutely no direct evidence for it', and he proceeds to deal with facts as they are.

The additional notes contain much useful material; if there is little in them that is new, they bring together the most necessary documents and references in a serviceable form. Thus note A supplies a list of books for the study of the Greek papyri; note D enumerates New Testament texts on papyrus; note N is a short but valuable bibliography of recent literature on the New Testament canon. Other notes minister to the wants of the younger student and the general reader by giving at length certain illustrative texts, such as the original of the Muratorian canon, and the Gospel of Peter, and a few pertinent extracts from Papias, Irenaeus, Athanasius, and Dionysius of Alexandria.

Dr Milligan's present work does not perhaps contribute much to the knowledge of his subject, but it admirably fulfils the purpose for which it was written, and will help to create an intelligent interest in the results of an important branch of New Testament study.

H. B. SWETE.

*John Baptist and his relation to Jesus.* By ALBAN BLAKISTON, M.A. (J. & J. Bennett, Ltd., Century Press, London, 1912.)

As regards the ordinary instructed Bible reader there is certainly room for a work which essays to rescue the Baptist from his traditional position of entire subordination to Jesus, and a welcome should await it from the 'students of Christian origins' to whom a somewhat venturesome allusion is made in the preface.

The book is quite well arranged. Industrious in his research, Mr Blakiston has manifestly been at great pains with the discussion of material and presentment of results. There is much good matter in his pages, while special interest attaches to the closing chapter, which offers a sort of impressionist biography of 'the strong man' who has allowed 'free rein to his unhappy dubiety'. Albeit prophet of the new, John was himself of the old dispensation; he 'belonged body and soul to that which was destined to die out . . . content to retain his old methods, to live in the past, and to forego that association with Jesus which might have brought him new light'. As it was, 'victim of the prepossessions which defined for him the nature of the Messiah's office and work', and carrying his great error to the grave with him, he rushed to a self-invited fate. Comet-like had been his career; 'strange and pathetic as any we read of in the whole range of history'. It is added: 'Perhaps he is not lost to us in reality. For as a comet is now and again captured by the force of the attraction it has once felt, so may the Baptist, after a long orbit in the outer darkness, once more respond to the Divine call, and come to shelter himself in the life-giving rays of the Sun of Righteousness.'

Mr Blakiston has not exactly rediscovered John. That he brings any real contribution to the stock of knowledge may be doubted; it is, further, not altogether likely that scholarship will at once identify the real John with the commanding yet misguided personage of his conception. His exegesis is not always convincing nor his ground too firm; the occasional mixed metaphor is a blemish; conjecture can cease to be plausible to become pure romance: how in the world can the author know that 'Jesus and the Baptist met, solitary by the water-side, as the darkness drew on' and that 'in the darkness they parted'? There is

a misprint in the first line of p. 77, and Note 86 appears to have dropped out. These things said, I would strike that note of appreciation which is compelled by more than one perusal of what in any case is a stimulating piece of work. It is Mr Blakiston's no small merit to have shewn how strong a case there is for the suggestion—his own modest term—that 'the Prophet's life was spread over a longer period of time, his mission was more independent in character, his influence upon his own, and upon successive, generations more far-reaching, than'—as I should put it—is implied by the manner of the Gospel representation. The book serves a useful purpose and should find many readers.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

*Novi Testamenti Lexicon Graecum.* Auctore FRANCISCO ZORELL, S.J.  
Cum approbatione Superiorum. (Sumptibus P. Lethielleux, Editoris, Parisiis, 1911.)

THIS Lexicon forms part of a new Jesuit 'Cursus' containing various helps to Biblical studies along with a complete Commentary. It is a careful compilation quite up to the level of modern research, and recognizes the work of English scholars more fully than is sometimes the case with authors who have had a Teutonic training. The results of, e.g., Blass, Dalman, Deissmann, Helbing, Mayser, are largely incorporated, full justice is done to the papyri, and a reasonable attitude to the Semitic question is taken up. This JOURNAL is sometimes quoted. Interesting and useful notes are given, e.g., on ἀπέχω, ἀρπαγμός, Βαραχίας, Παῦλος, στίγμα. The interpretation of John ii 4 is worthy of note, and the view that in John v 1 the name of the feast has been lost is probable. Sometimes there is a useful summary, e.g. of the Johannine usages of ἐν or the history of such a word as τραχηλίζω. Naturally there are some incompletenesses, e.g. the contrast of ἄλλος and ἕτερος in Gal. i 6, the weakened sense of ἴδιος, τίς = πότερος, the possibility that ἁρειος πάγος may signify the council, the distinction of προσκυνεῖν c. dat. and c. acc.; ἀπόστολος in Rom. xvi 7 is taken differently s.v. and under ἐν. The printing is clear and good and there are hardly any misprints, The Latinity is plain and intelligible, and the work should prove useful, especially to English Roman Catholics. It is dedicated to His Holiness Pius X.

G. C. RICHARDS.

*Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testamente*, mit Nachweis der Abweichungen des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs vom Attischen und mit Hinweis auf seine Übereinstimmung mit dem hellenistischen Griechisch, von Dr HEINRICH EBELING. (Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover und Leipzig, 1913.)

DR EBELING is known as the author of a lexicon to Homer, and a special feature of this latest Lexicon to the New Testament is indicated in the title. A simple notation is adopted to shew the earliest appearance of a word and the continuance of its use in later times, whether in Inscriptions, Papyri, or authors, references to the various collections being given which, with due attention to the remarks in the Preface and the list of writings cited, supply sufficient information. Notable in this respect is the warning in the Preface that though the writers of the New Testament used the current language as a medium, they often poured into the old forms new meanings and a new content, so that in such cases little in the way of elucidation can be derived from Hellenistic usage.

With a view to economy of space the abbreviations are so concise (usually a single letter), and to English students at all events so largely unfamiliar, that constant reference to the introductory pages is necessary before the Dictionary can be used with ease: but I believe it justifies the publisher's claim for it that it compares favourably with other N. T. Lexicons in scholarship, completeness, and cheapness (it costs only 9s.). Under *δοχή* L 2, 59 should be L 5, 59; and there is space on the introductory pages for a list of the abbreviations by which the books of the Old Testament are cited.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

## HISTORY OF DOCTRINE.

*Nestorius: Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*, traduit en français par F. Nau, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1910.)

THOUGH this book is now three years old, it is of such importance for the student of Church history that it ought not to be left unnoticed even at this date in this JOURNAL.

The translation is prefaced by a brief but excellent Introduction of twenty-eight pages on (1) the author, (2) his doctrines, (3) his works, especially the Book of Heraclides. The translation itself, with notes, runs to 332 large and closely printed octavo pages. I am not qualified to pronounce a critical judgement upon the translation as such,

but it appears to me to be done with the accuracy which was to be expected from M. Nau. He has exercised skill in adjusting the dislocations which have occurred here and there in the Syriac MS. He has greatly aided the reader by supplying in innumerable instances proper names or substantives instead of the ambiguous pronouns of the original, though in all cases where he has done so the departure from the text is indicated by ( ), and sometimes also in the foot-notes. There are a few instances where perhaps M. Nau has adhered too closely to his text, without correcting it, as he often does. On p. 55, for example, l. 11 from the bottom, a negative ought surely to have been omitted: the argument requires that the persons in the Trinity should have been revealed. But these points are hardly worth observing. M. Nau has succeeded in presenting us with a clear and readable version of a book which deserves the attention of all patristic students.

The Book of Heraclides was known to Evagrius, who refers to it in his History (i 7). No copy of the original Greek is known to exist, but it was early translated into Syriac, under the title of *Tegourtâ of Heraclides*. The pseudonym of Heraclides is of course due to the fact that Nestorius's works were not allowed to circulate after 431; but there is no attempt in the book itself to conceal the author's identity. M. Nau, in an article to which he refers on p. xvii of his Introduction, has shewn that *Tegourtâ*, which means *Bazaar* or *Business*, represents an original Πραγματεία, which would here mean simply a Treatise. One copy of this Syriac translation was discovered some years ago at Qudshanis, the seat of the 'Nestorian' Patriarch. It was written in the eleventh or twelfth century, but suffered at the hands of the Kurds in the middle of the nineteenth. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Patriarch obtained copies of the MS, and it was through them that Mr Bethune-Baker was enabled to reintroduce the work to European notice in his *Nestorius and his Teaching* (1908), in which he gave copious extracts from it. Then the complete Syriac text was published by the famous Syriac scholar, Père Bedjan, with whose co-operation the present French translation was produced.

Considered from the literary point of view, the book is very defective. It begins in the form of a dialogue, and is described as composed by Evagrius διαλεκτικῶς. The speakers are Nestorius himself and a person, real or imaginary, called Sophronius, who speaks (p. 97) as if he were one of Nestorius's opponents in the Council of Ephesus. But the dialogue, not well sustained even at the outset, soon comes to an unmarked end. After p. 97 Sophronius speaks no more, and only reappears once, on p. 330, as the person to whom, as Evagrius observes, the book is addressed. Besides this primary weakness in the plan, the book consists of heterogeneous materials. It may roughly be divided into three

sections. The first eighty-eight pages consist of an abstract treatise on various heresies, though all more or less handled with an eye to Cyril. The main bulk of the book, pp. 88-290, is a running commentary upon the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, which Nestorius has in his hands. The concluding section, pp. 290-331, is a narrative of certain events which followed upon the author's condemnation at that Council. The work may well have been composed at widely different dates; and the circumstances of Nestorius's later life—the *Tragedy*, as his friend Irenaeus called it—may account for the literary inconsequences by which the treatise is disfigured.

No doubt the part of the book which will be read with most interest is the historical part. It begins abruptly (on p. 89), because there is here a lacuna in the MS, with an address of expostulation to Cyril, comparing his violent behaviour at Ephesus with the meekness and patience of the writer himself. Perhaps the most noteworthy details at this point are those which concern the relations between Nestorius and Pulcheria on the one hand and Theodosius on the other. He speaks (p. 89) of the affection which Pulcheria had had for him, and how he had lost it; of the Emperor's personal favour (p. 89), his rebuke to the Cyrilline party (p. 114), his horror at the account of their teaching (p. 252), the means by which the Emperor was at last detached from him, though affirming, like another Pilate, that he found no fault in him (pp. 242, 245); of the weakness of Theodosius in view of the determined bearing of Cyril (pp. 247, 249, 253). The intervention of Dalmatius is told with great fullness (pp. 241-247). The bribery employed against Nestorius is mentioned more than once (pp. 248, 253, esp. 255 and 307); in an appendix (pp. 367 foll.) M. Nau prints, or reprints, the Latin translation of a letter which contains a schedule of *eulogiae*, or presents, to be employed in this manner in the year 432 or so. It deserves the attention of the antiquary, as well as that of the historian.

The comments of Nestorius upon the peace made between Cyril and the Orientals in 433 are very interesting. He takes calmly the repudiation of himself personally, which was the price paid by the Orientals. No complaints are made against the conduct of John of Antioch and his adherents; but Cyril is treated as having made a complete, though insincere, surrender of his former theological position. 'He has no clear and certain ideas . . . He is like Origen, who says anything, to gain favour with anybody, seeking to humour every one by his assertions' (p. 284). This was, of course, the view of others less deeply concerned than Nestorius;—it is hardly necessary to say that it is unjust.

Undoubtedly the part of the book which is of most importance for the historian is the concluding section. In it Nestorius gives a summary of the events which took place after his condemnation, the emergence



of Eutychianism, the troubles of Flavian, the financial embarrassments of Cyril, the Robber Council of Ephesus ; the judgements (as Nestorius considers them) which fell upon the empire for its acceptance of the doctrine of a passible God. He tells of the introduction of the hymn *Trisagion*, at Constantinople, which seemed to him a return to sound belief, and of the blessing which followed its use. He tells of a wooden cross which was employed against the barbarians with good effect, and of the lesson to be deduced from it. He welcomes the Tome of Leo, as setting forth his own doctrine. 'When they had taken away from me the power to state my views, and would not believe me, God raised up those who were believed when they stated the same . . . As they were prejudiced against me, . . . God raised up a preacher who was not tainted by that prejudice—Leo, who proclaimed the truth without fear' (p. 327). 'Many blamed me for not writing to Leo, Bishop of Rome . . . The reason why I did not write was this. It was not because I am a proud or unintelligent man, but it was for fear of hindering in his course one who was walking well, because of the existing prejudice against me. I was content to suffer, in order that men might receive without scruple the teaching of the Fathers' (p. 330).

'The Fathers' whom Nestorius had in view were pre-eminently Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The work before us does not bear evidence of wide patristic reading—though not much erudition was to be expected in a book composed in such circumstances. Nestorius refers to passages of Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa ; but only, if I am not mistaken, to such as he had at hand in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus. The Fathers whom he really knew and cared about were the celebrated teachers of the school of Antioch who had formulated the doctrine which he taught. His feeling with regard to them is not unreasonable. They had never in their lifetime been condemned for their teaching. Theologians like Basil and Gregory, as Nestorius points out (p. 292), had ample opportunities of combating their errors, if errors there were, and did not do so. It was strange that now they should be posthumously treated as heretics, because they taught what Nestorius was condemned for teaching (p. 291 foll.).

Nestorius's own doctrine of the person of Christ is fully disclosed in this work. The result is, in my opinion, to make him appear more of a 'Nestorian' than of late years he has often been held to be. That he was not so extreme in that direction as Theodore may be conceded. But that two *πρόσωπα*, and not merely two natures, were conjoined in Christ is asserted and reasserted on almost every page of the argumentative or doctrinal portions of the treatise. Nestorius is very emphatic in repudiating the opinion attributed to him by his opponents, that there

are two Sons or two Christs (e.g. pp. 199, 209, 280), one human and one Divine. It was the easier for him to do this, inasmuch as, after the example of Marcellus, he denied that the name of Son (not to mention that of Christ) was applicable to the Word before His Incarnation. Son, Christ, Lord, are names that belong to the Incarnate (e.g. pp. 185, 190 f). Even for that reason there obviously could not be two Christs or two Lords. But besides this, the view of Nestorius was that the union of the two natures, or the two *πρόσωπα*, was so complete as to produce but a single *πρόσωπον*, which he calls 'the *πρόσωπον* of the union' (p. 127 f). There are not after the Incarnation two distinct objects of worship; a single act of worship is addressed to an undivided Christ (p. 192). And yet Nestorius is in no uncertainty about the two *πρόσωπα* of whom the one Christ is composed. 'There are two *πρόσωπα*—of Him who puts on the garment, and of Him who is put on' (p. 193). Possibly it might be maintained that *πρόσωπον* on Nestorius's lips does not mean a person in the ordinary sense of the word—and indeed it is difficult to form a consistent idea of what he meant by it. If he is to be judged strictly by his technical language, the Incarnation resulted in the formation of a third *πρόσωπον*, different from the *πρόσωπον* of the Word, different from the *πρόσωπον* of the man whom He assumed, but composed of both. This is made clearer occasionally where Nestorius drops his technical terms. 'He is not another and another (no doubt in the original *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*). Our Saviour is made up of another and another (presumably *ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου ὁ σωτήρ*), but He is not another and another; God forbid' (p. 186).

Nestorius explained to himself the relation between the Word in Christ and the Man whom He assumed by the curious theory of a mutual exchange of *πρόσωπα* between them. M. Tixeront has pointed out in the third volume of his *Histoire des Dogmes* (p. 31) that this theory does not appear in any of the fragments of Nestorius which are known to date from before his deposition and exile. It was probably evolved in the process of the controversy. Nestorius returns to it again and again, and evidently set great store by it. 'The divinity', he says, 'makes use of the *πρόσωπον* of the humanity, and the humanity of that of the divinity. In this manner we speak of a single *πρόσωπον* for the two. Thus God is shewn to be complete, because His nature is not at all impaired by the union; and likewise the Man is complete, and is not deprived, in consequence of the union, of any of the activities or sufferings of His nature' (p. 213). The theory seems to answer to the *communicatio idiomatum* of other writers. 'There are in the Christ two natures, . . . and one *πρόσωπον* of the Son,<sup>1</sup> of which the humanity also makes use, and

<sup>1</sup> Nestorius is not always consistent in confining this designation to the Word made flesh.

one of the Man, of which the Divinity makes use. They do not make mutual use of each other's natures, but of the natural *πρόσωπον* of the natures; for even in the union the natures remain unconfused' (p. 272 f). That is to say, the Divine and the human nature do not actually do and suffer the things that belong to each other; but what the Divine Word does is attributed to the Man, and what the Man suffers is attributed to the Word, because the union between them is so close.

What made Nestorius so resolute in his maintenance of this doctrine was that it appeared to him to be the only safeguard against two forms of belief for which he entertained the greatest abhorrence. The first was the Apollinarian doctrine, which made the manhood of Christ incomplete, only supplemented by the Divine Word. His detestation of this view appears everywhere. He would not admit that there was any analogy between the relation of soul to body and that of the Divinity to the Manhood of Christ. At great length he sets forth that such a union destroys the voluntary and moral element in the conjunction, making the victories of the humanity a purely necessary consequence, and likewise the humiliations of the Divine nature (e.g. p. 142 foll.). It is impossible for any but incomplete natures to be thus fused (p. 276). Rightly or wrongly, it was in this sense that Nestorius understood Cyril's *ἔνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν* (e.g. p. 137 f). The word *ὑπόστασις* to him meant nature, not person; and to say that there was a 'natural union' put an end to all that Nestorius most prized.

The second form of belief which Nestorius mainly combats is that which attributes suffering (in the widest sense) to the Divine nature. He is even more concerned to oppose this than to oppose Apollinarianism. To his mind Cyril was an Arian, or worse than an Arian—a Pagan, because he lowered the Godhead in this manner. It is unnecessary to mention particular passages, because this is in effect the main contention of the book. The degradation of the conception of Godhead which seemed to be involved in speaking of God as born of a woman, or God as a child of three months old, was his reason for refusing the term *θεοτόκος*, and for a famous utterance of his at Ephesus.

There is much that is admirable in Nestorius's insistence upon the true and full humanity of Christ, and upon its importance for the redemption of mankind. Perhaps his idea of the redemption may be tinged with Pelagian conceptions; but such thoughts as those which he offers on p. 188 cannot be dispensed with in Christian soteriology; if Christ had not worked by truly human methods 'our fall would have remained unhealed, like the paralytic who takes care of himself and abstains from walking, while the physician walks for him, and carries him, instead of saying, "Rise up and walk, for thou art healed to walk"'.

Subjoined to the Book of Heraclides, M. Nau gives us the original Greek of three short sermons of Nestorius on the Temptation of Christ, which he has had the good fortune to discover in the Paris library. They form a welcome addition to the *Nestoriana* formerly known. There is nothing, however, very remarkable about them. It would require a vigilant eye to detect Nestorianism in them. On p. 345, l. 7, we read, *τούτου δὲ τῇ θεοτόκῳ παρθένῳ συμβεβηκός*: the phrase comes in quite naturally and simply, as if familiar to speaker and hearers alike. The exegesis of St Matthew's narrative is plain and straightforward. Like many of the Fathers, Nestorius has an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the Tempter's method of reasoning; but he shews good sense and reverence in dealing with the subject as a whole. M. Nau gives a useful Index at the end of the volume.

A. J. MASON.

Before the publication of M. Nau's translation of the *Book of Heraclides* a careful study of the Christology of Nestorius on the basis of the materials then available was made by Dr Leonhard Fendt (*Die Christologie des Nestorius*, J. Kösel, Kempten, 1910). I undertook to review it in the JOURNAL, but was prevented from doing so at the time, and I hope that the learned author and the publisher will have me excused if after this interval I only call the attention of students to it as in various ways one of the best studies on the subject with which I am acquainted. It includes, besides a careful examination of the conceptions of Nestorius himself, a useful collection of the judgements of his opponents and the views of his 'party'.

I would also call attention to M. Nau's own little book *Nestorius d'après les sources orientales* in the useful series 'Questions Historiques' (Bloud et Cie, Paris, 1911), in which he deals with the history rather than the doctrinal questions involved, and to the valuable papers which he has published during recent years in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*. All English scholars will sympathize with him in his review of M. Jugie's prejudiced book on the subject in the last volume (1912, vii (xvii) 4).

J. F. B-B.

*Histoire des Dogmes dans l'antiquité chrétienne*, III La fin de l'âge patristique (430-800), par J. TIXERONT. (V. Lecoffre, J. Gabalda & Cie, Paris, 1912.)

THE third, and it appears the final, volume of M. Tixeront's History of Doctrines covers the period from 430 to 800. It is, of course, largely concerned with the great Christological controversies which

led up to and succeeded the Council of Chalcedon. Through the intricacies of these controversies M. Tixeront steers his way with wonderful skill and ease. Almost he persuades us that a clear and intelligible narrative of the course of the complicated history of the period can be written, by one who takes, as he does, full account of recent investigations and endeavours to enter freely into the points of view of Nestorians and Monophysites alike. M. Tixeront will not have either school rehabilitated. Even the Severians, who are admitted to teach the doctrine of Cyril in his own language, are condemned for their use of terms in a sense other than that which the Church had affixed to them by their time. But they meant what was right. M. Tixeront condemns with charity, and the *imprimatur* is given to the view that the great Fathers were not always so absolutely immaculate and the great heretics were not so utterly wrong as they have commonly been represented. The semi-Pelagian controversy is handled in a similar spirit. Always the Church maintains the just mean, and the Popes were the chief exponents of the way of truth. M. Tixeront's serenity does not desert him even in dealing with the Fifth General Council, its contradiction of the Fourth, and the recantation of Vigilius and its bearing on the dogma of papal infallibility. 'It is not our business here', he says, 'to solve these questions. They can be solved however without too much difficulty by a careful application of the theological principles which relate to them' (p. 151 n. 1). And in like manner with regard to Honorius and the Sixth Council he describes the action of Honorius as an error rather of practical conduct than of doctrine properly so called (p. 188 n. 1).

These opinions, however, may be regarded as only amiable sentiments expressed by way of comment on the history as it passes under observation. No one need quarrel with the *pietas* which inspires them; and if synthesis be unattainable, and the way of antithesis is the way of truth, there can be no doubt that the practical instincts which so often found expression in the pronouncements that came from Rome helped to keep the way open. Here and there, in M. Tixeront's work, in spite of its high quality, I think there are mistakes, as when it is stated that Nestorius identifies the sense of *ὑπόστασις* with that of *φύσις* (p. 24 n. 7), or that Severus did not distinguish between *φύσις* or *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον* (p. 118). But these and some other statements to which exception might be taken, are apparently considered judgements of the author; though, in repeating the customary statement that the Creed was recited at Toledo in 589 with the addition of the *Filioque* (p. 519), he seems to have overlooked the facts to which attention was called in the JOURNAL (ix 301 ff) some years ago by Dr Burn. Yet I believe that he gives, all through his history, the facts, and references to

sources, fairly and fully enough to guide a student to the position from which he will be able to judge for himself; and this third volume is, I think, even more valuable than the two earlier ones, inasmuch as it deals with a period on which information is much less easily accessible to ordinary students. Among the most useful chapters, in this respect, are the two on Latin theology from the death of Augustine to the beginning of the reign of Charlemagne, and under Charlemagne, and those on the controversy about images and the theology of St John of Damascus. M. Tixeront has put all students of the history of doctrine under a debt of gratitude.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

*The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church: A study of Christian teaching in the age of the Fathers.* By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D., D.Litt. (Macmillan & Co., 1912.)

IN this sequel to his study of primitive Christian teaching on the Holy Spirit (*The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*), Dr Swete has returned to the subject of his earlier and well-known books *On the Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (1873) and *On the History of the Doctrine of the Procession* (1876). But the new book is in no sense a mere reprint of old materials. With that thoroughness, which he has taught us to expect from him, Dr Swete in preparing for this book has read again 'all the more important Greek and Latin patristic authorities of the first five centuries, and a few which belong to the sixth, seventh, and eighth'. Thus he has sought to form his impressions afresh, and that to our lasting gain. There is a largeness of view about his new work which shews how during forty years his mind has matured with the increase of his knowledge, and the epigrammatic terseness of many of his judgements on men and books, which are as fresh as they are sound, owe their freshness to this effort, which few men of his years would undertake even as a labour of love.

The book follows the ordinary historical lines. Part I deals with the period from the end of the first century to the end of the Ante-Nicene period. Part II leads us from the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the Patristic period. Part III is a masterly summary of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the ancient Church.

The most original feature in the book, as I have already hinted, is in the estimates formed of the writers passed under review. Thus Dr Swete calls attention to the importance of the Apology of Athenagoras, which has not always received the attention it deserves. The reader will 'take note of the almost passionate desire of this early Christian philosopher to investigate the contents of his faith, not as

a matter of curiosity, but because the study seemed to him to offer the only worthy satisfaction of the Christian intellect. Nothing else in life appeared to him worth living for'. This is finely expressed, and it is the veteran scholar's sympathy with Athenagoras that gives insight into the merit of his contribution to the doctrine of the Spirit, 'holding the first place in the great succession of teachers through whom the Church reached the foundations of her trinitarian faith'.

Dr Swete's sympathies, however, are not narrow. Even amid the chaos of Gnostic theology he notes how 'Gnosticism by holding fast to the Fourth Gospel and St Paul was able, notwithstanding its wide departure from historical Christianity, to retain something of the fervour of Christian devotion and with it some measure of spiritual life'. Montanism also, 'remembered for its follies rather than for the permanent service it has rendered to the faith', created a movement which was on the whole beneficial.

The importance of Irenaeus as 'the first constructive theologian of historical Christianity after the Apostolic age' is generally recognized, and the varying fortunes of the struggle which orthodoxy waged against Monarchians and Anti-Monarchians have been often described. It is a relief to turn from the controversies in which Tertullian figures as a Montanist and Anti-Monarchian to the writings in which he represents 'the general tone of African Christianity', on lines which Cyprian follows.

There is general agreement also as to the contribution which the Church and School of Alexandria made in the third century to the quickening of Christian thought, but Dr Swete passes to less trodden ground when he includes among other Ante-Nicene documents early creeds and hymns and prayers. He follows Mr Edmund Bishop in pointing out that there is no direct evidence for an 'epiklesis' of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist before the fourth century, and that the thought of the Logos descending on the elements was not altogether abandoned at a later date (p. 292 n. 1).

Notable in the second part, in the chapter on the Arians and the Church, is the admirable balance with which the debt of the Church to Arian leaders who 'persistently called attention to the teaching and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit' is admitted, at the same time that their unsatisfactory and even misleading statement of His mission and work is not ignored. Professor Gwatkin has not left much for subsequent students to discover about the failure of Arianism, but Dr Swete is again original in his studies of the leading characters of the period, in his criticism of the intellectual attitude of Eusebius of Caesarea, and in his admirable summaries of the teaching of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, and Epiphanius.

Athanasius 'placed the whole subject of the interior relations in the life of the Holy Trinity on a scientific basis', but it was the Cappadocians who developed the intellectual form of the doctrine. We are led to admire the uplifted attitude of mind of Basil in his letters and treatises, the eloquence of Gregory of Nazianzus in the greatest of his sermons, the acuteness of Gregory of Nyssa.

An illuminating chapter follows on Antiochenes and Alexandrians, in which even Cyril of Alexandria is revealed in his most spiritual meditations on the rich gifts of the Spirit which enable us to serve God with all our powers and with no sin-divided allegiance. Dr Swete exclaims with some indignation 'any portrait of the man which fails to take account of sidelights such as these passages throw upon his inner life is clearly inadequate and unjust'.

Having traced the developement of Greek theology from Chalcedon to John of Damascus, Dr Swete turns back to Western writers, such as Hilary of Poitiers, and uses the fruits of recent research in his comments on the teaching of Niceta of Remesiana, and a very different character Isaac the Jew, whose *Questions on the Old and New Testaments* shew an 'orthodoxy which has little influence on character and life, but answers with precision and fullness to local or contemporary belief'.

In the chapter on Augustine stress is laid on the fact that he devoted the leisure of many years to the completing of his 'consummate treatise' *On the Trinity*, in which his originality is most conspicuous, and in which from the Western point of view the doctrine of the Procession from the Son is clearly stated. 'The Procession of the Spirit from Both has been described as the Double Procession. But as Augustine teaches it, it is not double. The Father and the Son are regarded as One Source, and the procession is timeless and simultaneous.' Dr Swete claims for Augustine that even on these subjects 'he writes as a religious man rather than in the spirit of the controversialist', and mentions the Holy Spirit most frequently in relation to the struggles and victories of the spiritual life.

In his account of the later history of the Western view of the Procession Dr Swete ascribes to the Roman deacon Paschasius a treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, which Engelbrecht has proved to be from the pen of a more interesting author, Faustus of Riez. With regard to the insertion of the words *et filio* into the Constantinopolitan Creed Dr Swete makes the doubtful assertion that the Toletan fathers of A.D. 589 probably had the words in their Spanish version.

Some years ago I published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (January 1908) some collations of Spanish MSS to shew that while some MSS retain a pure text, the words begin to creep into the margin or



between the lines of the Creed as quoted at Toledo, before the interpolation is made in the text of the Creed as quoted at Chalcedon. The explanation of the addition may be found in the words of the Third Canon of the Council of Toledo which anathematized any one who did not believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is coeternal and consubstantial with the Father and the Son. A copyist might be excused for supposing that the words had dropped out of the text of the Creed.

The summary of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the ancient Church is confined to the limits already laid down. It deals with His Godhead, His relation to the Father and the Son, His personal life, His mission, and His work in Creation, Inspiration, the Incarnation, the Sacraments, and the Sanctification of life. The chapters are short but most suggestive, and contain many references<sup>1</sup> to the preceding pages on which the authorities are quoted. But I cannot refrain from the wish that in the chapter on Inspiration at least Dr Swete had transgressed his limits and discussed some modern theories in the light of the old. When he passes on to the work of the Spirit in the sanctification of life he uses phrases which require no interpretation to make them apply to the spiritual experience of to-day. He disclaims the suggestion that the thought of the modern Church should be forced into moulds cast in the first six centuries, but the great realities of the Holy Spirit's work remain unchanged and unchangeable: 'the illuminating power of the Spirit, which reveals God in Christ to the soul, and consecrates the intellect to the service of its Maker; the restorative power by which the Divine Seal, the image of the Son, as the Son is of the Father, impresses itself on the nature of man, reproducing the Divine lineaments, and finally deifying and perfecting it in the likeness of God; the exhilarating power which brightens life and fills it with a joy which anticipates the blessedness of the saints in light'.

A. E. BURN.

*Leçons de Théologie dogmatique, tome i, Dieu.* Par L. LABAUCHE. (Paris, Librairie Bloud et Cie, 1911.)

PROFESSOR LABAUCHE has, in these pages, given us a singularly careful and lucid statement of orthodox Roman Catholic theology. After the difficulties which the reader experiences in grappling with similar books written in English and German, it is a relief and a pleasure to turn to a writer and a language capable of giving clear expression to even the most difficult ideas. M. Labauche divides his work into three parts, dealing successively with the doctrines of the Trinity, of the

<sup>1</sup> On p. 375 n. 5 there is a misprint. For 375 read 257?

Incarnation, and of the Atonement. His method is to state the doctrine, to shew that in its various aspects it accords with Scripture and the Fathers, to devote some attention to its treatment by St Thomas Aquinas, and then to consider difficulties and refute objections. Protestantism in the persons of Harnack, Sabatier, and others, and Modernism as represented by Loisy, are treated calmly and without denunciation, though no concession is ever made. The account of the Trinitarian doctrine of St Thomas seems to me an admirable corrective of that exposition of the Angelic Doctor's meaning with which Dr Rashdall has familiarized us, and which approaches dangerously near to Sabellianism. M. Labauche is not always satisfactory in his treatment of the Fathers, real inadequacies of thought in such writers as Justin and Tertullian being almost wholly neglected. He seems to contradict himself on the difficult question of the condemnation of *ὁμοούσιος* at Antioch in 268. He first argues (p. 54) that Paul conceived of a Sabellian identity of Christ with God, expressed by the term *ὁμοούσιος*, as the only alternative to his own doctrine, while later (p. 117) he writes 'la doctrine de Paul, avec la terminologie qui l'exprime, est condamnée au concile d'Antioche'. Probably Paul did not use the word, but he may have fastened on it a Sabellian sense which forced the bishops to repudiate it. M. Labauche discusses the Nicene Council and the Arian reaction without any reference to the phrase *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*, which has played so large a part in recent discussion. And his assertion that the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father had been implicitly inserted in the Creed of Constantinople, which he is still inclined to attribute to the Council, will hardly gain assent. His Biblical exegesis has often an old-fashioned 'proof-text' ring to one accustomed to modern work upon the Gospels. But he makes a good case for his statement that Trinitarian doctrine did not arise from metaphysical speculation, but gave expression to the characteristic experiences of Christian life. The book is not original, but it will help the careful student who wishes to clarify his ideas.

*L'Évolution du dogme catholique: I Les Origines*, par FÉLIX GOBLET D'ALVIELLA. (Librairie Nourry, Paris, 1912.)

IF M. D'Alviella's first volume on the Evolution of Catholic Dogma is an earnest of what is still to come, it is impossible to look forward with any great degree of hopefulness to the rest of his work. He writes on the New Testament from the most advanced critical point of view. Loisy, so he tells us, does not go far enough for him. Now there is plenty of room for work of this sort: it may be very instructive. But

a critical reader may reasonably look for two things—some measure of originality, and an absence of glaring improbabilities. He will find neither in this work ; or perhaps it would be fairer to say that he will find whatever originality there is bound up with the most glaring improbabilities. M. D'Alviella's unoriginality is particularly striking : he does not write like a man who has made a wide study of the work of different scholars on the subject of which he treats. I have not counted more than fifteen comparatively modern authors to whom he refers. Harnack is quoted three or four times, though not when M. D'Alviella tells us that 'we know to-day that the friend and disciple of Paul is the author neither of the Acts nor of the Third Gospel'. But there is reference after reference to Loisy and Reuss, and numerous passages from their works are included in the text. It is odd to find so modern a scholar as M. D'Alviella quoting literally no one in connexion with St Paul, except Reuss and A. Sabatier.

The eight chapters of the book tell us about the Religious Ethic of Jesus, the Apostolic Tradition and Activity, the Apostle Paul, the Strife between Universalism and Particularism, Christian Literature dependent on Paul, the Synoptic Tradition, the Fourth Gospel and its Origins, and the Theology of the Fourth Gospel. A few of M. D'Alviella's conclusions may be noted.

Jesus, who 'in announcing the coming of the kingdom effaced himself completely before it', never thought of Himself as Messiah, and so the entry into Jerusalem 'which in truth had nothing solemn about it' could not be a Messianic act : Jesus was perhaps tired by His long journey. Not the least authenticity attaches to the Sayings in which Jesus foretold His death and resurrection. Schweitzer has told us that Jesus went up to Jerusalem to die there, but M. D'Alviella knows that up to the very last Jesus never thought that His life or death could affect at all the relations of God and man. If Jesus had ever spoken of His death the disciples could not have been affected as they were by the fact. But since they were so greatly affected how did the faith in the resurrection grow up? for M. D'Alviella has as little belief in 'objective visions' as in the empty tomb : the latter he speaks of as a 'legend', and leaves entirely undiscussed. Briefly, the answer is that Jesus had made such an impression upon the disciples, that in the familiar scenes of Galilee they could not believe that He was not still by their side : 'they thought they heard his voice'. And M. D'Alviella produces Bernadette Soubirous, her vision and its results, as, apparently, a good parallel.

I pass to his treatment of some of the narratives of Acts, and of the struggle between the Jewish-Christians and Paul. The former have the support of the apostles at Jerusalem, 'hostile to Paul', and we

can very probably see their influence on the text of the Gospels in such a passage as Matt. x 5-8. Stephen was the first person of a definitely 'universalistic' tendency. The older apostles remained 'particularistic'. It is highly likely that Peter insisted on Cornelius being circumcised: otherwise he would have been accused at Jerusalem of dispensing with this rite instead of merely having eaten with the uncircumcised. As for the 'Council' of Acts xv, it was a half-victory for the Jewish-Christians. M. D'Alviella, neglecting the textual difficulties and Harnack's careful argument that the decree gave the abstract of an ethical catechism, looks on it as a series of ceremonial enactments, concluding with a prohibition of 'marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity'.

The treatment of St Paul is the least unsatisfactory piece of work in the book, even though there is nothing very illuminating about it. Passing to the Christian literature dependent on Paul, we note that in Hebrews 'the personality of Jesus is completely detached from humanity'—a remarkable statement even for M. D'Alviella; while as to the Apocalypse we can only know negatives—the author was not the apostle John, nor did he write the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Gospel itself is discussed in two chapters. I can only notice the curious opinion that the author of the Gospel makes the incarnation of the Logos in the person of Jesus date from the descent of the Spirit, which in the Synoptists is connected with the baptism. When the Spirit had descended upon 'the man Jesus', then Jesus becomes the Christ; and after Jesus has given up the Spirit, the Logos will begin again *son rôle d'inspirateur*. It is hardly necessary to point out that this is not an incarnation at all, though M. D'Alviella definitely reserves the term for the theology of the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Gospel 'rejects the legend of the virginal conception'. Presumably then the author thought of Jesus as naturally born: which is intelligible if an Ebionite Christology, such as the above, is to be attributed to him, but not if his point of view is something quite different. M. D'Alviella might have been more adequate in his whole treatment of this Gospel had he realized that it is not only a work for 'thinkers' and 'intellectuals', but a work which appeals peculiarly to the simplest Christian piety. But as he attributes to it, without any justification that I can see, except for the obscure Alogi, an 'original unpopularity', his argument develops so as to make one wonder how such a book could ever have comforted a single Christian soul. But M. D'Alviella's failure to do justice to this book is perhaps not surprising when on the same page he can tell us that 'for Paul, God has made the world, and has made it bad, since his omnipotence allows evil to grow there', and also that 'in the Fourth Gospel the incarnation is a comedy, since according to it only

those will believe and be saved whom the Father has given beforehand to the Son'.

In the conclusion to the volume there is the most purely comic reference I have ever seen in a serious theological work. Speaking of the firing of Rome in A.D. 64 M. D'Alviella gives it as his opinion that action was taken against the Christians for no other reason than that, rightly or wrongly, they were accused of having set fire to the town or of having aided in spreading the fire, and at the bottom of the page the reference is given 'Comp. Luc. xii 49'. Those who cannot at once recall this passage in the Third Gospel should turn to it without delay.

Readers of the JOURNAL may remember how Harnack objects to Zahn that he conducts historical investigations 'like a counsel for the defence *à tout prix*'. M. D'Alviella writes like a judge who is only interested in the conclusions of the prosecution.

J. K. MOZLEY.

*The Augustinian Revolution in Theology.* By THOMAS ALLIN, D.D.  
 Edited by J. J. LIAS, M.A. (James Clarke & Co., London, 1911.)

THE thesis which this book sets out to prove is that St Augustine revolutionized Theology, and more, that his 'influence extended for evil over practically nearly the whole field of human activity, social and political, no less than religious'. This the author seeks to prove by a comparison of the teaching of St Augustine with that of the Antiochene divines of the fourth and fifth centuries. He succeeds admirably in shewing the contrast, but there is an obvious danger in his method. By what right does he take the Antiochene divines as typical of pre-Augustinian orthodoxy? He seems to be as anxious to defend their orthodoxy as to impugn that of St Augustine. His account of the school of Antioch is lucid and interesting. He admits that their theology is Pelagian, and he glories in the fact. His account of their Christology is fair, but he does not seem to appreciate the real importance of the question as to whether the centre of the Personality of our Lord was to be found in His Humanity. Whatever difficulties there may be in the Alexandrine formulae—and they are neither few nor slight—it does not seem likely that the question can be solved in the way in which the divines of Antioch sought to solve it. Theodore's view of an indwelling of God in Christ κατ' εὐδοκίαν is precisely what the Church has always resisted, as being ultimately inconsistent with the whole idea of Incarnation.

Dr Allin passes on to consider the views of St Augustine. No doubt

much that he says is true, but it is only half the truth, and he does not always use his authorities quite fairly. He paints the views of St Augustine in the most lurid colours, and actually says of him, 'His virtues were those of his age; his errors are his own'. The editor finds the explanation of the sombreness of the views of St Augustine, at any rate partially, in the history of his life and experiences. None would deny the influence that these experiences had upon his thought. But it is this fact that constitutes his real strength, and has given him his hold over the thought of Christendom. Dr Allin compares his theology unfavourably with the Hellenistic thought which was characteristic of earlier Eastern Theology. But Christianity is a religion and not a philosophy, and the theology of St Augustine was a real attempt to rationalize his own experiences. The likeness of his theology to that of St Paul is partly due to the similarity of their experiences. And the permanence of his influence is due to the fact that the experiences of the saints require, if they are to be rationalized, some system more like Augustinianism than the Pelagianism which seems to Dr Allin so obviously sufficient.

The account of the views of St Augustine, while clearly one-sided, is useful as shewing whither unrelieved Augustinianism might have led the Church. But, as Dr Allin devotes so much space to Pelagianism, he might have alluded to the Canons of the Second Council of Orange, which fairly represent the view generally taken in the Church on the subject of grace and free-will, and which are singularly free from the exaggerations into which St Augustine was led by controversy, while clearly owing much to his treatment of the subject.

The book is to be welcomed as being a lucid and vigorous statement of a point of view which is rarely so directly expressed. It should certainly give admirers of St Augustine cause to reconsider the grounds of their admiration, and to discriminate between the parts of his system. Chancellor Lias has earned our gratitude by undertaking the task of editor, and has contributed a sympathetic introduction and conclusion. (There seem to be slight misprints on pp. 149 and 166.)

G. H. CLAYTON.

## THE PERSON OF JESUS CHRIST.

*What is the truth about Jesus Christ?* Problems of Christology. By F. LOOFS, Ph.D., Th.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1913.)

THIS book will doubtless be read widely, as anything that Dr Loofs writes ought to be: and readers will find in it much to admire and cannot fail to feel the attraction of the author's personality. None of this needs commendation from me; and if I devote most of my space to criticism, Dr Loofs will know that it is not through lack of appreciation of his work, or in the interests of traditional expressions of doctrine, but with a view to such re-statement of traditional doctrines and the evidence on which they rest as shall include whatever elements of truth they contain. I can only touch on a few points which seem to me of chief importance.

The book is composed of six lectures delivered at Oberlin, Ohio, in the autumn of 1911. Dr Loofs sets himself, first, to refute two theories which are current to-day: the one, that Jesus was nothing but a mythical deity; the other, that His life can be understood as a purely human life. Of the former theory, generally associated with the names of J. M. Robertson, Drews, and Jensen, he takes W. B. Smith as chief representative, and after a short review of other evidence he finds the only certain proof of the historical existence of Jesus in the First Epistle to the Corinthians and other letters of St Paul, and in early references to His brother and His family. This reduced evidence is sufficient to disprove the theory 'that Jesus was only a deity, falsely changed into a man by tradition'.

In the three following lectures he examines the view 'that Jesus was only a man whom later times erroneously elevated beyond human measure'. This view, which he describes as 'the presupposition of liberal Jesus-research', he aims at disproving by shewing that the sources of our knowledge of the life and sayings of our Lord, when critically sifted, reveal Him as undoubtedly a man, but yet a man whose consciousness of Himself goes far beyond anything that we know as merely human.

This is the really crucial part of the particular enquiry, and I am so wholeheartedly with Dr Loofs as against 'the presupposition of liberal Jesus-research' that I regret to find him using arguments that seem to me to be invalid for the purpose for which they are employed. It is

useless on the question at issue to seek to buoy up the authority of the Fourth Gospel by shewing that on some points of history its 'corrections' of the synoptic account (i.e. Mark) are probably right. For the question before us these are things that do not matter in the least. We must recognize the possibility that the Fourth Gospel may be right as to the day of the Crucifixion and the number of our Lord's visits to Jerusalem, and yet unhistorical as regards the picture as a whole which it presents of our Lord's consciousness during 'the days of the flesh'. Even if it be assumed, as it usually is, that the gospel is intended to be a historical record, yet knowledge of historical details such as these, however obtained, is no guarantee of the historical exactitude of the portrait as a whole. So Dr Loofs does not do justice to all the possibilities, and it serves no good purpose to describe an estimate of the purpose and character of the Fourth Gospel which is widely current among competent students as controlled by 'presuppositions' which 'make impartial historical criticism of [it] impossible', just because some of those who have formed this estimate overstate their case.

Dr Loofs is best known for his brilliant researches in the history of Christian Doctrine and kindred studies, and, if I may say so with all respect, he does not seem to deal with the criticism of the Gospels on really scientific lines. Let me cite two instances: one from the Fourth Gospel, and one from the Synoptists.

The statement in the Fourth Gospel that our Lord's public activity began before the Baptist was cast into prison (as against Mk.-Mt., Lk. om.) Dr Loofs says cannot possibly be understood as *tendenzios*, and ought to be preferred by unbiased research to the statement of Mark that it only began after the Baptist was put in prison. But this Johannine 'correction' of Mark is entirely in keeping with the preternatural recognition of our Lord as 'the Lamb of God' which the writer, in defiance of all historical probability, attributes to the Baptist, and it serves to mark the superiority of Jesus as not needing to wait to follow when the Baptist himself could no longer carry on his work, but taking precedence of him at once. The 'tendency' is manifest.

Again, our Lord's words at the Last Supper as recorded by Mark are, I have no doubt, of high importance as evidence of His consciousness as man. But when, with reference to them, Dr Loofs speaks of 'the idea of the New Covenant, as offered by Mark, Matthew, and Paul', he ignores the fact that Mark and Matthew do not say 'New' and therefore leave open the possibility that our Lord was thinking only of finally cementing the already existing 'alliance' between Himself and His disciples, and that the idea of instituting a perpetual rite which would establish and maintain a new covenant-relationship between God and



men was not in His mind. This latter conception of a covenant-relationship is certainly Pauline and shared by the writer to the Hebrews. For a Jew it might seem to be an almost inevitable interpretation of the words 'my covenant-blood'. But nowhere else is our Lord represented as employing the 'covenant' conception (it is certainly going beyond what is written to say that He 'called his death the sacrifice of the New Covenant': this is Paul, not Jesus), and, inasmuch as another interpretation of His words at the Last Supper is at least possible, they cannot be used to establish such a consciousness as Dr Loofs finds in them.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubtful whether our literary and historical criticism of the Gospels leaves us in our sources as much evidence of the manifestation of supra-human powers or consciousness by our Lord in His life-time as Dr Loofs supposes, and it is strange that with the purpose he has in view he makes no direct use of the later experiences which convinced the disciples that Jesus was the Christ. Without those later experiences there would have been no belief in the Resurrection and no Christianity. The 'facts' of our Lord's life were not enough to convince any one at the time: our sources shew this clearly, though they all come to us from men who had been convinced before they wrote. 'The presupposition of liberal Jesus-research' can only be successfully refuted by those who recognize this fact and are willing to give it its full weight. As I understand Dr Loofs he appeals to early Christian belief about our Lord *after* His life-time as evidence of supra-human consciousness manifested by Him *in* His life-time, and the argument in this form seems to me precarious.

I have said that Dr Loofs to some extent defends the historical character of the Fourth Gospel as against those who reject it whenever it conflicts with Mark. But he does not find in it any confirmation of the later Logos Christology. He does not believe that there is an Incarnation theory behind the phrase 'the Word was made flesh', or that the term Logos has any other reference than to the Old Testament idea of God's revelation of Himself at first in creation and afterwards to Israel, especially when His 'word' came to the prophets. He does not touch on the sacramental conception, or on the discourse in chapter vi (which he would apparently interpret in what is called a purely spiritual sense), or on many sayings throughout the Gospel which imply the

<sup>1</sup> On another point, regarding early Christian belief, I would speak more tentatively. Dr Loofs says that St Paul 'assumed that all Christians prayed to Christ'. I venture to doubt whether prayer to Christ is Pauline; none of the passages cited seems to me cogent. The phrase to 'invoke the name of Jesus Christ' is certainly related to primitive conceptions of prayer and may denote prayer to God in the name of Jesus Christ rather than prayer to Christ as God.

Speaker's personal pre-existence. He simply says, 'the term Logos has nothing to do with philosophy'. Dr Loofs is obliged to express himself concisely, but of course the position he adopts is one for which no arguments could be adduced that would convince those who see in the Fourth Gospel an attempt to interpret our Lord's significance in terms of philosophic and sacramental thought, and in the Greek apologists the *epigoni* of its author.

Dr Loofs regards the idea of incarnation as a natural product of Greek culture, but he does not find it in the New Testament, and he argues that when it makes its appearance in the early Church it was not sharply distinguished from the idea of divine inspiration. In proportion as this distinction became more and more defined, the church doctrine became more and more irrational. The fact that the orthodox Christology is not only irrational but also untrue to the facts of the life of our Lord is, he says, generally recognized by all learned Protestant theologians of Germany to-day: all are seeking new paths in their Christology.

Dr Loofs briefly indicates some of these new paths. He rejects all that seek to retain in any way the idea of the incarnation of a pre-existent person, and therefore every form of *kenotic* theory. 'It is', he says, 'mythology, not theology, which is at the root of this theory.' So, I believe, said Ritschl, though his criticism went much deeper. Dr Loofs states the theory in the main fairly but without exactitude, and I think that his brief criticisms of it, culminating in this taunt, will leave its advocates unmoved. Students of theology, whether orthodox or not, will be surprised that so technical a theologian as Dr Loofs should begin by describing the theory as the self-emptying of the divine *nature* of the eternal Son of God in the moment of the incarnation, and should conclude by condemning it as heretical (as well as irrational) because it speaks of 'changes which the eternal Son of God suffered in his *essence*'. Dr Loofs will, I am sure, agree with me that the discussion of highly technical theological questions must be conducted, even before popular audiences, with careful attention to the theological use of the terms employed. And others, theologians and philosophers alike, will agree that as long as consciousness and personality and memory and birth and death remain the mysteries they are, theologians are entitled to use the theory of *kenosis* in interpreting the facts of our Lord's life on earth and the experiences which for Christians centre in Him. Dr Loofs himself recognizes the fact that 'to plain thinkers the theory may seem intelligible', but he chooses an illustration which does not do the theory justice to shew that it is irrational. It is the only theory known to me which allows for the genuinely human experience of our Lord and the Christian belief in His Godhead.

What, then, does Dr Loofs offer us as the answer to the question

'What is the truth about Jesus Christ?' He is himself an ardent Christian, in the sense that he is convinced that for ripe Christians of all ages Christ becomes a revelation of God and shews them, and that in His own person, what they are to become like. 'Faith in Jesus contains these two points: that it is Christ in whom God is revealed to us, and that he is the beginner of a new mankind.' And for our formula he leaves us with St Paul's words: 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.' Preachers, no doubt, have often found in these words a sufficient text on which to base their appeal for faith in Christ. • Individuals may rest in them. But surely not a St Paul, nor any one who wants in the most rudimentary form a philosophy of life: he will at once begin to build one round them. To offer them as the last word to the modern world is, on the one hand, to proclaim the bankruptcy of our historical theology (as Dr Loofs expressly does), and yet, on the other hand (as it seems to me), to suggest to any one who thinks what they mean just that idea of Incarnation for which Dr Loofs wishes to substitute the conception of Inspiration (the indwelling of God's Spirit in Jesus).

As a test of doctrine Dr Loofs justly appeals to the inner relation of believers to Jesus, the constant, if intermittent, experience of the most genuinely conscious Christians in all ages. I do not believe that it is possible to point to any time when Christians in general were satisfied by conceptions of His Person framed in accordance with the category of Inspiration. Certainly it is not true of the earliest period of Christian belief. The Messiah was at once more and other than an inspired man. There is a sense in which every great religious leader who believes he has a mission from God might be said to have a more than human consciousness. But the strength of the Gospel has always lain in its proclamation that One who was uniquely Son of God actually lived the life of man and died for us men and for our salvation and rose again for our 'justification'.

And I would suggest that not only the motive power of Christianity as a faith that overcomes the world, but the very Christian experience itself, which our doctrine must account for, depends on the belief that in the Person of our Lord the Son of God lived as man a human life, died as man a human death, and was not holden of death. It is not enough that a man should have been chosen out by God as an object-lesson. Experience of life in the world is always clashing with the belief that God is Love. There is no evidence for this belief in any way comparable in cogency with that which is offered by the interpretation of our Lord's significance in terms of Incarnation. And if Christians are to abandon the use of this category they must first be assured that they can find some other expression which will satisfy their

conviction that in the historical Person Jesus of Nazareth they have a revelation not only of doctrine (for that, Inspiration would be enough), nor only of a pattern human life, but of the very Being of God, of the Divine Life itself, so that in Christ they can see the self-sacrifice, not of a man, but of God.

*The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ.* By H. R. MACKINTOSH, D.Phil., D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912.)

DR MACKINTOSH'S book is designed 'as a student's manual, which, with a fair measure of completeness, should cover the whole field of Christology'. Accordingly, with due regard to the limits of space imposed on a writer of a volume of *The International Theological Library*, it aims at expounding the whole course of thought and theory on its subject from the earliest times to the present, and at furnishing 'a competent guide to the best recent discussion, in this country and Germany'. There cannot, I think, be any doubt that the book admirably fulfils this purpose; nor yet that the concluding chapters, for 'the more or less speculative tone' of which Dr Mackintosh feels that some apology is needed, are thoroughly in place in such a book. Dr Mackintosh is as much dissatisfied as Dr Loofs with the dual consciousness of the traditional Christology, but unlike him he does not despair of a reconstruction which will be at once conservative and adapted to present-day modes of thought. Drews, Jensen, W. B. Smith are not mentioned, but the chief varieties of *kenotic* theory are treated with discriminating sympathy, and Dr Mackintosh's attitude to modern developements of philosophical thought is that of one who expects to find the doctrine of the Incarnation illuminated by them.

To students, younger or older, to whom I may commend the book, I would do so warmly, though I do not agree with Dr Mackintosh in all his historical expositions and judgements. More than any book known to me it will help a student 'to take his bearings in the world of Christological thought', if I may quote more words from the Preface.

But on the subject in general I must enter a *caveat*, suggested by Dr Mackintosh's treatment of the evidence of the Gospels. Christology is, of course, a part of Christian philosophy, and as such it belongs to the province rather of the philosopher than of the historian. But it is also an attempt to describe in its particular way a definite historical Person of whom many acts and sayings are recorded. Till recently nearly all Christological thought has been finally controlled by the belief that all the acts and sayings in the four records were genuine or authentic, at all events in the main. The historical Person who was the subject of Christological thought in the past was one who lived the life of a man under many of the ordinary human limitations, and yet

one who could say 'Before Abraham was, I am' and 'Glorify Thou me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was'. It is no wonder that, however disguised, a theory of dual consciousness (two substances, two natures, two wills) has prevailed.

Few students of to-day, for whom reconstruction of Christology has any real meaning or interest, can rest satisfied with the traditional doctrine on this point: neither Dr Loofs nor Dr Mackintosh for examples. And just when, on philosophical grounds, dissatisfaction is deepest, critical study of the Gospels is presenting to all who engage in it new conceptions of the literary methods of the evangelists and of the historical character of their work. How far do they present a true picture of our Lord as He really was in His life-time on earth? Dr Mackintosh, with an eye to this question, says that St John 'has seized the inmost truth of Jesus' self-consciousness with a surer grasp even than the Synoptics' (p. 99). The phrase 'the inmost truth' is ambiguous. The question is, Did Jesus really think of Himself as the Fourth Gospel represents Him as thinking? Dr Mackintosh seems to say 'Yes'.<sup>1</sup> But this is not the mediating position of those with whom he appears to wish to range himself (p. 97). They would say 'No'; the Fourth Gospel does not truly represent the thought of Jesus about Himself in His life-time—not what He really was in His own and His disciples' estimate: rather it represents what Jesus was to believers in Him after His life-time, and this was what the author of it intended to describe—not Jesus as He was, but Jesus as He is; he gives us, that is to say, not history, but doctrine, the interpretation of Christian experience. If this view of the Fourth Gospel be accepted, it is clear that many sayings in it cannot be used as evidence of our Lord's own consciousness during His life on earth, while they may be used as evidence of the influence which He exercised on those who had come by later experience to believe Him to be the Christ, the Son of God.

Any attempt at reconstruction of Christology on the basis of the facts of our Lord's life on earth must be conditioned by a definite decision on the questions raised by critical study of the Gospels as to our Lord's consciousness as Man. An advocate of the *kenotic* theory in any form must first determine as nearly as possible the extent of the *kenosis* of which he takes account. It is in this preliminary work that, for my own part, I find Dr Mackintosh's book defective. No one who accepts as history in the ordinary sense of the word the implications of the Fourth Gospel (or even all of the other three Gospels) as to our Lord's consciousness during His life on earth need trouble himself about any restatement of the traditional doctrine. If those are the

<sup>1</sup> He speaks of the close affinity between the Christology of the Fourth Gospel and that of the Second. See also p. 105.

facts of our Lord's life, and he bases his doctrine on the facts, he is not likely to arrive at any better co-ordination of them than the orthodox Christology offers. He can only repeat it in other words, which may perhaps bring it into nearer relation to modern philosophical conceptions. Reconstruction is only needed by those who have come to a new view of the facts, and it must be preceded by restatement of the facts on which it is based.

*Die Selbstoffenbarung Jesu bei Mat. 11, 27 (Luc 10, 22): eine kritisch-exegetische Untersuchung von Dr HEINRICH SCHUMACHER.* (B. Herder, 68 Great Russell Street, London. 1912.)

ANY one who would attempt to determine the nature of our Lord's consciousness in His life on earth must pay special regard to the saying attributed to Him in Mt. xi 27 and Lk. x 22, and from this point of view it has received its full share of attention in recent discussions. Is the received text original? or is the whole or part of it (especially the clause 'No one knows the Son but the Father') a later interpolation? Is it, in whatever form, a genuine saying of our Lord? and if so, what does it mean? Does it express the same sense of 'essential sonship' which sayings in the Fourth Gospel such as 'I and the Father are one' are understood to indicate, so that it deserves its name of 'the Johannine passage in the Synoptics'? or had the words as spoken by our Lord some other reference, so that, even if genuine words of His, they do not bear witness to a consciousness of His own Godhead? These are the questions which have been raised by recent investigations and theories.

Dr Schumacher is not satisfied with the position in which they are left by Dom Chapman's answer to Dr Harnack (*J. T. S.* x 552-566): he thinks that he passed too lightly over the chief point of the problem, namely the question whether the received text gives the saying in the form in which it originally stood. So he submits the whole series of questions to a searching enquiry, at once minute and full, in the course of which it seems that scarcely any ancient or modern writer on the subject fails to receive his full share of consideration. Dr Schumacher's book of over two hundred pages is not likely ever to be surpassed in these respects.

He begins by shewing that controversy both as to the form and as to the contents or meaning of the saying goes back to the second century (Marcion and Tertullian) when both *γινώσκει* and *ἔγω* were already current. But Tertullian, as Justin before him, seems to be unconscious of any difference of meaning, nor did Marcion base his case on the tense: the aorist was taken as 'gnomic', and Dr Schumacher attributes the origin of the two readings to different translations of an Aramaic

original. Irenaeus is the first to note that the reading  $\xi\gamma\omega$  was preferred by heretics because it was susceptible of the meaning that the God of the Old Testament was not the God revealed by Christ. The question in dispute at this stage was one of *revelation* only, not of Christology, though Irenaeus noted that He who was known and He who said 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son' were one and the same. But when, after the end of controversy with Gnostics and the formation of an official text, the aorist reading dropped out of sight, the saying was always treated as proof of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and as shewing His personal existence and function as Revealer of God to men.

As to the text of the saying, Dr Schumacher concludes his exhaustive review of the evidence with the sentence 'For no word of the Lord can more convincing proof that it belonged to the original text of the Gospels be adduced than for our saying'—i. e. in the full form of the *textus receptus*: and so far as the function of textual criticism is limited to the settlement of 'relative originality' of readings, the evidence seems to be conclusive. It is a different question whether the words were said by our Lord, and again whether the saying as a whole implied to Him all that has been found in it.<sup>1</sup>

As one reads the pleading of Dr Schumacher, and of many another 'orthodox' writer, one wonders if the purpose for which our Lord came into the world, the conscious purpose of saying after saying, really was to shew that He was Son of God in a sense in which no one else ever could be—to shew 'the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father'; and one is driven to ask *Cui bono?* Who was to be the gainer? What was the good of it all? But if His purpose was to help men to the same consciousness of Sonship as He Himself enjoyed as Man, then there is perhaps much more to be said for the 'liberal Protestant' interpretation of many of the sayings than the champions of tradition are ready to allow. For example, Dr Schumacher dismisses the interpretation of this saying as 'ecstatic', and no doubt rightly in one sense; but surely too lightly, if the word be freed from the reproach which the popular use of it implies. We cannot afford to ignore mystic experience in our interpretation of the records of our Lord's life and sayings. Many of the deepest religious experiences are akin to ecstasy, and no useful purpose is served by isolating our Lord's experiences as man from those of His most conscious disciples in later ages. Similarly

<sup>1</sup> Dr Schumacher had not had the advantage of reading the discussion of the passage by Dr Norden in *Agnostos Theos* which goes far to confirm the genuineness of the whole passage, Mt. xi 25-30, though at a price which Dr Schumacher at all events would not be ready to pay, for the author of *Q* becomes the precursor of the author of the Fourth Gospel understood as artistic theology, not history.

Dr Schumacher has no good word for those who see in the saying the expression of our Lord's 'conviction that the consciousness (or knowledge) of God which disclosed itself to Him had not till then been experienced or appreciated by any man', and so that He was able to understand and reveal God's purposes as no one else had been. May we not recognize something like this as the historical significance of the utterance, our Lord's meaning at the moment, all the meaning of which He was actually conscious—and yet be justified in drawing the inference that one who as Man had this consciousness, and could so interpret God to Man as He did, stands in the unique relation to God and to men which Christian Doctrine assigns to Him?

In conclusion Dr Schumacher compares the results he obtains from this saying with certain other passages in the synoptic gospels—namely, the parable of the wicked husbandmen, the reference to the Messiah as David's Lord, the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi, and the Trial—in all of which passages he finds the consciousness of 'meta-physical' sonship; and he ends by seeking to shew that none of the hypotheses which have been put forward, which rest on the conception of a figurative use of the term 'sonship', offer a satisfactory solution.

*De antiquissimis veterum quae ad Iesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis* scripsit KURT LINCK: 'Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten' xiv 1. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1913.)

THE title of this book is incomplete: the *testimonia* dealt with are those of Josephus (*Ant.* xviii 63, xx 20), Pliny (*Epp.* 96, 97), Tacitus (*Ann.* xv 44), and Suetonius (*Claud.* 25. 4, *Nero* 16. 2)—not, therefore, 'the most ancient'; 'non-Christian' should be added. On these references to the existence of our Lord and of Christians in the works of non-Christian writers Dr Loofs, as I have said above, felt himself unable to base a convincing refutation of the theories of W. B. Smith, Jensen, and Drews. Herr Linck is unwilling to rest in a vague *non liquet* on the question; and he subjects the passages which have been so often discussed already, and the hypotheses of recent writers in regard to them, to a fresh and searching examination. He gives a long list of books and articles in which they have been dealt with and references in detail in the course of his investigation. Dr Loofs was no doubt right for his particular purpose in preferring to look elsewhere for conclusive proof of the existence of an actual Person, Jesus the Christ; but any one who will read and weigh Herr Linck's discussion of these *testimonia* will feel, I think, that they have been set aside too lightly and will be grateful to him for his patient and judicial work. By close and careful reasoning he establishes, I think, the following conclusions.



(1) Origen read in his copy of Josephus *Ant.* xx 200 the words about James τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, and he knew of no other reference to our Lord in Josephus. It is highly improbable that these words were interpolated before the time of Origen or at any time by a Christian. On the other hand the passage *Ant.* xviii 63 is cited first by Eusebius, but was apparently absent altogether from the copies of Josephus used by Chrysostom and even by Photius as late as the ninth century. It breaks the sequence of the history, and detailed examination of it suggests that it is as a whole an interpolation. There are good reasons why Josephus should have kept silence about Christ and Christians while yet allowing himself the incidental reference to Jesus in *Ant.* xx 200. (2) The difficulties in the way of regarding the letters between Pliny and Trajan as fabrications or as interpolated by a Christian are far greater than any that are involved in accepting them as genuine; the latter, indeed, are shewn to be patient of explanation. The style of the letters is entirely consonant with what is known of the style of Pliny and Trajan respectively and quite unlike that of Christian writers of a later time. The argument from style is in this case of particular importance. (3) Tacitus may well have derived his information from the writings of Antonius Julianus to which Minucius Felix refers (*Octav.* 33. 4—he is to be identified with the procurator of the name who was present at the council held by Titus before Jerusalem). The style of the passage is thoroughly Tacitean, and the arguments against its genuineness on the ground of the use of the term *Christian* and the distinction of Christians from Jews in the time of Nero are not valid. (P. Hochart, *Études au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron*, 1885, is taken here and elsewhere as the chief representative of the theory that these passages are interpolations, especially because Drews in his *Christusmythe*, 1911, appeals in particular to his arguments.) That Sulpicius Severus in his *Chronicles* at the end of the fourth century is dependent on this and other passages in Tacitus (not *vice versa*), and that no Christian writer would have used the language of this passage is, one would have supposed, almost self-evident, but in view of other opinions the argument given here is necessary. (4) The passage in Suetonius (*Claud.* 25. 4) cannot be a Christian interpolation. No Christian would have represented Jesus as a ringleader in disturbances among the Jews in Rome, and that too in the time of Claudius, or have used the bald phrase *impulsore Chresto*. But the name 'Chrestus' was common at Rome, as is shewn by numerous inscriptions, and it might have been the name by which a leader of the Jews at Rome was known. It is highly improbable that there were disturbances among the Jews at Rome about Jesus Himself as early as the year 49, or that Suetonius should have attributed

them to such a cause. The passage is genuine, but it gives us no information about the existence of Jesus or of Christians at Rome. Yet Suetonius shews (*Nero* 16. 2) that he knew of persecution of Christians in the time of Nero.

For evidence of the existence of Jesus from non-Christian sources we are therefore left at the end of Herr Linck's investigations with the one reference in Josephus *Ant.* xx 200, and the statement of Tacitus that 'Christus', the person from whom *Chrestiani* derived their name, was executed in the reign of Tiberius by the sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

### THE LOGOS DOCTRINE AND THE *POIMANDRES*.

*Der Logos als Heiland im ersten Jahrhundert*: ein religions- und dogmengeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Erlösungslehre; mit einem Anhang 'Poimandres und Johannes', kritisches Referat über Reitzensteins religionsgeschichtliche Logosstudien. Von Dr ENGELBERT KREBS. (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1910, and B. Herder, London.)

ANY one who wishes to form a judgement on the question of the influence of non-Jewish religious speculation on early soteriology and Christology will find his task lightened, I think, by this work of Dr Krebs.

The following notice of the book, which is little more than a summary of its chief contents, has been delayed in publication; but it is not, I understand, too late to introduce it to most readers of the JOURNAL. The book bears an official *imprimatur*, but it is not one of those which unprejudiced students can only use as convenient summaries of all that can be said for and against traditional ideas. It is indeed based throughout on the most recent literature of the subject (to 1910), to which full references are given; and it does not seek to minimize the similarities between pre-Christian and Christian conceptions.

Students who believe that the primitive Christian conception of salvation at least included a catastrophic element and the visible establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth will be disappointed to find their belief ignored—I believe entirely—in the book. Dr Krebs throughout adopts the purely inward and spiritual interpretation of the Gospel which has been general in the Church, and from this point of view he aims at shewing how the transition from the primitive belief to the Logos-doctrine was a genuine developement, indeed simply an

expression in different terms of ideas which underlie our Lord's own teaching, and are explicit in the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament.

The appendix, in which Reitzenstein's theories are examined, occupies nearly a third of the whole book, and is, perhaps, the most valuable part of it; but I must notice first the course of the main discussion.

I. A careful review of the literature of the subject proves that there is no *consensus* among modern scholars of any school as to either the meaning of the Johannine Logos-doctrine or its origin. Then following in the track of the latest investigators of the oriental religions, Dr Krebs shews that the attempt to find in the Indian religion and philosophy relationship with the Logos-conceptions of the first century of our era has been generally abandoned, and he argues that neither in Persian nor in Egyptian religious ideas can any direct source of the biblical conception of the Logos in the apostolic age be found, although the Persian doctrine of Ameshas Spentas, and the Egyptian conception of the action of the gods through the Word, contribute something to the explication of the Christian doctrine of the Logos. In reviewing the Graeco-Roman philosophy he attaches full weight to the 'catechism' of the Stoic L. A. Cornutus, which shews how widely current was the thought of the Logos as Revealer of God and Saviour, as *κήρυξ* and *σωτήρ*, and at the same time, at least as popularly conceived, as a person, a son of God, born to Zeus of Maia. Cornutus (+ 68) was a contemporary of St Paul and addressed himself to the same circles as those to which the apostle of the Gentiles desired to bring the new doctrine of the true Son of God and Saviour, the true revealer of God; and though to Cornutus himself the doctrine of the Logos-Hermes remained thoroughly pantheistic, it would be understood more naïvely by the people to whom it was taught, as the scene at Lystra (Acts xiv 12) clearly shews. (Neither is it a pantheistic conception that is found in Plutarch a little later.) If the title of Redeemer applied to the Logos of the popular Stoic philosophy must not be strained, yet it is clear that through its means ease and freedom of soul was won by the poor and oppressed, as is shewn by the slave's inscription in honour of Epictetus found in Pisidia. Dr Krebs has no desire to minimize the significance of the preparation in Stoicism for the Christian doctrine of the Logos.

As to Philo, he thinks that he affords us no means of judging as to the personality or the degree of independence which he ascribed to the Logos, though the whole conception was of high religious importance. Nor again on the question whether Philo stood alone in his conceptions or represented a school can a certain answer be given: only Dr Krebs thinks there is evidence (as M. Lebreton has shewn) that he was not so isolated as many recent investigators have supposed.

For his sketch of the Biblical doctrine of Wisdom in the form which

it had assumed in the first century of our era, Dr Krebs presupposes the existence of the Old Testament collection of Wisdom literature, including the book of Baruch (with the verse iii 38). He finds the Wisdom of the latest development, in operation similar to the Stoic Logos, the Hermes of popular religion, the Persian Ameshas Spentas, and the Logos of Philo, but in essence unlike them, neither pantheistic nor mythological and ambiguous, but occupying a unique position as the hypostatic Wisdom of the only true personal God, known by Israel alone.

As to the Memra-doctrine of the Targums, Dr Krebs points to the absence of evidence for its existence before and independently of Philonic or of Christian doctrine. All that can be said is that it is possible it was already current in the apostolic age.

He devotes much more space to the Odes of Solomon and Harnack's exposition of them, but is not convinced that they represent a pre-Johannine Jewish mysticism which would furnish an unlooked-for key to the solution of the problem of the antecedents and meaning of the Logos soteriology.

In summing up the results of his enquiry into the nature of the doctrine of the Logos and the conception of salvation looked for in the various philosophies and religions of the pre-Christian world, Dr Krebs notes, of course, as widespread, though not brought into organic connexion with the philosophical conceptions, the idea of a Saviour actually manifested in human form, present in the world, as an Augustus or a Hadrian. He maintains, however, that the salvation expected from such a historical person was purely external—political and economic, regarding the bodies and not the souls of men. For the salvation of the soul they looked either to philosophy or to the mysteries. The wide diffusion of the latter in the second century gives probability at least to the conjecture that they had already made their way into the empire in the first century, with their offer of purification from sin, new birth, freedom from the powers of this world, and finally real union with God. But Dr Krebs is unwilling to look to them for any definite influence on Christianity, and implies that they had not really anything to bring to men's souls. He puts the Jewish expectation of the Messiah on a different plane, and points to the songs of Simeon and Zachariah as shewing the different conception of salvation which the Old Testament prophecies engendered. Nowhere, however, among all the varied conceptions of the Messiah to be found in the later Jewish writings, any more than in non-Jewish speculations, does he find the idea of a real incarnation of the Wisdom of God or the Word of God as Saviour of the world and Comforter of souls.

Dr Krebs goes on to examine the terms in which the redemptive

work of Christ was proclaimed by the apostles and earliest missionaries. They attributed to Him characteristics which had been associated with the Logos of pre-Christian thought: it was a natural step further to identify Him with the Logos, and regard Him as actually giving a new religious life here and an eternal life of bliss beyond this life.

Over against the pseudo-wisdom which tried to force itself into Christianity at Corinth, St Paul proclaimed Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God, and ascribed to Him the creative, life-giving, and enlightening activities which were predicated of Wisdom in the Old Testament. Dr Krebs insists that the whole Pauline doctrine flows naturally from Biblical sources, and is in no way dependent on other conceptions. At the same time he recognizes the probability that at the time of St Paul's missionary activity the teaching of Philo was known in Christian circles, and not without its influence on the interpretation of the Person of our Lord, as the realization in fact of what had been only speculation before.

The fact that the author of the Fourth Gospel calls Christ the Logos without any explanation shews that the term and its meaning was known to his readers, and the only question is what that meaning was. Dr Krebs maintains, against those who see in it only the meaning 'Word of revelation', the far higher probability that it implied speculative conceptions similar to those connected with Wisdom and by Philo with the Logos. The Epistle to the Ephesians presents a Christology which brings Christ near to the Biblical Wisdom and the Logos of Philo, and the Fourth Gospel is generally believed to belong to the same circle of Christian interpretation. Dr Krebs has no difficulty in shewing that the Johannine portraiture of our Lord far transcends the conception of the Logos as merely an organ of revelation. The identification of Jesus Christ with the personal Wisdom of God, which is the background of the Pauline doctrine of redemption, is the foundation on which the superstructure of the Gospel is built up, the place of the term Wisdom being taken by the term Logos, which was more familiar to Hellenistic thought, and carried with it a richer content of meaning. To say that Jesus Christ was the Logos was to declare that in Him were fulfilled the most glowing desires of pre-Christian religious speculation, and to link the Christian doctrine of redemption with the language of the philosophy of the time and the popular religious conceptions of the world; for in spite of the depth of the thought the language was current in popular circles.

Yet 'Hellenization' in the sense of any change of values in the original appreciation of the Person and Work of Jesus is excluded, so Dr Krebs insists, by the facts of the earliest apostolic preaching which saw in Jesus the Dispenser of all the blessings of salvation.

II. In the appendix, in his criticism of Reitzenstein's theories, Dr Krebs shews how in *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen*, 1901, and *Poimandres*, 1904, Reitzenstein set himself to prove that Egyptian-Greek syncretism of religious conceptions played a much larger part than has been suspected in the formation of primitive Christology and in the doctrinal developement of Christianity. He stated his position with confidence, but with reserves—saying, e. g., that he was quite conscious of his own insufficiency to say how far the influences could be traced and whether they affected our Lord Himself ('the person of the Founder'). Dr Krebs says that in his earlier book he depends on a papyrus of the fourth century A.D. (the 'Strassburg cosmogony') and an ostrakon of the sixth century A.D. for his conclusions about the cosmogony and Logos doctrine of the oldest Christian time. He laments the difficulty of following Reitzenstein's argument, but summarizes it as follows.

The early Egyptian conception was the origin of one God (Thot) from the others through speech (*Aussprechen*) or emission out of the mouth of the Father God, and then the origin of the world through the Word. Later this God becomes 'the revelation of the God of Light (Rê)'. The Stoics taught that Hermes is the Logos, the Word of Zeus—i.e. the word of *Revelation*—and similarly the Fourth Gospel represents Christ as the most complete revelation of God. The identification of the Stoic conception with the Egyptian Thot-doctrine had taken place in Egypt before the Christian era: and R. infers that in the time of the Ptolemies there was already a Hermes-religion there with theological writings (because there are remains of a Greek *medical* and *magical* literature of that time in Egypt under the name of Hermes, and the later Hermes literature in its purely priestly character shews that the Egyptian priests were largely influenced by Greek philosophy at the beginning of the imperial age). Hence follows the conclusion that the most important thoughts of the Hermes literature, which we know from post-Christian times, 'are in themselves as possible in the first century before Christ as in the third century after Christ'. And so the result is reached that 'the religious conception that the Word in itself is a divine personality' is a conception which 'is to be explained by the union of Stoic and Egyptian theories'.

The idea that Zeus wished to create the world and emitted Hermes from him for the purpose is a subject of poets in the Hellenistic age before Christ (so light is thrown on the old Christian Logos doctrine). As Hermes in the 'Strassburg cosmogony', so Isis in Hellenistic songs is celebrated as revealer of the Divine Word and orderer of the universe, as is 'Wisdom' in the late Jewish literature. The doctrines of Wisdom and Isis, Logos and Hermes, should be regarded in the first century

'not as the expression of a definite system', but as 'formulae for the religious experience of wide circles' so as to form a conception of the ways in which they influenced our Gospels, especially the Fourth Gospel. Further, from the evidence of a text of the Ave Maria potsherd of the sixth century which lacks the clause 'thou shalt conceive', Reitzenstein infers that she is regarded as already impregnated through the word of the archangel, and it only remains to announce to her that she shall bear a child (cf. Gnostic texts in which the Logos himself as Gabriel talks with Mary). So he draws the conclusion that the earliest conception was that of a God creating another through his speech. The wonder was revealed to Joseph simply in a dream (Matt.), announced to Mary (Luke).

The Fourth Gospel goes back to the primitive account, and in speculative fashion creates the Logos-theology. A trace of the original theory is found in the tale of the active conception of Mary through the ear (fourth century).<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the *Poimandres*, to which Dr Krebs next turns, readers of the JOURNAL may be reminded that Mr F. Granger's short criticism of the theories put forward in Reitzenstein's edition (*J. T. S.* viii 635 ff), with his earlier article on the Hermetic literature written before the publication of Reitzenstein's studies (*J. T. S.* v 395 ff), are not superseded by what has been published since on the subject. The *Poimandres* is a collection of eighteen Hermetic writings, which was preserved in a single MS to the time of Michael Psellus (eleventh century) and through him transmitted to the Byzantine and Western Scholastics. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period the reputed author, Hermes Trismegistus, was regarded as one of the most enlightened of heathen philosophers. The work is now recognized as composite, a collection of treatises of different tendencies, and the first, to which the title of *Poimandres* belongs, and the thirteenth (R. fourteenth) may be distinguished from the rest as closely related and perhaps the nucleus of the whole collection.

The question of the date of the collection, and of the earliest piece, is of the first importance for Reitzenstein's theories. There is little external evidence earlier than the fourth century, and that only to the existence of writings in the name of Hermes. (Galen *περὶ ἀπλῶν φαρμ.* vi *prooem.* medical and astrological books by Hermes the Egyptian, Tert. *adv. Valent.* 15, M. Trismegistus 'magister omnium physicorum', and *de*

<sup>1</sup> Ps. Ath. *sermo in annuntiatione Deiparae* c. 7 (Migne *P. G.* xxviii 928) denounces as blasphemy the view 'that the voice of the archangel itself was the *ὑπόστασις* of the Word of God'. Cf. *Pistis Sophia*, that Jesus Himself spoke with Mary in the form of Gabriel and implanted in her the body which He bore in the Height.

*anima* 2, 33 'Mercurius Aegyptius', a teacher of Plato on the immortality of the soul, and Athenag. *lib. pro Christ.* 28 'Hermes called Trismegistus' as a writer.) The first reference to a book with the title *Poimandres* is made in the sixth century by Fulgentius (ed. Helm 26, 18) 'Hermes in opimandro libro'. Yet Reitzenstein thinks that he can fix the date of the collection to the time of Diocletian, and the date of the first piece as earlier than *The Shepherd of Hermas*.

In the address to the Kings in the last piece of the collection he finds presupposed several emperors under one superior, and the announcement of the Sun as only God in an earlier piece suggests the time when the Mithras-cult was at its zenith. Dr Krebs argues that he has misunderstood the passage: it has in view one God only who secures peace to the saints in heaven, and compares this heavenly peace with the peace which kings on earth secure to those over whom they rule. The reference is quite general, on the lines of the common comparison of the kingdom of heaven and earthly kingdoms, and it affords no evidence of date.

As regards the first piece (*Poimandres*) Reitzenstein lays stress on the analogy with *The Shepherd of Hermas*. There appears to the prophet a supernatural figure who represents himself as Poimandres (that is, according to R., 'shepherd of men') and then transforms himself before his eyes, in order to let him see in a vision the origin of the world. In *Hermas Vision* v 4 a man in the guise of a shepherd appears to the future prophet of repentance, and on being asked who he is, transforms himself and lets himself be known as an angel. Reitzenstein argues that the episode in *Hermas* is groundless and presupposes knowledge of the *Poimandres*. He says the appearance as a shepherd is meaningless. Dr Krebs replies that in saying so, he ignores all the Old Testament and New Testament imagery: the image of the Shepherd with staff and wallet is as old as David: it indicates that the Angel is the protector and guide of *Hermas* or of the Roman community. (Of course it has parallels in heathen representations.) And again, as to the transformation to which Reitzenstein can attach no significance, Dr Krebs shews that twice before there has appeared to *Hermas* a beautiful youth, an angel. Now he appears as a shepherd: *Hermas* does not know him: he changes into an angel and thereby shews *Hermas* that the angel is his protector and guardian. In *Poimandres*, on the other hand, there is no appearance as a shepherd: it is a theophany: the visitor is styled *ὑπερμεγέθης μέτρῳ ἀπεριορίστῳ τυγχάνων*. There is no allusion to a shepherd at all, unless it is contained in the name Poimandres (*ἐγὼ μὲν, φησὶν, εἰμὶ ὁ Π., ὁ τῆς αἰθερίας νοῦς*); and, as Mr Granger shewed, this title probably represents a Coptic word, *Pemenetre*, which means 'the Witness'. The scene in *Hermas* is, in



any case, so individually conceived that there can be no question of borrowing. So Reitzenstein's argument entirely fails to establish his conclusion that the old *Poimandres* book is earlier than A.D. 150; and it is on this argument that he largely depends for his theory that, after excluding certain parts of the present text, which his analysis shews to be later interpolations of a Neoplatonic character, the residuary doctrines of God and creation are to be assigned to the beginning of our era.

Nor does a third indication of date, which Reitzenstein finds, fare any better in Dr Krebs's hands. It is the argument from the date of the appearance in Egypt of the *ἄνθρωπος* doctrine—the doctrine, that is, that all peoples are derived from an original Father fashioned like a heavenly man (found in fragmentary condition in *Poimandres*).

From the Naassene writing, which fills a large part of the fifth book of the *Philosophumena*, R. reconstructs an original purely heathen text which teaches this doctrine (the scriptural and other Christianizing parts being due to a Gnostic Christian). It is also found in a prophet Bitys, attested by Zosimus (middle v cent.) and Iamblichus, and perhaps identical with a Bitys of Dirrachium mentioned by Pliny. The same figure is found as Pitys in a Thessalian magic formula (ed. C. Wessely), which shews that he was an author already in the second century A.D. promoted to the ranks of the legendary theologians. That this anthropos-myth (though its origin is Greek) was in Egypt in the first century Reitzenstein regards as certain from Philo, and he draws the conclusion that because it is in *Poimandres*, therefore *Poimandres* also must date from the first century.

Dr Krebs says sufficient about this argument in pointing out that as a matter of fact Philo's heavenly man is not the ancestor of all men, but the ideal type, as all things according to Philo have in the Logos their ideal type: and that if Philo rejects the theory of different ancestors of different races in favour of the doctrine of a single parent of the whole race, we need not look for heathen influence—he had the account in Genesis before him.

Dr Krebs also contests the unity of the original *P.* as reconstructed by R. and the relationship of this *P.* to the Ptah-doctrine expressed in the Memphitic inscription (of Breasted), arguing (I think convincingly) that they represent two 'theologies' that have nothing to do with each other. He further shews that the sermon towards the end of the writing gives no support to the theory of a *P.* community, with a clergy and a cult.

So he concludes that there is no ground for R.'s theories, and rather that *P.* with its fundamental doctrine occupies the last place in the development of Hermetic speculation and presupposes Christianity. Dibelius pointed out the relationship between the theology of the

Gnostic letter to Flora and *P.* Dr Krebs compares *P.* as it is with the Valentinian system, and shews that, whether it is later or not, the *milieu* of both is similar. He also regards the theory of a pre-Lucan account of the incarnation being effected through the voice of Gabriel, Gabriel himself being the form assumed by the Logos, as baseless. The explanation is to be found in Isa. ix 6, 'and his name shall be called Angel of Great Counsel (μεγάλης βουλῆς)', and in the exegesis and theology of the Marcosians of the second century: Gabriel took the place of the Logos (Iren. Harvey I. viii. 14 p. 149).

In conclusion, Dr Krebs carefully examines the alleged instances of connexion between *P.* and the Fourth Gospel, and argues that so far as there is analogy—which indeed in some cases is apparently very close—there is no probability that Jn was influenced by *P.* The ethical interest of Jn differs *toto caelo* from the magical point of view of *P.*, and Jn is in line with the Old Testament rather than with the ideas of which *P.* is the product. It is more probable that Biblical conceptions have influenced the Hermetic literature (as Mr Granger held).

Dr Krebs refers to Zielinski's articles *Hermes und die Hermetik* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft viii 321-372 (1905) and ix 25-60 (1906)) as a useful corrective of Reitzenstein's 'Egyptomania'. He undertook his own task because no 'Catholic theologian' had yet attempted it. Though Reitzenstein has carried his work much further since, Dr Krebs's examination of some of his arguments will serve to indicate the precarious character of the foundation on which they rest.

Dr Carl Clemen's *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* was reviewed in the JOURNAL soon after it was published (J. T. S. vol. xi p. 306), and attention was called to the independence and sobriety of judgement generally shewn in it, and to the wealth of its quotations and references which render it 'a veritable mine of information for the student'. An edition in English has now appeared under the title *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources* (translated by R. G. Nisbet: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912). Dr Clemen has himself revised not only the translation, but the book itself, and brought the references to all the relevant literature up to date; so that, as compared with the German, it is a second and revised edition that is in the hands of English readers. It is to be regretted that one serious blemish, which was pointed out by Mr Jackson, has not been removed. Dr Clemen justifies his perversity (p. 291 n. 3). But the learning and the merits of the book are solid.

So, too, are those of the same author's much smaller volume *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten: Vol. xiii, No. 1; A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1913), which is a kind of supplement to the former work, and

supplies a few corrections to it. Dr Clemen rapidly reviews a good deal of recent literature, and gives us a summary of his opinion as to the extent of the influence exercised on the developement of Christianity in its early days by the older religions and rites with which it came in contact. It is characteristic of him that frequently, having noted parallels and the possibility of borrowing on the Christian side, he shews that borrowing cannot be proved and that explanations which do not require it are forthcoming, e.g. he does not leave the Old Testament out of account. This in particular as regards St Paul. In the Johannine and later stages he recognizes the working of other influences. His volume furnishes a good guide to the present state of knowledge on the subject.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

### COPTIC APOCRYPHA.

*Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt.* Edited with English translations by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., &c. With fifty-eight plates. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1913. (pp. lxxvi and 404.)

OF this very interesting collection of texts two are not covered by the title 'Apocrypha', viz. the Life of Pisentius by John the Elder, and the Instructions of Pachomius, and I do not propose to deal with them in this notice. The four really apocryphal documents are the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew, the Repose of John the Evangelist, the Mysteries of John, and the Encomium on John Baptist by Chrysostom.

The first of these has been emerging from time to time in fragments ever since 1835, when Dulaurier published four leaves from a Paris MS. In 1904 appeared the very important publication by Lacau and also that by Révillout, both of which I noticed in this JOURNAL. In 1907 the British Museum MS now edited by Dr Budge was acquired from Mr R. de Rustafjaell, and an English rendering of the text by Mr W. E. Crum was printed in Mr Rustafjaell's *Light of Egypt* in 1910.

The condition of the text is confused. The two Paris MSS of which we have fragments, and the London MS, all shew different recensions of the text. The London MS stands alone in introducing a series of hymns sung by the angels on Easter morning. It is far more complete than either of the Paris MSS, consisting of 24 leaves as against 8 and 5 respectively. The leaves are nearly all of them badly

mutilated. The date is estimated by Dr Budge as being of cent. x-xi, by Mr. Crum as of cent. xii. There is a colophon which Dr Budge summarizes on p. xv, but does not translate.

Previous writers, including myself, have wavered between the titles of Apocalypse and Gospel for the book of Bartholomew. In the light of the London MS it is clear that Apocalypse must be discarded. Gospel may serve; but here again we must remember that MM. Wilmart and Tisserant are claiming that designation for the document which they are publishing in Greek and Latin in the *Revue Biblique*. The Coptic writing calls itself Book of the Resurrection, and perhaps Book will be the best short and distinctive designation.

The Book is not yet in our hands in a complete form. The London MS has lost ten pages (five leaves) at the beginning, as well as I can calculate from the relics of the foliation. What did these contain? The Paris fragments help us here. Lacau gives from MS A a leaf with a story of the Last Supper and a cock which was raised to life. Then, from MS B, a fragment about the child of Joseph of Arimathea and the wife of Judas, ending with a few lines on the Passion, leading up to the Crucifixion. Then, from both A and B, the story of one Ananias, who declared his belief in the crucified Christ and was put to death by the Jews, ending with a blessing pronounced by the Risen Christ on the soul of Ananias, whom He takes up to Heaven. This brings us very near—I should say, in fact, quite up to—the beginning of the London MS, for in the first lines of that there is mention of the soul of Ananias. The reference is not understood by Dr Budge, who, I must say, has not taken sufficient pains to acquaint himself with the literature of his subject. The story of Ananias is fully set out in Lacau's work, immediately before the Bartholomew-fragment which Dr Budge himself translates *from* Lacau.

It seems likely that very little of the text is wanting before Lacau's first fragment (about the Last Supper),—little more than a title and prologue, I should imagine. From a passage on p. 193 we see that Bartholomew addressed his book to his son, Thaddaeus, who would doubtless be mentioned in the lost opening clauses.

The text falls into several sections: pp. 179-187 give the proceedings in Hades; the dialogue of Death with the body of Jesus, the Harrowing of Hell, and the curse of Judas; pp. 187-200 are occupied with the visit of the women to the tomb, their talk with Philogenes the gardener, the glorious appearance of the Lord to His mother, the hymns of the Angels, the glorification of Adam, the solemn blessing of the Apostles, and a further appearance in Galilee; pp. 200-215 (the end) tell the story of the raising of Siophanes the son of Thomas from the dead, the incredulity of Thomas, the Ascension. On p. 214 is apparently

a conclusion : 'This is the Book of the Resurrection, etc. In peace. Amen'; but there follows the account of a solemn Eucharist celebrated by the apostles, at which Dr Budge thinks (but I do not) that our Lord appeared. What is evident from the defective text is that at least the Eucharistic elements took the form of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Certain broken clauses run thus, after a gap of four and a half lines : 'their hearts rejoiced . . . worshipped the Son of God. He took His seat . . . His Father. His Body was on the table (about) which they were gathered together ; and they divided it. They saw the Blood of Jesus pouring out as living blood down into the cup,' &c. I think it likely that the words ran originally 'they worshipped the Son of God, Who sitteth at the right hand of His Father'. There is hardly room for a statement that the Lord actually came to the apostles. Moreover, in the words which Peter speaks immediately afterwards (and which end the whole book) there is no mention of such an appearance ; it is only said 'Our Lord Jesus Christ hath allowed us to behold, and hath revealed to us the glory of His Body and His Divine Blood'. Some material change in the Elements is indicated, but not an appearance of the kind repeatedly described in the rest of the Book.

The Book is a late embroidering upon an old design, I dare say. It contains much Egyptian folk-lore, much angelology, many highly-developed doctrinal formulae of an orthodox type, and one or two phrases of a kind described as 'gnostic'. The selection of Bartholomew as author was no doubt dictated by the promise made to him (identified with Nathaniel) that he should see the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man. The statement that he was a gardener may have been suggested by the words 'when thou wast under the fig-tree'. Both these explanations are due to M. Lacau.

To the text of the London MS Dr Budge appends a rendering of Lacau's fragments, and of the Ethiopic account of Bartholomew from the *Synaxarium*. The former is useful ; the latter, which is only an abbreviation of the *Conflict of Bartholomew*, seems irrelevant.

Next come two Johannine Apocrypha. The *Repose of John* is a complete Sahidic version of the last section of the Leucian Acts. A fragment had been published by Guidi in 1888. Dr Budge does not refer to this. It will be found in *Rendiconti della R. Accad. dei Lincei* 1887-1888, and in the *Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Ital.* 1888, vol. ii. Nor does Dr Budge mention the Greek original of his text.<sup>1</sup> Had he consulted it, I cannot but think that his English rendering would have been very different in many places.

The *Mysteries of John* is quite new, and has left no trace, so far as I know, upon other books. It is on the lines of the Greek apocalypse of

<sup>1</sup> Last edition by Bousset *Acta Apost. apocr.* ii 1 pp. 223 sqq.

Baruch, the disputation of the Panagiote, and the Slavonic Enoch in so far as it contains 'cosmic' revelations. John questions the Cherubim about various points in natural history and divinity, and receives surprising answers. Among the matters which interest him are the rising of the Nile, the origin of the wheat-plant, the forbidden tree, the reason why Hezekiah in his sickness turned his face to the wall. The answer to this last question is that Solomon had written prescriptions for all diseases upon the walls of the temple, and Hezekiah wished to find one suitable to his complaint; but alas! he had himself plastered over the walls with lime. John is also informed about the dew, the finger-nails, the glory of Michael, the winds and rain, and the stars. Very interesting parallels to much that is told him can be found in rabbinic and mediaeval books: this is not the place to adduce them. It is pretty evident that the author of this apocalypse lived in Egypt. Apart from the opening and closing paragraphs, and the attribution to John, there is nothing Christian in it. 'John' may very well have supplanted a Jewish prophet.

The last apocryphal text in the volume is embedded in an 'Encomium of John Baptist by Chrysostom'. A considerable fragment of this was printed by Mr E. O. Winstedt from a Paris MS in vol. viii of this JOURNAL (pp. 240 sqq.). Dr Budge does not refer to this. Mr Winstedt's fragments correspond to Budge, pp. 338-339 (part), 340-341 (part), and 344-347 (part).<sup>1</sup>

The Encomiast introduces a legend or two into his proëm, including a version of that told in the *Postevangelium* about the sojourn of Elizabeth and John in a rock in the wilderness (p. 343): and then he quotes the contents of an ancient manuscript 'which the apostles wrote and deposited in the Library of the Holy City Jerusalem'. The whole writing seems to be quoted—if we may assume that it ever existed apart from the Encomium. It has a well-defined beginning and end, and is nothing less than an apocalypse of James the Brother of the Lord. Dr Budge prints 'John the Brother of the Lord' both in his Preface and in his translation. Who he imagined John the Brother of the Lord to have been I do not know. Suffice it to say that his Sahidic text (and Mr Winstedt) give the proper reading *ἰακωβος*.

In this very odd apocalypse the apostles ask the Lord to tell them of the honour enjoyed by the Baptist in heaven; and, in response, they are taken through the seven heavens, and finally back to the third, which

<sup>1</sup> Mr Winstedt adds another fragment containing part of a miracle wrought by John Baptist, or by his relics—certainly after his death, for he is addressed as 'thou headless one'. He casts out a devil, who is described as a *δεκανός*. Mr Winstedt renders this as 'officer of police', rather obscuring the sense: *δεκανός*, who are demons of some consequence, figure in the *Historia Iosephi*.

has been specially assigned to the Forerunner. His parents are there, and so too is his golden boat, in which he ferries souls across the river of fire. The apostles are also shewn the wheat, the vines, and the apple-trees of Paradise, which are described in terms recalling a well-known fragment of Papias (and Apoc. Baruch); and also the lamps and oars which are to guide the devotees of the Baptist over the river of fire. Anything more frankly pagan I have seldom read in this literature: Dr Budge points out the affinities of this Christian Charon with the ferryman Her-f-ha-f of the Pyramid texts of the VI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (p. lxx).

The section of his introduction in which this occurs, entitled *Egyptian Mythology in Coptic Writings*, is his most valuable contribution to the illustration of the texts which he edits. For the rest, I fear it cannot be denied that the volume before us has been prepared with undue haste. Some samples of errors in text and translation, collected by another hand are appended to this notice. My own comparison of the Greek text of the *Rest of John* with Dr Budge's English rendering has led me to suspect a good many more.

For all that, one is too glad to have new texts of such interest—to say nothing of the numerous and excellent facsimile-plates—to be otherwise than grateful, both to Dr Budge and to the Trustees of the British Museum, for what they have given us.

M. R. JAMES.

THE interest of this British Museum publication for students of Apocryphal literature has been very completely dealt with by Dr James, and I have only some remarks to make on it from a philological point of view. The present volume is the third of a series issued by the Trustees of the Museum containing Coptic texts and translations of the highest importance: they have the great advantage of being published at a most reasonable price, and in appearance and 'get-up' leave nothing to be desired. It is, however, necessary to point out that the editing of the volumes and the translations in them are far from perfect: and it seems a pity that many of the manuscripts on which they are based should have been kept from the use of the general public for some years, if the publications in which they finally appear are of such a nature that it is not safe to use them without a recollection and an examination of the renderings by further scholars. Profitably to employ the first (Coptic Homilies, 1910) it is necessary to have recourse to the long list of corrections and retranslations published by Dr O. von Lemm,<sup>1</sup> who worked with photographs of the MS: the second (Biblical Texts, 1912) requires a complete collation with the original papyrus before

<sup>1</sup> Koptische Miscellen lxxxv, *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 1910, p. 1098.

its text can be profitably employed: and it seems that the present volume too will need a re-examination with the MSS, and a careful scrutiny of the translations given, before it can be used as a basis for further study in Coptic philology or for a close investigation of the Apocrypha printed in it. The present criticisms form only a selection from notes made on a first reading, without fresh comparison with the originals.

I leave entirely on one side the first and most important piece in the volume. A complete facsimile of the MS of the *Book of the Resurrection by Bartholomew the Apostle* is here given, and it was carefully translated by Mr Crum four years ago<sup>1</sup>: sufficient material is therefore accessible to those who wish to make their own corrections. The texts, however, of the other Apocrypha are not reproduced in full facsimile, but a specimen of each is given: these are enough to shew that on p. 59 (third line of title) ΠΤΑΥΤCΑΗΟΥ should be read<sup>2</sup> for ΠΤΑΥΤCΑΗΟΥ, and that on p. 75 the first word of the text should be ΤΖΗΠΘΕCIC and not ΠΖΗΠΘΕCIC: this latter correction absolves the Coptic writer from the error of having mistaken the gender of a very common Greek word.

I lay little stress on some small errors, perhaps misprints, such as ΠΤΗ for ΠΤΗ (p. 59, l. 7 of text), ΕΡΗΑΞ for ΕΡΗΑΞ (p. 62, l. 23), ΟΤΟΠ for ΟΤΟΠ (p. 135, l. 13), or CΕΠΘΕΗΙΟΥ for CΕΠΘΕΗΙΟΥ (p. 152, l. 17): but I will hazard the guess that ΠΖΗΠΘΕCIC (p. 137, l. 2) will be found on inspecting the MS to be in reality ΠΖΗΠΘΕCIC, in which case the translation (p. 343) should not be 'the wild animals which lived in the region (μέρος) round about them', but 'the animals which became tame (ἡμέρος) towards them'.

I will now proceed to remark on a few of the very many renderings with which I cannot agree.

P. 234, l. 17. 'Let Him but shew Himself unmindful of you, and ye must live in painful restraint.' Rather, 'Let Him be relieved of anxiety, because ye live in chastity'. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΑ (ἐγκράτεια) has its ordinary meaning.

P. 236, l. 2. 'The Majesty, Who was sent for the sake of us, the children of men.' The verb ΠΕΠΤΑΥΧΟΟC comes not from ΧΟΟC to send but ΧΕ to call, and the translation should be 'The Greatness; He that was called "Son of Man" for us'.

P. 238, l. 23. 'Thou it was Who didst open my heart three times in the same year.' ΜΕΡΥΘΟΜΕ is an ordinal number: 'He it was Who did open my heart in my third year.'

<sup>1</sup> *The Light of Egypt*, by Robert de Rustafjaell, London 1909, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> CΑΗΟ means to learn and ΤCΑΗΟ (the causative) to teach. Accordingly, in the rendering on p. 241, 'which he learned' must be altered to 'which were taught him'.



P. 238, last line, and p. 239, top. 'Thou it was Who didst stop the mouth of the disease which appertained to my soul, and didst prevent the committal of the act which appertained thereto.' Dr Budge has construed the word  $\epsilon\omicron\eta\pi$  as though it were composed of the relative and the qualitative of the verb  $\omega\pi$  to *number, to account*. But in this Southern dialect the relative is  $\epsilon\tau$ -, not  $\epsilon\omicron$ -: and  $\epsilon\omicron\eta\pi = \epsilon\tau\eta\pi$ , the relative *plus*  $\eta\pi$ , which is the qualitative of  $\eta\omega\pi$  to *conceal*. Translate therefore: 'He it was Who did stop the mouth of the secret disease of my soul, and did cut short<sup>1</sup> the commission of the secret act.'

P. 239, l. 16. 'And I have fulfilled the stewardship which Thou didst commit to me.' I do not see any words in the Coptic which could represent the latter part of this sentence. 'I have fulfilled the stewardship for which Thou madest me to live.'

P. 239, l. 27. 'Let them (i.e. the holy angels) wound the Principalities.' The particle  $\pi\epsilon\varsigma$  shews that  $\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omega\pi$  is the nominative: 'Let the Principalities be destroyed.'

P. 241, l. 11 of text. 'John, enquire thou of Me fully.'  $\alpha\kappa\chi\eta\omega\tau$  is perfect indicative, not imperative. 'John, thou hast enquired of Me justly.' So on the next page, l. 12, 'I will make' must be altered into 'I have made'.

P. 246, l. 18. 'The Seraphim, who were dressed in the grain-plant.' The Coptic is  $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\pi$   $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\alpha\kappa\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ . Dr Budge has confused  $\eta\alpha\omega\varsigma$  *dress* with  $\eta\alpha\alpha\kappa\epsilon$  *veil*, and wrongly introduced the rare word  $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$  *hordeum*. It should be: 'The Seraphim, who veil the Father.'

P. 247, l. 25. 'The daylight' should be 'the dew'. A curious mistranslation: the word has been twice correctly rendered in the preceding lines.

P. 255, l. 6. 'Know thou that [one] man is wont to perform very many superfluous works, [and another] very many acts of goodness.' Rather: 'God knoweth how many evil works man is wont to perform, and how many good works.'

P. 255, l. 12. 'He Who created man was without sin.' Rather: 'He created man without sin.'

P. 336, l. 7. 'Have declared many of thine exalted words.' This should be 'Have pronounced many eulogies upon thee'.

P. 336, note. There is no reference to the divine name  $\text{IA}\Omega$ . The letters  $\text{I}\omega\alpha$  are the first three of St John's name in Greek, and  $\text{I}\omega\alpha$  is often used in Coptic as a contraction for  $\text{I}\omega\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$  or  $\text{I}\omega\eta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$ .

P. 354, ll. 15 sqq. Almost the whole of this paragraph has been made meaningless through a grammatical misapprehension. There is a series of words beginning with the letters  $\pi\alpha\tau$ -, which Dr Budge has analysed into  $\pi$ -, the definite article masculine, and  $\alpha\tau$ - the negative

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic word is  $\alpha\kappa\chi\omega\omega\tau$ , not  $\alpha\kappa\chi\omega\omega\tau$ .

prefix: the division should be  $\pi\alpha$ -, the possessive article masculine ( $\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ ,  $\delta\ \tau\eta\varsigma$ ), and  $\tau$ -, the definite article feminine. All the negatives thus disappear, and the passage runs: 'The spirit of cowardice and that of unbelief walk together. The spirit of lying and that of craftiness walk together. The spirit of love of money, and that of trafficking, and that of swearing false oaths, and that of wickedness, and that of envy walk together. The spirit of vainglory and that of greediness (for  $\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\iota\alpha\zeta\tau$  read  $\lambda\alpha\beta\upsilon\alpha\zeta\tau$ ) walk together. The spirit of fornication and uncleanness walk together. The spirit of enmity and that of sorrow (*morositas*) walk together.'

P. 355, l. 14. 'His Christ-like [affection].'  $\alpha\pi\tau\chi\rho\varsigma$  is an abbreviation not for  $\alpha\pi\tau\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  but for  $\alpha\pi\tau\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . 'His goodness.'

P. 355, l. 26. 'Let him hear now his Creator.'  $\alpha\pi\iota\omicron$  has no connexion with  $\alpha\pi\omicron$  *to beget*. 'He shall hear now his rebuke.'

P. 363, l. 23. 'Behold, Eve, who was deceived, is in Paradise . . . Behold, Adam, who transgressed the commandment, is in Paradise.' Pachomius is insisting that God is within every man, and that his outward surroundings have no effect on his conduct. He then contrasts pairs of biblical characters, shewing how the most unpromising characters could become saints, and vice versa. The penitent thief went to Paradise, while Judas betrayed his Lord. Rahab the harlot was numbered with the saints, while Eve in Eden went astray. Job on his dung-heap became like his Lord, while Adam in Eden fell. The proud angels fell from heaven, while Elijah and Enoch were translated thither. In the two lines quoted the  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$  is the Garden of Eden. They must be translated: 'Behold, Eve on the other hand in the Garden of Eden was led astray . . . Behold, Adam on the other hand in the Garden of Eden fell from the commandment that had been laid upon him.'

Such passages as these, which I have chosen from little over a dozen pages in various parts of the book, could be very greatly multiplied if space were permitted. I think I have given enough to shew that in the present publication the British Museum has not done justice either to itself or to the public.

S. GASELEE.

## ORIENTALIA.

*S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan.*  
By C. W. MITCHELL, M.A. Vol. i. (Published for the Text and Translation Society by Williams & Norgate, London, 1913.)

BOTH Mr Mitchell and the Text and Translation Society are to be heartily congratulated on the appearance of this first instalment of

a text of the very first importance. When the edition is completed we shall have approximately the whole of St Ephraim's greatest prose work, his exhaustive refutation of the three religious systems the authors of which are mentioned in the title above. The edition is to comprise three volumes. The first, which has now appeared, contains the five discourses addressed to one Hypatius; the second will contain another discourse entitled 'Of Domnus'; the third will contain Mr Mitchell's own study of these writings, in which the evidence derivable from them will be collected, arranged, and commented upon, with notes on certain points of special interest, such as Ephraim's apparent allusion (through Mani) to the ancient 'Hymn of the Soul' and Mani's employment of painted pictures as an aid to the propagation of his doctrines, and various names and technical terms which occur in the religious systems will be discussed.

Of the five discourses 'To Hypatius' contained in the present volume, the first and a part of the second have been available in Syriac for some time past, having been edited by J. J. Overbeck in his *S. Ephraemi aliorumque opera selecta* (Oxford 1865), pp. 21-73. With the publication of the whole five comes a verification of Professor Burkitt's important discovery—it can hardly be called a conjecture—that St Ephraim's authorship of the discourses is attested by what we may call his own signature, each discourse beginning with the corresponding letter of the name ܐܦܪܝܡ 'Afrem' (see *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* pp. 73-74). Thus it may safely be said that there is no ancient document in existence the authenticity of which is more certain.

Of these Prose Refutations, the first discourse to Hypatius is found separately in the British Museum MS Add. 14570, of the fifth or sixth century, and the first and part of the second in Add. 14574. These were the MSS used by Overbeck. The last-named MS consists now of only nineteen leaves; but what was originally part of it has been turned into a palimpsest, and is now Add. 14623. The 88 leaves of this palimpsest contain the rest of discourse ii and the remaining three 'To Hypatius', also the treatise entitled 'Of Domnus'. The under-writing is extremely faint, and to the unaided sight is legible only on one side of the vellum. Mr Mitchell tells us that after working at the MS for a considerable time he had succeeded in deciphering some thirty of these alternate pages; but owing to the further circumstance that the order of the leaves had been disturbed by the monk Aaron, who was responsible for the upper writing, he was unable to restore the transcribed pages to their original positions. These pages had begun to be printed in 1908; but the work then received a happy interruption. Dr Barnett, Keeper of the Oriental MSS at the British Museum, decided to make an exception to the general rule of the Museum, and apply

a re-agent. The result was that Mr Mitchell was enabled to read most of the hitherto illegible pages ; and we are shortly to have 'the text and translation of Ephraim's "Contra Haereses" approximately complete'. There are still a good number of regrettable lacunae ; but these are rarely of any great extent ; and from the large mass of consecutive text it should be possible to put together in an 'approximately complete' form St Ephraim's arguments against the three heretics, and to gather practically the whole of what he had to tell about their teachings.

The translation which Mr Mitchell gives of the five discourses to Hypatius is of unusual merit ; and readers will feel all the more confidence in its general accuracy from knowing that here, as in the preparation of the text, the editor has had the constant advice and help of Professor A. A. Bevan. But probably Professor Bevan and Mr Mitchell would be among the last to claim absolute finality for the translation. The difficulty of Ephraim's prose style is well known ; and in the present case the difficulty is increased by the comparative obscurity of the subject-matter, as well as by the subtlety, and often the allusiveness, of the arguments. Lacunae also, even short ones, often render the construction of the words which immediately follow them quite problematical. Nevertheless, it is probable that, when other scholars have had time to offer their suggestions, Mr Mitchell will find it necessary to make few material changes in his present English version. If one might venture on a general criticism, it would be that the translation is, if anything, somewhat too literal, and echoes perhaps more than was necessary in English the difficulty of the Syriac style.

It is to be hoped that when the edition is complete some full appreciation both of St Ephraim's work and of Mr Mitchell's study of it will be given in this JOURNAL by a competent hand. In the meantime theologians and Syriac students may well congratulate themselves on the recovery of these important patristic texts of the fourth century, and that the editing of them has fallen into such able hands.

*The Commentaries of Ishō'dad of Merv.* Edited and translated by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON : vol. iv Acts of the Apostles and three Catholic Epistles (*Horae Semiticae* No. x). (University Press, Cambridge, 1913.)

MRS GIBSON has already given us Ishō'dadh's Commentaries on the Gospels in three volumes. We have here those on Acts, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. For the edition four late MSS have been available ; that in the possession of Professor Margoliouth (M) being printed in the text, and the variants of the others given in the notes.

A short introduction is supplied by Dr Rendel Harris. From a MS in his possession of the Gannath Bussāmē ('Garden of Delights'), a Nestorian commentary on the Lectionary of the whole year compiled from a variety of sources, Dr Harris had conjectured that the quotation in Acts xvii 28, 'In Him we live and move and have our being', belonged to the same poem, and to the same context, as the verse in the Epistle to Titus, namely, the Minos of Epimenides; and further, that the combination of the two verses in the Gannath was derived from Theodore of Mopsuestia. Both these conjectures are now verified by Ishō'dādh: the two verses are again combined in one quotation, and are actually said to be from the Minos; and since Theodore is mentioned a little before in connexion with St Paul's speech before the Areopagus, it is as good as certain that this information is derived from him. What would have been another interesting 'find' in the Commentary on Acts, viz. the list of apostles from the Diatessaron, has also been forestalled by Dr Harris in his booklet *Ephrem on the Gospel*. The same Commentary contains much more from Theodore, though he is not by any means always directly quoted.

The Commentary on Acts is scant and even scrappy: but that on the Catholic Epistles can hardly be dignified with the name at all—it occupies about five pages of Mrs Gibson's translation. Ishō'dādh thinks poorly of these letters, and regards none of them as authentic. It is a fact that Syriac writers down to a comparatively late date were somewhat shy of any epistles in our Canon other than those of St Paul. Sometimes extracts are taken unwittingly from Greek writers; but unless the Greek authority supplies the name of the author, the chances are that the Syriac borrower will ascribe them to St Paul. Ishō'dādh informs us that Theodore nowhere uses or mentions the epistle of St James.

*The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogius from a Palestinian Syriac and Arabic Palimpsest.* Transcribed by AGNES SMITH LEWIS (*Horae Semiticae* No. ix). (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

MRS LEWIS has laid students of Palestinian Syriac under fresh obligations by the publication of this volume. Its special importance lies in the fact that it gives us two continuous non-biblical texts.

The story of the Martyrs was written by the monk Ammonius, who states that he was at Mount Sinai at the time of the events recorded,

on his return to Egypt after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Martyrs of Sinai were certain monks dwelling in the outlying cells; and Ammonius saw their bodies after they had been killed by the 'Saracens'. The news of the massacre at Raithro, two days' journey from Sinai, was brought a few days later by one of the three monks who escaped. This second slaughter is ascribed to a gang of Blemmyes, who landed suddenly from a boat and, after defeating a body of 'Saracens', invaded the monastery for the purpose of plunder and murdered the monks. The Blemmyes were themselves exterminated by the neighbouring inhabitants of Pharan.

The story appears to have been written by Ammonius in Coptic, and, according to the document itself, was afterwards translated into Greek by a certain John. The Greek text was published by Combefis (*Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti Triumphi* p. 88 foll.). Mrs Lewis states that the Greek translation was made by Ammonius himself; and also that the Palestinian Syriac version was made from the Coptic. But the first of these statements hardly accords with the document; and the second seems at least questionable. Further, it may be doubted whether, as Mrs Lewis concludes, the name 'Saracens' necessarily implies followers of the religion of Islam. The story itself suggests altogether earlier conditions, and a pre-Muhammadan date for the events described.

The fact that both pieces are extant in Greek is of importance for the lexicographer. The Glossary which Mrs Lewis gives contains only new or rare forms, and covers the text of *Codex Climaci Receptus* (*Horae Semiticae* No. viii) as well as that of the two new pieces. The new texts will doubtless supply their quota of puzzles: what, for example, is the meaning of ܡܡܫܐ, p. 69 col. 1 l. 19? The passage which commences with it has troubled Mrs Lewis, for she translates the words ܡܡܫܐ ܡܡܫܐ ܡܡܫܐ ܡܡܫܐ, 'Thy breakfast is quite safe from these mockeries'. But is not ܡܡܫܐ either a misprint or a scribe's mistake for ܡܡܫܐ? Neglecting ܡܡܫܐ, I think we must translate the rest 'Be silent from these jests'. On p. 18 (text p. 58) 'made a repentance' (*bis*), for ܡܡܫܐ ܡܡܫܐ, should be 'made an obeisance' (*μετάνοια*): the Greek word in this sense is often transliterated in Syriac liturgical documents.

The MS containing these texts was acquired by Mrs Lewis in Egypt in 1906. It is a palimpsest; the upper writing is Arabic, and is assigned to the tenth century. Mrs Lewis surmises that the under-writing may be of the seventh century.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

*Isiqiosi Eritzu Meknuthiun Yobay*: Commentary on Job by Isiqios (Hesychius) the Elder, edited by Fr CHÉRUBIN TCHÉRAKIAN. (Press of San Lazaro, Venice, 1913.)

ONE of the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice, P. Chérubin Tchérakian, has recently published this old Armenian Version of a commentary upon Job by the monk and priest Hesychius of Jerusalem who died in the year 433 or 438. The manuscript used was written in Cilicia in the year 1299, and the version itself was made, if we may judge from the classical purity of its idiom, in the sixth century of our era. Unfortunately the manuscript contains the commentary on the first twenty chapters only, but a good deal of the remainder is preserved in a catena upon Job, compiled by an Armenian writer of the thirteenth century known as *Vanakan* or the *Monk*.

The original Greek text from which the Armenian was translated is lost; but we can form a very adequate idea of it from the version. It is an example of the allegorizing symbolic method of commenting which was in vogue at the time, but at the same time it is often relieved from dullness by the brilliant oriental fancy of the author.

Hesychius is said to have been a pupil of Gregory Nazianzen, and was ordained priest by the patriarch of Jerusalem, in which city he passed the rest of his life, and was buried near the Great gate; there a shrine was raised to him, as Mercati has shewn in the *Revue Biblique*, 1907, p. 79. In the *Life of Euthymius* ch. 42 (Migne *P.G.* cxiv 629 B) he is mentioned as a prominent member of the following of Juvenal of Jerusalem. It was already on record that he wrote a commentary on Job and Ezekiel (Migne *P.G.* xc. 781).

The Commentary, now recovered from the oblivion of centuries, is ascetic in tone, and we can trace in it many resemblances with, perhaps even a literary dependence on, the homilies of John Chrysostom. The variants of the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are occasionally adduced.

Father Tchérakian contributes a long and learned introduction in which he examines on the one hand the linguistic peculiarities of the version, and shews that it cannot have been made later than the seventh century, and on the other hand the theological ideas and attitude of the author. We do not get many references to contemporary events, or to ecclesiastical practices, or to cult.

Of Hesychius, besides this commentary, there are preserved in Armenian some half-dozen scholia on the Catholic Epistles, and an encomium on the Virgin Mary. These are added in an appendix by the editor. The interest of the book is enhanced by the fact that there exists hardly any other Greek commentary on Job of equal antiquity, with the exception of the newly found one by Chrysostom.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

## EUSEBIANA.

*Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.* By HUGH JACKSON LAWLOR, D.D. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1912.)

THESE Essays have appeared, in substance, in this JOURNAL or in *Hermathena*, and as friendly criticism has already detected and revision removed earlier errors, the book before us is a good example of close-woven argument based on thorough investigation, and no advantage has been taken in the opening Essay, on the *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus, of Lightfoot's remark that 'with . . . Hegesippus any one is free to indulge in sweeping assertions with little fear of conviction'. In the piecing together of all that we can at present hope to possess of the 'Memoirs'<sup>1</sup> (with the occasionally embarrassing help of Epiphanius) there are, of course, doubtful points in abundance, and I fail to follow Dr Lawlor in his reconstruction of Fragment iii e (his own numbering) from *H. E.* ii 23, Epiph. *Haer.* 78. 14. Corruption there certainly is: Epiphanius, we are told, read εὐλαβείας in place of δικαιοσύνης, and an explanation of the change is offered. Is not a simple haplography more likely? If the text originally ran διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δίκαιος καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐλαβείας ὁ εὐλαβής, one or the other portion of the sentence would easily be dropped, and thus we can well understand Eusebius giving one, Epiphanius the other. Let the latter διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς once have been lost, and εὐλαβείας, ὁ εὐλαβής, one or both, would be isolated and invite corruption. Then attempts would be made to explain the inexplicable ὠβλίας, ὀβλίας, or ἰοβλίας. We get actually περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ (Eusebius) περιοχὴ παθῶν (Matthaei's *Menology* 23 Oct.) and ὀφθαλμὸς λεία βλέπων (*ib.*). Few syllables are so liable to textual corruption as λαβ, βαλ, βλαβ,<sup>2</sup> &c., and, once isolated, the words might become almost anything.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Lawlor judges this rendering inadequate, but retains it. The 'Memoirs' only became history in any sense (and yet that is what 'memoirs' suggest) in the fifth book, and the earlier books must have been singularly disjointed. The word seems to have meant originally 'reminders' (Appian *B. C.* iv 57 *ad init.*), and the work seems to have been a 'short way' or series of 'short ways' with the Gnostics. Perhaps 'memoranda' will do: or the title may have been half-humorous, 'Reminders' or 'Things not to be forgotten'. Certainly Eusebius seems right when he says that the 'memoranda' were couched in the simplest literary form (*H. E.* iv 8. 2).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Plutarch *Pericl.* 15, Aesch. *Ag.* 1024, *Choeph.* 496, *Suppl.* 935 (Tucker *ad loc.*), Soph. *O. C.* 471, 475, and numerous other examples in any critical editions. From our own language there occurs the 'table (or "babble") of green fields'.

Of the above attempts at explanation the two former seem to have taken ὠβλίας (perhaps reading ὠβλίαμ) as a Hebrew title. The last may contain in the unintelligible λεία some salvaged fragments of εὐ-β-λεια-s.



ὥβλίας is not far removed from εὐ-βλειας. All this would not weaken Dr Lawlor's contention that Epiphanius possessed and used a better text of Hegesippus than Eusebius.

Another passage where I do not feel confident in Dr Lawlor's exegesis is in Fragments iii g (Euseb. *H. E.* iv 22) and h, which he separates; ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ πάλιν . . . Συμεὼν . . . καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος . . .

We must surely interpret even a fragmentary author by himself. In Fr. iv k *H. E.* iv 32 ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, Fr. v c *H. E.* iv 22 ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, Fr. v e *H. E.* iii 22 (συνεπάγημεν) τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, the ὀρθὸς λόγος is certainly what Eusebius calls *H. E.* iv 8 2 ἡ ἀπλανὴς παράδοσις, and it is Hegesippus's whole purpose to shew that, up to the present, everything that went on was on the basis of, in the atmosphere of, the same unwavering tradition. Thus πάλιν is necessary and right; 'after James had borne witness, . . . *again*, on the basis of the same tradition, Symeon is appointed Bishop'. On this account (just because everything so far was ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ) they called the Church uncorrupted. Moreover, as Symeon was made Bishop ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, so (Fr. iv k) ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ (Valois is certainly right here) he dies.

The well-known διαδοχὴν ἐποιήσαμην of Fr. v f (*H. E.* iv 22) Dr Lawlor interprets after Lightfoot 'I made a succession list'. Probably Lightfoot seldom built on flimsier foundations than on these words. There is no excuse for διαδοχή, on his assumption, rather than κατάλογος, and ἐποιήσαμην is not the normal verb to express his meaning (καταλόγους ποιεῖσθαι as in Thuc. vi 26, Dem. 1208. 6, &c., is not in point). διαδοχὴν ποιεῖσθαι should mean διαδέχεσθαι, as κατάλογον ποιεῖσθαι is properly καταλέγειν. Rufinus, and the conjecture of διατριβήν, may doubtless be dismissed, but that does not render the text any easier to understand, and at present we must rest content with asserting only what it does not mean.<sup>1</sup> The drawing up of a succession-list cannot have been a very heavy task, and to say 'when I found myself in Rome I drew up a list' forms an anticlimax. The list he might have drawn up elsewhere; we want an account of something which he could not well have undertaken except on the spot. Moreover, it is not the habit of authors to belittle their work; and Hegesippus is not likely therefore to have called his Chronicle of the Early Church of Rome 'a list'.

The second Essay, 'on the Heresy of the Phrygians', seeks to overthrow the tacitly adopted principle that Montanism was homogeneous, so that we can test Phrygian montanism by its African developement.

<sup>1</sup> If conjectural emendation is ever to clear the passage, the right direction appears to be to find Πίον in the opening letters of ἐποι-ησάμην (see Epiph. *Haer.* 27. 6, Fr. v i). Might the lost verb be διηγησάμην? The original may have been on these lines: τὰ μετὰ διαδοχὴν Πίου διηγησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικίτου.

The early Phrygian type is distinguished from the African by its 'apostolic succession' of prophetic gifts, its exaltation of women devotees, and its expectation of the Parousia in Pepuza, not Jerusalem.

The third Essay deals with Eusebius's use of tracts, which he possessed in bound volumes. Of these Dr Lawlor gives a fairly complete catalogue, and so throws valuable light upon some of Eusebius's errors of chronology (such as his confusion of the persecutions of Decius and Valerian) which arose from his failure to observe that his documents were grouped by subjects, not dates.

An elaborate study of the Chronology of the 'Martyrs of Palestine' and of the Ninth book of the History follows. To the latter is appended an interesting but inconclusive appendix by Dr L. C. Purser, on the rate of march of a Roman army. The result (an average of about fifteen to seventeen English miles) seems small when we remember that the ancient army harried more and carried less than modern troops, and except in dangerous country cannot have taken very long to make or break up their camps.

The final Essay, on the earlier forms of the Ecclesiastical History, discusses the theories of McGiffert and Schwartz; the one, that book ix as well as book x is a supplement to the original work, the other, that there were two recensions of the entire work, represented by two groups of MSS. Dr Lawlor's conclusion is that seven books were nearly completed when Galerian's edict of toleration seemed to give a natural terminus to the story. The eighth book was then written as a summary of the persecution which seemed so happily ended; on its breaking out again under Maximin an abridgement of the newly written 'Martyrs' was added, as a supplement, to this book. After the edict of Milan a third edition of the History, with the addition of book ix, was issued; and a fourth edition, with book x, some eleven years later. This linking of the 'Martyrs' with book viii (the Ecclesiastical History being itself the 'larger work', of which Westcott and Lightfoot regarded the 'Martyrs' as being a portion) is Dr Lawlor's own, and carries much weight. It is refreshing to emerge from the complexity of Schwartz's document-groups into the common-sense historical treatment of Dr Lawlor, who throughout the book finely combines sanity of judgement with a wide view and a minuteness of research too often absent from studies of this kind.

E. ILIFF ROBSON.

## DICTIONARIES AND COLLECTIONS.

OF the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, quatrième édition entièrement refondue, sous la direction de A. D'Alès, professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris (G. Beauchesne, Paris), the ninth *fascicule* (Incinération—Instruction de la Jeunesse) is published this year. The first was issued in 1909, so a good rate of progress is maintained. The Dictionary is described on its title-page as containing 'the proofs of the truth of Religion and the answers to the objections drawn from human sciences'. The articles which I have read seem to me to fulfil admirably the purpose which the Editor and the band of scholars who work under his direction have set before them. All that can be said on the various subjects from the Roman Catholic point of view seems to be said well and effectively. The most recent theories of scholars and investigators, who approach their studies with other conceptions of the Church and the history of Christian institutions and doctrines, are fairly and sufficiently stated. Most English students will probably find this part of the various articles, and the summaries of the history of 'Catholic' thought and practice in regard to the subjects dealt with, the most valuable elements of the Dictionary. The latter at all events seem to me so useful that the volumes ought to find a place in all English theological libraries, however well supplied they may be with encyclopaedias written, in whole or in part, with complete detachment from traditional conceptions of the Christian Religion.

In the fifth volume (Dravidians-Fichte) of Dr J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912) the letter E is reached and one of the chief articles, covering eighty-five pages, is on ETHICS AND MORALITY. In it the different conceptions and standards of different races are described by various writers; and there are also articles on ETHICS by Dr J. H. Muirhead, and ETHICS (RUDIMENTARY) by Mr R. R. Marett, which furnish a general introduction to the subject, and others on particular ethical questions. Among the articles which seem to be of special 'theological' value or interest in the present volume are EUCHARIST (J. H. Srawley 'to end of Middle Ages') and EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (some forty pages, separate articles on different religions); and, to specify others, DREAMS AND SLEEP, DUALISM, FAITH-HEALING, FASTING, FATE, FESTIVALS AND FASTS (fifty pages by various writers). But on any of the subjects included in the *Encyclopaedia* the articles, without exception, furnish a student with most of the information and guidance as to the literature which he needs, and it does not matter whether he is able, or not, to

submit himself to the particular writer's point of view. Many of the articles are, of course, primarily historical, and various schools and denominations and many nationalities are represented among the writers.

A warm welcome must be given to the two handsome volumes of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, edited in conjunction with many scholars by Dr R. H. Charles (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913). The work is on a larger scale and embraces more writings than Kautzsch's edition in German (1900), which has hitherto been the only available collection. The introduction to each book gives the latest results of the investigations of the most competent scholars, and the English translation is accompanied by a critical and exegetical commentary. Paper, type, and printing are of the best.<sup>1</sup> The first volume contains the Apocrypha proper with the omission of 4 Ezra (which, as being essentially a Pseudepigraph, is transferred to vol. ii) and the addition of 3 Maccabees (which is found in many MSS of the LXX). The writings in this volume are grouped in classes as 'Historical Books', 'Quasi-historical books written with a moral purpose', 'Wisdom Literature', and 'Additions to and completions of the Canonical Books'. In the second volume are the extant non-canonical Jewish books written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100, viz. (1) The Book of Jubilees with the heading 'Primitive History written from the standpoint of the Law'; (2) 'Sacred Legends'—the Letter of Aristeas, the Books of Adam and Eve, the Martyrdom of Isaiah; (3) 'Apocalypses'—1 Enoch, the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Sibylline Oracles, the Assumption of Moses, 2 Enoch or the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, 2 Baruch or the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, 3 Baruch or the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Ezra; (4) 'Psalms'—the Psalms of Solomon; (5) 'Ethics and Wisdom Literature'—4 Maccabees. *Pirkē Aboth* and *The Story of Aḥikar* are also added to the last section, and the collection concludes with *The Fragments of a Zadokite Work* as throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. General introductions to each volume are supplied by Dr Charles, who also takes a large share in the special parts of the second volume. No one can complain that so much and such valuable work is dear at three guineas, but the wish may be expressed that the translations of the writings in vol. ii might be published separately at a more popular price. Meanwhile, all English students will be profoundly grateful to the Editor, his collaborators, and the publishers.

<sup>1</sup> There is an unfortunate disarrangement of the type in vol. i p. 591, where the 'Christian gloss' commonly cited as Baruch iii 38 appears in the text as '4 1' and is commented on in the note as verse '37' of chapter iii; but this is probably a solitary mishap.

The *Enchiridion fontium historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae* (Herder, Freiburg i. Br., 1910), by C. Kirch, S.J., provides in an octavo volume of some six hundred pages at the moderate price of nine marks as complete a collection of 'authorities' for the history of the Church for the first seven centuries as most students would desire. In the words of the Preface there are given in it, in chronological order, the most noteworthy passages from non-Christian as from ecclesiastical writers about the first founders of the Church and its extension, about persecutions, the hierarchy, Christian doctrine, heresies and schisms, the sacraments and the liturgy, Christian practice and institutions, and the relations of the Church with the civil power. To these are added canons of Councils and circular-letters, decrees of Popes and laws and rescripts of Emperors relating to ecclesiastical doctrine, constitution, government, and discipline; and examples of acts of martyrs, epitaphs, and papyri libelli. Particular attention has been paid to the supply of extracts on controverted questions which will provide materials for 'exercises' in the seminaries, and the Editor justly claims that without special intention he has compiled a kind of patristic *chrestomathia*. He has included nothing for its purely literary character, and comparatively few extracts bearing expressly on the history of doctrines which are contained in the companion volume by Denzinger-Bannwart (*J. T. S.* xiii p. 444), being content to refer the reader to it. In his choice of text he has followed the best editions, printing a Latin version opposite the Greek. The result is a volume which every student will be glad to possess, and one which will furnish him with abundant materials for critical investigation of the history of the Church during the period it covers. It is no part of the Editor's purpose either to provide solutions of the many problems which it offers, or in his choice of materials to point to any that would disturb traditional opinions.

An English translation of the *Philocalia of Origen* was no doubt well worth making, and the one before me (by the Rev. G. Lewis; T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911), which is I believe the first to be made, will serve the good purpose of introducing English readers to much of Origen's best thought, in his own words, particularly in regard to the problems presented by Holy Scripture. But the translator of the *Philocalia* has a very difficult task, and in dealing with the more philosophical or theological passages Mr Lewis sometimes fails altogether. He writes very modestly in his Preface and says he has availed himself of any printed matter he could find; but, in at least one instance, had he taken more pains to acquaint himself with other scholars' work, he would have been able to produce more satisfactory results. In his translation of the difficult Eusebian extract (? Methodius) in ch. xxiv, on Matter and the cause of evil, he frequently obscures the meaning of the argument and sometimes makes nonsense of it, as

e. g. in the sentence at the end of § 1: 'For once it is clear *how evil comes to exist*, and, if *because matter is subject to God*, we cannot possibly deny that He was the cause of evil, there will, I think, be an end of your supposition.' That conglomeration of words means nothing as a whole, and in the clauses I have italicized Mr Lewis has entirely misrepresented the Greek and so an essential part of the argument itself. Dr Gifford's excellent translation (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* vii 22), published in 1903, would have shewn him what the whole chapter and this particular passage mean.

*Bibelatlas*, by Dr H. Guthe, Professor at Leipzig (H. Wagner & E. Debes, Leipzig, 1911), is a volume of maps to illustrate and elucidate the Bible, for which gratitude is due to the editor and the publishers alike. In the Preface it is claimed that the maps are based on the latest researches of scholars and explorers; they are certainly beautifully printed and coloured, on large pages (nearly 18 inches by 12), and all the names are clear and easy to read. Geographical study with such an Atlas is full of pleasure. Five of the maps are on double pages—Palestine c. 1000–750 B.C., the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdom eighth and seventh century B.C., Palestine in the time of Christ, the Mediterranean lands in the first century A.D., and Palestine of to-day. Besides these there are single-page maps of Syria and Egypt c. 1400–1250 B.C., of Palestine in the time of Saul and in the seventh century B.C., and smaller ones of Palestine at other periods, and plans of the great cities and particular districts which figure in Bible history. There are also maps of the world and the distribution of peoples according to Gen. ii 10 ff, J and P in Gen. x, and Herodotus. It is difficult to suppose that there can be a better Bible Atlas than this, and it is to be had for twelve shillings.

In *Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum* (collegerunt P. F. De' Cavalieri et J. Lietzmann: A. Marcus & E. Weber, Bonn, and Parker & Co., Oxford, 1910, 6s.) students of Greek palaeography are provided with phototypes of pages of fifty MSS in the Vatican ranging in date from the fourth to the sixteenth century, many of them in the size of the originals, others only slightly reduced. The fifty facsimiles are preceded by sixteen pages in Latin containing brief descriptions of the MSS, with dates, and in the case of some which present special difficulties transcriptions of the text, and bibliographical references. In making their selection the editors had the advice of Mgr Mercati. The object being to form a basis for the reading and dating of Greek MSS, examples of inscriptions and papyri are not included; but abundant materials are furnished for the student of literary writing.

J. F. B-B.

## CHRONICLE

## PATRISTICA.

*Anecdota Maredsolana—Seconde Série. Études, Textes, Découvertes, Contributions à la Littérature et à l'Histoire des douze premiers siècles par Dom GERMAIN MORIN. Tome premier (Abbaye de Maredsous : Picard, Paris). 1913.*

For the past quarter of a century Dom Morin has been ceaseless in research. Not only has he discovered a large number of valuable works which it was thought had perished, but by his marvellous memory and his sagacious learning he has shed a flood of light on the authorship of many documents, anonymous or falsely attributed. Many of his contributions to literature have been written at white heat. If further reflexion has at times led him to a change of view, his method has at least the advantage of putting a case in the clearest possible fashion, and he has never hesitated to retract frankly, in cases where he believes that he has erred in his first presentation.

Most of Dom Morin's writings have appeared in the pages of the *Revue Bénédictine*. It is not too much to say that without his contributions that *Review* would lose at least half its value for the majority of us. But the *Review* is not as widely circulated as its merits deserve, and for that reason, if for no other, the volume before us has a special significance. For the first part consists of one hundred and fourteen sections of bibliography, chronologically arranged according to subject, in which he gives with admirable succinctness an exposition of each subject of the history and literature of the first twelve centuries of our era with which he has concerned himself, his point of view at the time of his first published work on the subject, and his present attitude as the result of further criticism. Each such paragraph is accompanied by an exact reference to the article or articles in which the subject is treated. Some such method of reviewing one's earlier work at stated periods seems to be not undesirable in the case of those writers who publish many articles on various subjects. The world has too often lost the benefit of the mature views of scholars for want of some such treatment, and their manuscript notes are either destroyed or interred in some library, where they are never consulted.

The further contents of the volume may be briefly summarized. The *De Similitudine Carnis Peccati* of St Pacian of Barcelona is here printed for the first time, and takes up forty-three pages. Nothing was previously known of it except a long fragment cited by Agobard of Lyons

under the name of Jerome. Rediscovered by Dom Morin in a ninth-century Corbie MS, where it is attributed to a 'S. John, Bishop', it offers such striking resemblances to the recognized works of Pacian that no doubt can be felt as to the authorship. The discovery is a triumphant demonstration of the possibilities of internal criticism. The treatise itself is of considerable interest both to theologians and to philologists. The next document was discovered by Mr C. H. Turner in a manuscript of Laon, and pointed out by him to Dom Morin as worthy of publication. It is a tractate on the Trinity, clearly Priscillianist, and probably to be attributed to Priscillian, or rather, as we must now say, to Instantius, the companion of Priscillian. To him Dom Morin has recently assigned the well-known tractates found in a Würzburg MS by Schepss, and has at the same time cleared up the difficulty that one had always felt about the attribution of the *Canones* to the author of the *Tractatus*. Each of these two documents is accompanied by an adequate introduction and by critical notes. Dom Morin inclines in his editing to a too strict adherence, if I may venture to say so, to the orthography of his MSS. We have now arrived at a stage at which we can tell the orthography of the golden age of Christian Latin literature. The 'Inscription of Clematius and the Legend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins' is the subject of the next section. There follows a delightful chapter of seventy-four pages on 'The Monuments of the Preaching of St Jerome'. Readers of the first series of *Anecdota Maredsolana* are aware that amongst the most important discoveries made by Dom Morin are numerous genuine homilies of St Jerome on the Psalms, preached by him at Bethlehem. Naturally, the texts are not repeated here, but instead we have an *exposé* of the historical and literary problems connected with them, with special treatment of individual documents. Two unpublished discourses of St Augustine follow, one with reference to the conversion of a banker, Faustinus, and the other for the festival of St Eulalia. The next part is the longest in the book, and is concerned with Arnobius Junior. In all, a hundred and thirty-one pages are devoted to him. For the resuscitation of no author perhaps has Dom Morin done more, both by discovery and study. The title of the newly discovered work which occupies rather less than half the total space is, 'Liber ad Gregoriam in Palatio Constitutam'. The text is preceded by a general discussion of the works of this Arnobius, and minute linguistic studies of them. There can be little doubt, it seems to me, that we must now regard the following works as all due to Arnobius Junior: *Expositiunculæ in Evangelium*, *Conflictus Arnobii et Serapionis*,<sup>1</sup> *Praedestinatus*, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, *Libellus*

<sup>1</sup> There exists in a MS at Salisbury, which I had occasion to collate some years ago, an abridged form of this treatise.



*ad Gregoriam*. It seems that a great many more ancient works than we are at first disposed to believe were in reality issued anonymously, and that thus a good deal of confusion has been created in the manuscript tradition. Students of the text of the Latin Bible ought to be particularly grateful for the next item. In a fragmentary Lectionary at Schlettstadt, consisting of ten sheets of vellum, bearing writing of about the beginning of the eighth century, Dom Morin has found, and now publishes, very considerable fragments of a pre-Vulgate text of the Acts of the Apostles. It has, as might be expected, points of contact both with *gigas* and with the Perpignan MS. The remaining contents of the volume are 'Règlements de Grégoire VII pour les Chanoines réguliers', 'Walter de Honnecourt, un Écrivain inconnu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', and 'Critique des Sermons et Homélie apocryphes du Bréviaire Romain'. This last is a masterpiece, and could hardly have been produced by any other living man. Additions and corrections and an admirable index conclude the volume, which is absolutely indispensable to all who are interested in any of its manifold range of subjects.

*La Date de 'l'Épître de Barnabé'*, par M. D'HERBIGNY. (Recherches de Science religieuse, t. i (1910) pp. 417-443, 540-566 (Paris).)

THIS is an exhaustive investigation into the problem with which it deals. The author has carefully studied the whole literature of the subject and writes with very great learning. He concentrates his attention on the well-known prophetic passage in chap. iv, and endeavours to identify the 'little king', who comes eleventh. His argument will be sympathetically viewed by the student of Roman history. Dispossessing himself of the modern point of view in the enumeration of the Roman emperors, he seeks to ascertain what the ancient Jewish point of view would be. How many Roman *αυτοκράτορες* would the Jews of Palestine and Alexandria reckon to have been over them? Beginning with Julius Caesar, and continuing with Mark Antony, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, he arrives at Vespasian as the eleventh. The argument is very skilfully drawn out, and, as the Epistle would appear on other grounds also to belong to the reign of Vespasian, Monsieur D'Herbigny's explanation of the enumeration of kings is probably the right one. If this be so, the question of the similar list in the Apocalypse of John may receive some illustration.

*Les Prétentions des Diacres romains au Quatrième Siècle*, par F. PRAT. (Recherches de Science Religieuse, t. iii [1912] pp. 463-475.)

THIS is an interesting and timely account of the circumstances behind the *De Iactantia Romanorum Levitarum* (no. 101 of the

*Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII* of the enigmatic Ambrosiaster), one of the most attractive documents of the fourth century. Monsieur Prat makes it probable that this document is a reply to a *written* claim, also that Jerome in his letter to Evangelus (146) was not *directly* inspired by Ambrosiaster.

*A Treatise of Saint Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, on the Catechizing of the Uninstructed.* Translated by E. PHILLIPS BARKER. (Methuen, London, 1912.)

MR BARKER has employed the second edition of Mr Fausset's edition of the original (noticed in my last CHRONICLE, vol. xiv p. 154) as the basis of his translation. The original offers considerable difficulties, even to the trained classical scholar, and a translation is a real help. I have tested Mr Barker's version at various points and can recommend it as a scholarly piece of work, sufficiently faithful to the original, yet rendered in forcible and idiomatic English. In chapter viii § 12 *diligentiae* should be rendered 'care', not 'industry', and in chapter xiv § 22 it was a mistake to render the quotation from Hosea as it is in the Hebrew (and the English), instead of translating according to the Septuagint and Old-Latin, 'mercy rather than sacrifice'.

*Die Lukas-Homilien des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese,* von ADOLF RÜCKER. (Goehrlich und Koch, Breslau, 1911.)

THIS work, originally undertaken as a doctor's dissertation in the Catholic theological faculty in the University of Breslau, is a model of neat and exact investigation. One of the crying needs of our time is careful editing and investigation of the earliest commentaries on parts of Holy Scripture. Dr Rücker here gives us a full account of the Greek and Syriac fragments of St Cyril's homilies on St Luke's Gospel, arranges them in their proper order, and discusses their Scripture text and exegetical contents. An appendix provides the Syriac text, and a German translation of fragments preserved in Cod. Sachau 220 (saec. viii-ix) and never before published. Such work as this and what has been done by Lietzmann (and his colleagues), Jenkins, and Ramsbotham, is paving the way for that new edition of Cramer's *Catena*, which will some day be undertaken.

A. SOUTER.

## THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

THE books to be noticed in this Chronicle are excellent illustrations of the different lines and types of investigation in the comparative and historical study of religions, and as practically all are influenced by the 'comparative method' of research, it will be convenient to class them under this heading. The first place may be given to the opening instalment of the second edition of Professor Conrad von Orelli's *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (Marcus & Weber, Bonn, 1911). The value of the old edition is well known, and those who have proved its worth will welcome the new one with the additions and improvements that are being introduced. A general handbook of this character is always useful, and the veteran Basel professor has been at pains to make the new edition as thorough as his space allowed. His position is generally conservative, and the plan of the book is descriptive and historical rather than comparative and anthropological. In this respect it stands in striking contrast to the modern distinctively anthropological and psychological tendencies to correlate the resemblances and differences among all peoples, savage or civilized. The book is, therefore, a very useful reminder that the *merely* 'comparative' treatment is only one of several, that all have a methodological importance, and that the strictly historical and geographical (or ethnical) methods of treatment have certain advantages which the others do not possess. In fact, the introductory pages are strong in precisely those features where the ordinary anthropological treatment is weak; they emphasize the relation between the religion and the general culture of an area, and although the more philosophical writers—Robertson Smith among them—have been awake to this, it has often been underestimated or overlooked by those who have been too one-sidedly specialistic. There are, also, useful sections on the relation between the general history of religion and Christian theology, and on the history of the study (pp. 1-29). Prof. von Orelli turns first to the 'Turanian' group. Sixty pages are devoted to China—a brief outline of its history leads up to a survey of the sacred literature, a chronological sketch of the old Chinese religion, accounts of Lao-tse, Kong-fu-tse (Confucius) and later 'masters', and finally, the development of Chinese popular religion down to the present day. Questions of foreign influence are noticed and briefly handled. The first instalment breaks off in a description of the religion of the other Turanian peoples (pp. 89-96). The whole is to be complete at an early date in two volumes.

More specialistic is the first volume of the results achieved by the Mission d'Ollone in China, 1906-1909 (*Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois*: Leroux, Paris, 1911). It is a valuable contribution to the study

of the present position of Islam in China by Commandant d'Ollone, Captain le Page, and Prof. Vissière. The fields dealt with more especially are the provinces of Yun-nan, Sze-Chuen, and Kan-Su. Special memoirs discuss the interesting figure of Seid Ejell Omar and the part he played in the introduction of Mohammedanism. Much light is thrown upon the fusion of Mohammedan with Chinese belief and practice, and some noteworthy examples are given of the syncretism that has always been at work (pp. 8 sqq., 314 sqq.; 401 sq.). A useful account is given of the character of the literature; Sufite influence is visible, and a description of the Persian MSS is contributed by M. E. Blochet. This may be supplemented by M. Vissière's account of the Mohammedan literature printed in China (pp. 389 sqq.). The volume is a happy example of the co-operation of Sinologists and Arabists, and contains much valuable material which could only have been collected and made accessible through such a combination. The concluding chapter is of more general interest. In it it is argued that the prospects of Islam in China in the future depend upon political factors—as was the case in the past. Mohammedanism has already been able to influence the Chinese in such characteristics as the limitation of pork, alcohol, tobacco, and opium; and the day when some Chinaman of Mohammedan religion becomes the head of a province the majority of the population would not be slow to embrace his faith (p. 342). But that this Chinese-Mohammedanism would regard itself as bound politically to the Mohammedanism of other countries is—to judge from these pages—somewhat unlikely.

A new book on the religion of Egypt comes to supplement the earlier classical works of Steindorff, Wiedemann, and Erman. Prof. J. H. Breasted, the author of *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1912), is well known for his fine *History of Egypt* (1906) and the series of *Historical Records* (1906-1907). The distinctive feature of the book is the place given to the 'Pyramid Texts', a very important series of texts, older than the ever-popular 'Book of the Dead', and certainly the oldest body of literature surviving from the ancient world. They 'disclose to us the earliest chapter in the intellectual history of man as preserved to modern times . . . they are to the study of Egyptian language and civilization what the Vedas have been in the study of early East Indian and Aryan culture'. The standard edition of these texts is quite recent and this book gives the first adequate account in English. Dating from about 2500 B.C., though representing the thought of an earlier period, they afford a good starting-point for the discussion of the religion of Egypt and its development. In addition to a valuable description and survey of the religion as revealed by these texts, the author deals in a very

interesting manner with the main vicissitudes in the course of centuries. Thus one may note, in particular, the well-written chapter on the emergence both of the moral sense and of scepticism at the period of the serious internal troubles of the nineteenth century B.C. Here we have the famous picture of the ideal king, the 'Messianic' character of which is upheld against the criticisms of Mr Alan Gardiner (pp. 212 sqq.). The fascination of the study of the vicissitudes of an area during nearly 3,000 years of history is excellently communicated by Prof. Breasted as he traces them with the help of the recent discoveries, and he emphasizes in particular 'the truth that the process of religion-making has never ceased, and that the same forces which shaped religion in ancient Egypt are still operative in our own midst and continue to mould our own religion to-day'. Here may be appended a reference to a careful investigation of the religious significance of the monarchy in Egypt by a Dutch scholar, Dr G. J. Thierry (*De Religieuze Beteekenis van het Aegyptische Koningschap*: Brill, Leiden, 1913). It is now well known that the Egyptian pharaohs were regarded as semi-divine, if not divine, and this belief was primarily no isolated or conventional one, but involved a large body of beliefs and customs which substantiate and supplement it. In the first instalment (140 pages) Dr Thierry deals with the titles of the Egyptian kings and discusses the evidence in the light of the comparative method. The continuation of this useful piece of research will be awaited with interest.

The 'American Lectures on the History of Religions' have been the means of producing a fine series of special studies, inaugurated in 1894 by Prof. Rhys Davids in his account of Buddhism. The latest, the ninth, is due to Prof. Morris Jastrow, Junior, of Philadelphia: *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (Putnam's, New York and London, 1911). The large volume of nearly 500 pages contains a map, 54 illustrations (with full descriptions), and elaborate chronological lists. Here again we have one of the foremost authorities on the subject. An immense amount of material is deftly and lightly handled by the author in his usual eloquent and lucid manner. The treatment is descriptive and the whole falls into six divisions: (1) culture and religion, (2) the Pantheon, (3) divination, (4) astrology, (5) the temples and their cults, and (6) ethics and the life after death. Prof. Jastrow has a keen sense of the significance of the historical development of a religion and endeavours throughout to distinguish between the popular religion and the somewhat artificial form given to it in the official cult. He observes: 'I am convinced that for a proper understanding of the religion under discussion, we must differentiate more sharply than has hitherto been done between these two currents of thought—the popular and the speculative.' Out of an abundance of

valuable pages it is difficult to select any for special mention, but it may be mentioned that perhaps the most notable contribution is the discussion of 'hepatoscopy', an ancient form of divination, the study of which Prof. Jastrow has made his own. Together with astrology—which, too, is most learnedly and clearly handled—both are ancient investigations of a rudimentary character which have a value of their own for early anatomy and astronomy, and are early examples of 'science' before science was studied for its own sake.

Of a more special character are the firstfruits of the 'Wilde Lecture-ship' at Oxford in which Dr Farnell gives a comparative sketch of Mesopotamian, Anatolian, and Hellenic religions, under the title *Greece and Babylon* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911). The particular problem he takes up is the indebtedness, if any, of Greece to Babylon. Within recent years a strong and by no means unassuming school of Orientalists has been insisting upon the very thorough indebtedness of Greece and other lands to the proud and ancient culture of Babylonia and Assyria. Others, however, have recognized that this indebtedness was exaggerated, and that the claims of 'Pan-Babylonism' went beyond the evidence. It is exceedingly appropriate, therefore, that the question should have been investigated from the Greek side, and that of all scholars Dr Farnell should be the one to handle it. The work has involved a close study of the Oriental material, and here the author has made a careful choice, very little of real importance having been overlooked. He discusses the relations between Greece, Asia Minor, and the Babylonian area, partly as regards the broad features—anthropomorphism, temperament, morality, divine power; and partly with attention to special points—goddesses, nature-powers, eschatology. As was only to be expected, he finds some fundamental differences which outweigh the features in which there are resemblances. In handling the evidence he pays necessary attention to the historical background, pointing out, for example, the influence of the Hittite area as a barrier and as a means of communication between the coastlands of Asia Minor and the Babylonian power. Especially instructive are his remarks on methodology, on anthropomorphism, and on the relation between theriomorphism and mysticism. All in all, the volume is most informing and stimulating, and in many respects it is of more value for the systematic study of religions than its title would suggest.

Miss Jane Harrison, in *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of the Greek Religion* (University Press, Cambridge, 1912), though dealing primarily with Greece, Greek ritual, and Greek ideas, covers a vast range of topics in which the influence of recent psychology, philosophy, and sociology is unmistakable. The book is highly suggestive and arresting as a general contribution to the psychological and anthropological study

of religions ; but one misses a careful and comprehensive treatment of those features which its author considers most potent for the origin and growth of religion. A more sympathetic and more critical acquaintance with psychology and philosophy would—one feels—have a serious effect upon her brilliant and characteristic argumentation : at least it would have suggested that, if any of our ideas resemble those found among totemists, it is hardly because our remote ancestors ‘ once thought and lived totemistically ’ (p. 534). The whole subject of our psychical indebtedness to prehistoric forefathers needs reconsideration. Miss Harrison brings out many valuable parallels, and hardly a page is devoid of fruitful suggestion ; but the book is written from a point of view which is not sufficiently objective to assist the student, and in certain places may wound the ordinary reader who has a religious position of his own. Especially noteworthy is the light thrown upon pre-anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic forms of thought, and upon all that savours of the ‘ mystical ’. This feature, and the admitted indebtedness to M. Bergson (*Preface* p. viii), make it not unnecessary to recall the warning of Plotinus, ‘ to seek to rise above intelligence is to fall outside it ’. No one who reads this—in many respects—striking contribution to the study of religion will escape the feeling that it is as material for that study as any of the Greek or totemistic data which it discusses.

Yet another example of Dr J. G. Frazer’s untiring zeal and ceaseless energy is furnished by the first volume of the Gifford Lectures at St Andrews (1911–1912) : *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (Macmillan, London, 1913). His aim has been to relate the evidence—which he does with his accustomed picturesqueness and eloquence—and to set before his readers the results of his indefatigable labours, in so far as this subject is concerned. The present volume deals with the belief as it is found among the aborigines of Australia, the Torres Straits islands, New Guinea, and Melanesia ; and, needless to say, no future worker at this subject can afford to neglect the vast mine of information here presented in so convenient and readable a form. Dr Frazer explicitly states that his lectures ‘ are intended to serve simply as a document of religious history ; they make no pretence to discuss philosophically the truth of the beliefs and the morality of the practices which will be passed under review ’ (p. 30). None the less, although it may be the task of descriptive anthropology to record observations without any admixture of theory (p. 230 sq.), it is exceedingly difficult to avoid disclosing an attitude which is that of the ‘ philosophe sans le savoir ’. In reading this invaluable book one’s sense of profound indebtedness to the author is tinged with a real regret at his melancholy conception of humanity. It is surely much safer to suppose that the savage is a little wiser than we imagine (cf. p. 265) than with deft

phrase and apt wording to give impressions that virtually beg important questions. Two opposite views—extremely opposite ones—are given in conclusion (pp. 469 sqq., cf. p. viii). Neither is in the slightest degree flattering to humanity or courteous to those who hold a religious position, and it would be difficult to find a more curious example of the dilemma in which, it is conceived, we are placed. On the one side we have the loftiest view of human nature with an overdrawn picture of the soaring mind, while on the other is a picture so pessimistic, so black, that all men except those who are fortunate enough to be ‘rational’ could doubtless be convicted of religious ideas ‘unworthy the serious attention of a rational mind’ (p. 471). Although, as he admits, the ‘drivellings’ (of the savages, let me add) do not of course refute the belief in immortality, it is difficult to see why ‘they are at least fitted to invest its high-flown pretensions with an air of ludicrous absurdity’. This is either mere rhetoric, and, like all eloquent rhetoric—whether anthropological or otherwise—need not be taken seriously, or it is a piece of hasty writing which reads strangely from the pen of the author of *Psyche's Task*. But, as Dr Frazer would be the first to admit, anthropology is beset with pitfalls, fundamental questions in the comparative study of religion still await a definite answer, and the presentation of evidence is of more value than the particular theories held by either writer or reader.

In the fourth volume of his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* (Leroux, Paris, 1912), M. Salomon Reinach gives further proof of his versatility in twenty-eight studies and articles. The opening one is an expansion of a lecture given at Cambridge in 1911 and published in the *Quarterly Review*. It is an instructive sketch of the history of what he calls ‘l'exégèse mythologique’, and it is interesting as illustrating the different tendencies among those who devote themselves to the comparative study of religions. Indeed it may safely be said that no single writer can be regarded as an authoritative indication of the present position of the study, and that the study is as much in a stage of transition as, for example, the criticism of the Old Testament. One must admire M. Reinach's range of learning. Some of his subjects are classical: Marsyas, Phaethon, the tomb of Ovid, divination at Rome. A number are biblical: e. g. a rather speculative but no less interesting discussion of the story of Samson. In another he argues that the reference in Luke xxii 38 is to the two swords of Judges vii 21 (‘the sword of the Lord and of Gideon’)—if this be at all plausible there must be a misunderstanding, as the words of Gideon are more naturally taken as an old war-cry; cf. e. g. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 44 sq. Some, again, are historical—on Gilles de Rais, and on Jean d'Arc according to Anatole France and Andrew Lang. Questions of



more technical interest are handled in chapters on the influence of images on the formation of myths, on ritual laughter (a novel and curious investigation), and on the son-in-law and the mother-in-law. The title of the concluding chapter 'de Bello Orphico' will sufficiently explain itself to readers of his 'Orpheus'; M. Reinach is a keen controversialist and does his best to clear the issue. There are numerous illustrations and an index to this and the preceding volumes.

Prof. Frédéric Bouvier, S.J., in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (Turpin, Paris, 1912-1913), undertakes two enquiries, 'Magie : à la Recherche d'une Définition' (1912, no. 5), and 'Religion et Magie' (1913, no. 2). The two pamphlets are concise and critical discussions of the present position in the study of religions and help to clear the air and remove some of the obscurities that have grown up. If it is difficult to follow the writer throughout, it is none the less important to have his standpoint represented, since in the nature of the case the best standpoint will be one that at least does justice to its rivals. It is therefore timely to have this insistence upon the diversity of the phenomena that are now loosely collected under the term 'Magic'. There is that which the modern enquirer calls Magic, and there is that which was feared and abominated as magic by peoples all the world over; and to confuse these is to render enquiry unnecessarily complicated. What Magic really means depends properly upon our conceptions of Religion and of Mind, and most modern enquiries run the risk of begging the very questions at issue. These two pamphlets are a useful reminder that the fundamentals of the study of religions are still uncertain and that the methodology of this field of research is still in the making.

The volume on *Comparative Religion* in the 'Cambridge Manuals' (Cambridge, 1913) has been entrusted to Principal Jevons of Durham, whose study on *The Idea of God in Early Religions* (1910) belongs to the same series and is now supplemented. The two books form a very sound and valuable introduction to the subject, treating clearly and carefully different aspects of it, and giving the reader an excellent survey of the more important subdivisions and lines of enquiry. As in his *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion* (1908) his point of view is explicitly Christian, and his books may be welcomed as a proof that the critical study of religions is not incompatible with Christianity. On the other hand, it is easy to feel that too great a distinction is drawn between this and earlier or other faiths, and that the arguments are influenced by particular conceptions of the evolution (1) of peoples and (2) of thought in general. Hence, now and then the book reads like a piece of apologetics, contrasting Christian ideals and aims with the stumbling practices outside Christianity. All three books can be thoroughly recommended to serious students.

Mr J. B. Hannay's *Christianity: The Sources of its Teaching and Symbolism* (Griffiths, London, 1913) is a volume of nearly 400 pages with some 127 figures and illustrations, and is devoted to a comparison of the external features of Christianity with those of other religions. There is great wealth of detail, the author has read widely and promiscuously, and, as it would seem, in order to justify a particular theory. The second chapter is entitled 'The Phallic Cult—the Universal Religion', and is quite enough to indicate the groundwork of the book. Both here and elsewhere the more valuable portions of his book are quite spoilt by horrible philological atrocities, the worst that I have ever come across,—e.g. Palestine is Phallus-stan, the land of the worship of the phallus'!! The work is disheartening, and the exaggerated argumentation of an unscientific and sexual character is offensive, intellectually, to any one seriously interested in religions. Because with the help of a large vocabulary of symbols a sexual or coarse interpretation can be found in any piece of evidence, it does not follow that that interpretation is either correct or even the only one. It is very surprising that a preposterous book of this sort should ever have been published, or at least that some care was not taken to remove its blemishes and absurdities.

*Christianity and other Faiths: An Essay in Comparative Religion*, by Dr W. St Clair Tisdall (Scott, London, 1912), belongs to the 'Library of Historic Theology' and is a useful comparison of the best features in Christianity with other religions generally. It has many valuable points, but it is less objective than the works of Jevons or Macculloch's handy little *Comparative Theology*. There are many students who are unacquainted with the comparative method and who view it with a certain suspicion; these will find this book a useful introduction; moreover, books of this kind, of an explicitly apologetic character, will doubtless always be needed. The writer maintains a somewhat conservative type of Christianity; he clearly perceives that there is some recognition of the Divine outside Christian influence, but seems to me to be too ready to see the undesirable aspects of other faiths. From a purely methodological point of view this is unfortunate; and indeed it brings serious difficulties from a doctrinal standpoint, since any evaluation of 'heathen' religions whether of the past or of the present day involves conceptions of the Deity's relations to others as well as to ourselves. Even the mildest type of comparative treatment, as illustrated by this book, raises serious questions of a theological and philosophical character, and it is assuredly necessary to co-ordinate one's ideas of a progressiveness in revelation with the varying levels of religious thought throughout the modern world.

STANLEY A. COOK.

## RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

### (1) ENGLISH.

*The Church Quarterly Review*, July 1913 (Vol. lxxvi, No. 152 : Spottiswoode & Co.). Montenegro and the Eastern Question—T. HANNAN Popular education in Britain, France, and Germany—W. H. FRERE Some vicissitudes of English parochial history—H. D. OAKELEY Time and eternal life—A. C. HEADLAM Degrees in Divinity—H. T. K. ROBINSON Pensions for the Clergy : an estimate of cost—B. J. KIDD Papalism or Federalism—H. K. MOORE The Sunday School in the twentieth century—Short Notices.

*The Hibbert Journal*, July 1913 (Vol. xi, No. 4 : Williams & Norgate). R. TAGORE The problem of evil—A. C. McGIFFERT Christianity in the light of its history—P. SMITH A new light on the relations of Peter and Paul—T. C. SNOW Imagination in Utopia—A. S. PALMER The fall of Lucifer—J. DRUMMOND Occasion and object of the Epistle to the Romans—F. P. BADHAM and F. C. CONYBEARE Fragments of an ancient (? Egyptian) Gospel used by the Cathars of Albi—R. B. TOWNSHEND Antiochus Epiphanes, the brilliant madman—T. C. HALL The significance of coercion—H. D. RAWNSLEY The child and the cinematograph show—J. N. LARNED Evil : a discussion for the times—A. DALE Social service : No. 8 : A plea for unemployables—Discussions—Survey of recent literature—Reviews.

*The Expositor*, July 1913 (Eighth Series, No. 31 : Hodder & Stoughton). J. MOFFATT The Lord's Supper in the Fourth Gospel—J. SKINNER The Divine Names in Genesis : 4. The Hebrew text—G. B. GRAY The forms of Hebrew poetry : 2. Parallelism : a restatement—T. H. WEIR The irony of Jesus—E. H. ECKEL and S. A. DEVAN The question of the apostolic decree : a reply—W. JOHNSTONE The value of the method of pragmatism in Theology.

August 1913 (Eighth Series, No. 32). J. SKINNER The Samaritan Pentateuch—G. B. GRAY The forms of Hebrew poetry : 3. Parallelism and rhythm in the Book of Lamentations—F. R. TENNANT The services of Philosophy to Theology—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Zadokites—W. MONTGOMERY Albert Schweitzer—A. E. GARVIE Psychology and exegesis—E. HILL History and mysticism.

September 1913 (Eighth Series, No. 33). M. JONES The date of the Epistle to the Galatians—W. B. STEVENSON The interpretation of Isaiah xli 8-20 and li 1-8—G. B. GRAY The forms of Hebrew poetry: 4. The elements of Hebrew rhythm—C. McEVoy The New Testament language of endearment to the Lord Jesus Christ—F. R. TENNANT The philosophy of religion as an autonomous subject—J. SKINNER The Divine Names in Genesis: 5. The limits of textual uncertainty.

## (2) AMERICAN.

*The American Journal of Theology*, July 1913 (Vol. xvii, No. 3: Chicago University Press). E. W. LYMAN What is Theology? the essential nature of the theologian's task—P. WENDLAND Hellenistic ideas of salvation in the light of ancient anthropology—J. WEISS The significance of Paul for modern Christians—J. MOFFATT Ninety years after: a survey of Bretschneider's *Probabilia* in the light of subsequent Johannine criticism—G. R. DODSON Aristotle as a corrective in present theological thought—J. W. BASHFORD Adaptation of modern Christianity to the people of the Orient—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature.

*The Princeton Theological Review*, July 1913 (Vol. xi, No. 3: Princeton University Press). G. Vos The range of the Logos-title in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel—L. F. BENSON The hymnody of the Methodist revival—M. LOVE John Witherspoon in Scotland—Reviews of recent literature.

## (3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

*Revue Bénédictine*, July 1913 (Vol. xxx, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. WILMART La lettre de Potamius à Saint Athanase—G. MORIN Un nouvel opuscule de S. Pacien? Le *Liber ad Iustinum* faussement attribué à Victorin—D. DE BRUYNE L'Itala de Saint Augustin—J. CHAPMAN On the *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (suite)—G. MORIN Les *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua* sont-ils de Césaire d'Arles?—D. DE BRUYNE Un vieux libraire romain: Gaudiosus—B. DEFRENNE Les *Diaria* et les *Acta* du Concile de Trente—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

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—F. CLAEYS BOUUAERT Un séminaire belge sous la domination française : Le séminaire de Gand (1794-1812)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

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September-October 1913 (N. S. Vol. iv, No. 5). A. LOISY Isis et Osiris—A. VANBECK La pénitence dans saint Cyprien—*Chronique bibliographique* XII Littérature de l'Ancien Testament et littérature rabbinique (*suite*) : XIII Histoire et religion d'Israël : XIV Littérature du Nouveau Testament : XV Origines chrétiennes—*Faits et documents religieux contemporains*.

## (4) GERMAN.

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*Theologische Quartalschrift* (Vol. xcv, No. 3: Tübingen, H. Laupp). BELSER Zur Evangelienfrage—RIESSLER Zur Geographie und Völkerkunde des A. T.—HARTBERGER Instantius oder Priscillian?—W. KOCH Das Trienter Konzilsdekret *de peccato originali*—Rezensionen—Analekten.

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# *The Journal of Theological Studies*

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## DOCUMENTS

### CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 381, TOGETHER WITH THE NAMES OF THE BISHOPS, FROM TWO PATMOS MSS POB' POT'.

IN the year 1898 I was enabled, through the good offices of my colleague Mr D. G. Hogarth, at that time Director of the British School at Athens, to obtain a transcript of a good deal of the matter contained in two MSS at Patmos, POB' and POT'—sister MSS, each of them written somewhere about A.D. 800—which are our oldest witnesses to the text of the Greek Canon Law. So far as I know, they have never been employed by any editor; and I myself had only made occasional use of my transcript, as a check on the printed texts, when I wanted to know what was the Greek original underlying any particular passage of the Latin versions of the councils. It was only when I had it in my mind to propose to the Clarendon Press the publication of a manual edition of the early Greek canons (that is, of the fourth and fifth centuries) that I examined my material more closely.

The most obvious difference between Greek and Latin MSS of Canons, taken in the mass, is the striking resemblance of the former among themselves contrasted with the almost infinite degrees of divergence from one another which prevail in the latter. The contents of Greek canonical MSS are always more or less the same: the greater surprise was it to find in the Patmos MSS a series of canons attributed to the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) together with a list of the signatures of the bishops. These signatures, between 140 and 150 in number, are extant in Latin and in Syriac, but (so far as I am aware) they are here for the first time published in Greek. With the help of Schulthess's edition of the Syriac versions, and of my own collections for the Latin versions, I have also made the attempt in the notes to control and elucidate the Greek text—especially for the bishoprics of Asia Minor, where invaluable help is available in Sir William Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890).

The authenticity of the signatures is undoubted; and their genuineness goes some way to suggest the genuineness of the twenty-one

canons that precede them. Two further points tell obviously on the same side. The 18th canon, with its reference to the Tome published at Antioch, suits the situation of the years in the immediate neighbourhood of the Council of 381<sup>1</sup> and of no others. And Palladius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus, from whose *Κανονικόν* (according to the title of the piece in the MS) the canons were derived, was among the signatories at the council of Ephesus in 431, so that we are once more carried back into near chronological relation with the same historical circumstances. Against these favourable considerations we have to set firstly the uniqueness of the external testimony, and secondly the fact that of these 21 canons all but two (the 18th and 21st) are to be found in a continuous series in the Third Canonical Letter of St Basil to Amphilochius of Iconium.

The external testimony remains solitary and unique; but internal evidence does go some way, I venture to think, in recommending both the position and the form which the Patmos MSS attribute to these canons. The canons as here printed, or at any rate the first seventeen of them, hang well together, as a sort of *Poenitentiale* of which the different parts are all constructed on the same lines; while on the other hand they do not seem to have quite the character of the other canons of St Basil, where an almost conversational tone may be detected, suitable enough to the intimate correspondence of Basil and Amphilochius, but alien (as it seems to me) from the group here separately published. The form again of the text in the Patmos recension appears to be in some marked respects preferable to the Basilian form: where the same material has been from very early times handed down in two distinct lines of tradition, we shall of course naturally expect that either will often preserve the true reading where accident has corrupted it in the other. Thus the Basil text<sup>2</sup> enables us to correct the Patmos text in the following cases: canon v l. 2 καθ' ἐαυτήν for καθ' ἐαυτόν, canon xv l. 2 μετά inserted before τῶν διακόνων, (canon xvii l. 1 ἐπιδούς for ἐπιδιδούς?), canon xix l. 3 ἀξιούμενος inserted after τοῦ ἀγιάσματος. But the Patmos recension not only enables us to supply similar improvements to the Basil recension (e.g. canon v l. 2 τοῦ ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ ἁμαρτήσαντος for τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχείας ἁμαρτήματος, where the parallel in vii ll. 1, 2 is decisive for the personal reference; canon vii l. 2 μετανοοῦντος for παρανομοῦντος—if the latter were the right verb, a past tense was imperative; canon viii l. 1 ἀσέλγειαν for ἀσέβειαν, canon xiii

<sup>1</sup> Compare the 5th canon of the ordinary Greek series of the canons of 381 Περὶ τοῦ τύμου τῶν Δυντικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἀπεδεξάμεθα τοὺς μίαν ὁμολογούντας πατὴρ καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος θεότητα.

<sup>2</sup> I print below the text (pp. 164–167) an apparatus of the Basilian readings based on three Oxford MSS—Barocci 185 (O<sub>3</sub>), Laud gr. 39 (O<sub>4</sub>), Barocci 26 (O<sub>1</sub>); the symbols for the MSS are those used by Mr Rackham in his edition of the canons of Ancyra—all of them written not far from the year A.D. 1000.



l. 1 *γεινίασις* for *στάσις*), but reveals throughout a more rugged and original cast of text. Thus in canon i l. 5 *ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν εἰς τοὺς ἀκρωμένους δεχθήσεται* has been expanded and smoothed down in Basil into *μετὰ τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη εἰς τοὺς ἀκρωμένους δεχθήσεται καὶ ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν κτλ.*: in canon ii l. 2 the abrupt almost unconstructed phraseology *δύο προσκλαίων, τρία δὲ ἐν ἀκρωμένοις* is developed into *δύο προσκλαύσει, τρία δὲ ἔτη ἐν ἀκρωμένοις διατελέσει*: and from time to time the article or the conjunction *δέ* is inserted to ease the business-like brevity of the Patmos text. Only in two places do the differences of reading correspond to any real difference of sense. In canon xvi the Patmos recension provides that an accessory is to be excluded from communion for a term half as long as the principal: *τὸ ἡμῶν τοῦ χρόνου* becomes in Basil *τοῦ τοσούτου χρόνου*, and there cannot surely be any doubt that the former is the true reading, though it remains an open question whether the Basil form represents an intentional heightening of the penalty or (as I rather suppose) an unintentional corruption of *το ἡμῶν του* into *τοῦ τοσούτου*. And in canon xx *ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἁμαρτήμασιν* becomes in Basil *ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἁμαρτήμασιν*, which leaves open the possibility that the Patmos canons were a code proposed orally while the Basilian canons were of course a code committed from the first to writing.

The alternative explanations of the relations between the two codes would seem to be the following. (1) The Basilian recension original, and the Patmos recension derivative: for the reasons above alleged I cannot feel that this explanation would account for the facts. (2) Conversely, the Patmos recension original, and the Basilian derivative: but so long as the third letter to Amphilochius is accepted as a genuine work of St Basil, who died Jan. 1, 379, chronology makes it impossible that he could have drawn on any document that first saw the light at the Council of Constantinople. (3) There remains only the hypothesis that the document, in so far as it is common to St Basil and the Council, is older than either; that the former incorporated it in his third letter to Amphilochius, but in incorporating it edited it; that the Council accepted it as it stood, and that the reason why it does not appear elsewhere among the records of the Council's work is that, unlike the Canons, it was not the original work of the bishops there assembled. They gave to the Penitential, in fact, on this view, the same sort of authority which they gave, on Hort's theory, to the creed of Cyril of Jerusalem.

Such a view does not account for quite all the elements of the question. It is propounded as purely tentative, and in the hopes that some scholar better acquainted than I am with the history of Greek Canon Law will be attracted to devote himself to the problem and produce a better solution of it.

## Text

"Ετι κανόνες τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀγίας συνόδου εὐρημένοι ἐν τῷ κανονικῇ Παλλαδίῳ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀμασίας καὶ κοιμισθέντες παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ὁσίοις ἐπισκόπου Οὐαλεριανοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κανόνων τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Νεκταρίου παρὰ τῶν ρν.

[α]<sup>1</sup>

Ἐκονσίως φονεύσας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο μεταμεληθείς, ἐν ᾧ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἀγιασμάτων. τὰ δὲ ᾧ ἔτη οὕτως ἐπ' αὐτῷ οἰκονομηθήσεται· ἐν τέτρασιν ἔτεσιν προσκλαιέτω, ἔξω τῆς θύρας ἐστὼς τοῦ εὐκτηρίου οἴκου καὶ τῶν εἰσιόντων πιστῶν δεόμενος εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἐξαγορεύων τὴν 5 ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίαν· καὶ ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν εἰς τοὺς ἀκρωμένους δεχθήσεται καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐξελεύσεται· ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν μετὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποπτώσει προσευχόμενος ἐξελεύσεται· καὶ ἐν τέτρασιν ἔτεσι συστήσεται μόνον τοῖς πιστοῖς, προσφορὰς δὲ οὐ μεταλήψεται· πληρωθέντων δὲ τούτων τότε μεθέξει τῶν ἀγιασμάτων.

[β]

Ἐκονσίως φονεύσας ἐν ἱ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἀγιασμάτων. οἰκονομηθήσεται δὲ οὕτως· δύο μὲν προσκλαίων, τρία δὲ ἐν ἀκρωμένοις, ἐν τέτρασιν ἐν ὑποπίπτουσιν, ἐνιαυτῷ<sup>2</sup> συσταθήσεται τοῖς πιστοῖς μόνον· καὶ τῷ ἐξῆς εἰς τὸ ἀγίασμα δεχθήσεται.

[γ]

Ἐμοιχὸς ἐν ιε ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἀγιασμάτων·<sup>3</sup> ἐν τέτρασι μὲν προσκλαίων, ἐν πέντε ἀκρωόμενος, ἐν τέτρασιν ὑποπίπτων, ἐν δυσι<sup>3</sup> συνεστῶς τοῖς πιστοῖς ἄνεν κοινωνίας.

<sup>1</sup> The canons are not separately numbered in Patm. POΓ', nor by the original hand in POB'.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνιαυτῶς *codd.*

<sup>3-3</sup> ἐν τεσσαρα . . . ἐν τεσσαρα . . . ἐν δυο *codd.*

α 1. ἐν : *om.* Bas. 2. τῶν ἀγιασμάτων : τοῖς ἀγιάσμασι Bas. *tr.* οἰκονομηθήσεται ἐπ' αὐτῷ Bas. 3. τέτρασιν : τεσσαρσιν (*εἰ ἴτα α 7 β 3 γ 2 θ 2 ια 2*) Bas. προσκλαιέτω : προσκλαίειν ὀφείλει Bas. 4. γενέσθαι : ποιέσθαι Bas. 5. ἑαυτοῦ : ἰδίαν Bas. καὶ ἐν πέντε . . . μετ' ἐκείνων : μετὰ δὲ τὰ (*om.* τὰ O<sub>3</sub>) τέσσαρα ἔτη εἰς τοὺς ἀκρωμένους δεχθήσεται καὶ (*om.* καὶ O<sub>4</sub>) ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν μετ' αὐτῶν 7. καί : *om.* Bas. ἔτεσι : *om.* Bas. 8. τότε : *om.* Bas.

β 2. οἰκονομηθήσεται δέ : + τὰ δέκα ἔτη (*om.* ἔτη O<sub>4</sub>) ἐπ' αὐτῷ Bas. δύο μὲν : + ἔτη O<sub>1</sub> ἔτεσι O<sub>4</sub> προσκλαίων : προσκλαύσει Bas. τρία δέ : + ἔτη Bas. ἐν ἀκρωμένοις : + διατελέσει Bas. 3. ἐν ὑποπίπτουσιν : ὑποπίπτων καὶ ἐν Bas. τοῖς πιστοῖς : *om.* Bas. 4. εἰς τὸ ἀγίασμα : εἰς τὰ ἅγια Bas.

γ 1. Ὁ μοιχεύσας Bas. ἐν τέτρασι μὲν : + ἔτεσι O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub> 2. προσκλαίων : + ἔσται O<sub>4</sub> ἐστὶ O<sub>1</sub> ἐν πέντε : + δέ Bas. 3. τοῖς πιστοῖς : *om.* Bas.

[δ]

Ὁ πόρνος ἐν ζ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἀγιασμάτων οὕτω· δύο προσκλαίων, καὶ δύο ἀκρώμενος, καὶ δύο ὑποπίπτων, ἐν ἐνὶ συνεστῶς τοῖς πιστοῖς μόνον· τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ δεχθήσεται εἰς κοινωνίαν.

[ε]

Ἡ παρθενεῖαν ὁμολογήσασα καὶ ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ ἁμαρτήσαντος ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν<sup>1</sup> ζωῆς ἐκπληρώσει· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ κρατήσει καὶ τὸν τῶν μοναζόντων βίον ἐπαγγελλομένων καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων.

[ς]

Ὁ κλέψας, εἰ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ μεταμεληθεὶς κατηγορήσῃ, ἐνιαυτῷ<sup>2</sup> κωλυθήσεται τῆς τῶν ἀγιασμάτων κοινωνίας, εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεται, ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσιν· μερισθήσεται δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος εἰς ὑπόπτωσιν καὶ σύστασιν· καὶ τότε τὴν κοινωνίαν [ῥέει].<sup>3</sup>

[ζ]

Ὁ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐν ἄρσεσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, τὸν ἴσον χρόνον τοῦ ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ μετανοοῦντος οἰκονομηθήσεται.

[η]

Ὁ ἐν ἀλόγοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσέλγειαν ἐξαγορεύων, τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξομολογούμενος παραφυλάξει.

[θ]

Ὁ ἐπίορκος ἐν ι ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται, δύο προσκλαίων, τρισὶν ἀκρώμενος, τέτρασιν ὑποπίπτων, ἐνιαυτῷ συνεστῶς μόνον, καὶ τότε τῆς κοινωνίας ἀξιούμενος.

[ι]

Ὁ γοητεῖαν καὶ φαρμακεῖαν ἐξαγορεύων τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογηθήσεται· οὕτως οἰκονομούμενος ὥς ὁ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἑαυτὸν ἐλέγξας.

<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἑαυτὸν· *legendum ut uidetur cum S. Basilio καθ' ἑαυτήν.*

<sup>2</sup> ἐνιαυτῷ *scripsi*· ἐν αὐτῷ *codd.*

<sup>3</sup> ῥέει *suppleui*· *om. codd.*

δ 1. οὕτω· *om. Bas.* 2. ἐν ἐνὶ· καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub> καὶ ἐνὶ O<sub>1</sub> τοῖς πιστοῖς· *om. Bas.* 3. δὲ· *om. Bas.* εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν *Bas.*

ε 1. Ἡ παρθενεῖαν (παρθενίαν O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub>)· Παρθένος O<sub>1</sub> 2. τοῦ ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ ἁμαρτήσαντος· τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχείας ἁμαρτήματος *Bas.* καθ' ἑαυτήν *Bas.* 3. πληρώσει *Bas.* δὲ κρατήσει· *om. Bas.* τὸν . . . βίον· ἐπὶ τῶν βίον μοναζόντων O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>4</sub> ἐπὶ τῶν βίον τῶν μοναζόντων O<sub>3</sub> ἐπαγγειλαμένων *Bas.*

ς 1. ἑαυτοῦ . . . κατηγορήσῃ· ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ . . . κατηγορήσεν ἑαυτοῦ *Bas.* ἐνιαυτὸν *Bas.* κωλυθήσεται· + μόνον *Bas.* 2. *iv.* τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἀγιασμάτων *Bas.* ἐλεγχθείη *Bas.* 3. τὴν κοινωνίαν [ῥέει]· ἀξιούσθω τῆς (*om.* τῆς O<sub>4</sub>) κοινωνίας *Bas.*

ζ 1. ἐν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν *Bas.* ἴσον· *om. Bas.* 2. μετανοοῦντος· παρανομοῦντος *Bas.*

η 1. ἀσέλγειαν· ἀσέβειαν *Bas.* 2. παραφυλάζεται *Bas.*

θ 1. δύο· δύσιν ἔτεσι *Bas.* 2. ἐνιαυτὸν *Bas.*

ι 1. καί· ἡ *Bas.* ἐξομολογήσεται *Bas.* ὁ· *om. Bas.* ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ· ἐν ἐκείνῳ *Bas.*

[1α]

‘Ο τυμβωρύχος<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἰ ἔτεσιν ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται, ἐν δυσὶ προσκλαίων, ἐν τρισὶν ἀκρώμενος, ἐν τέτρασιν ὑποπίπτων, ἐν ἐνὶ συνεστῶς· καὶ τότε δεχθήσεται.

[1β]

Ἀδελφομιξία τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολογηθήσεται.

[1γ]

Ἡ τῆς ἀπειρημένης συγγενείας εἰς γάμον ἀνθρώπων γειτνίασις, εἰ φωραθείη ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γινομένη, τὰ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐπιτίμια δέξεται.

[1δ]

Ἀναγνώστης, εἰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μνηστῇ πρὸ τῶν γάμων συναλλάξειεν, ἐνιαυτῷ ἀργήσας εἰς τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν δεχθήσεται, μένων ἀπρόκοπος· κλειψιγαμήσας δὲ ἄνεν μνηστείας, παυθήσεται τῆς ὑπηρεσίας. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπηρέτης.

[1ε]

Διάκονος ἐν χεῖλεσι μιανθεὶς καὶ μέχρι τούτου μόνον ἡμαρτηκέναι ὁμολογήσας, τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπισχεθήσεται τοῦ δὲ μετέχειν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων τῶν διακόνων<sup>2</sup> ἀξιωθήσεται· τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρεσβύτερος. εἰ δέ τι τούτου πλεῖον<sup>3</sup> φωραθείη τις ἡμαρτηκῶς, ἐν ᾧ ἂν εἴη βαθμῷ καθαιρεθήσεται.

[1ς]

‘Ο συνεγνωκὼς ἐκάστῳ τῶν προειρημένων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ μὴ ὁμολογήσας ἀλλ’ ἐλεγχθεὶς, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ χρόνου εἰς δν ὁ ἐργάτης τῶν κακῶν ἐπιτετίμηται καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται ἐν ἐπιτιμίᾳ.

[1ζ]

‘Ο μάντεσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδούς ἢ τισι τοιούτοις, τὸν χρόνον τῆς τῶν φονέων οἰκονομίας καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκονομηθήσεται.

<sup>1</sup> τυμβωρύχος *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> τῶν διακόνων *codd.*: *praemittendum* μετὰ *cum* S. Basilio.

<sup>3</sup> πλεῖον τούτου POB’.

1α 2. ἐν ἐνὶ: ἐνὶ δὲ O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>4</sub> ἐνιαυτόν O<sub>3</sub>.

1β 1. ἐξομολογήσεται Bas.

1γ 1. γειτνίασις: στάσις Bas.

2. γινομένη: γεγεννημένη Bas.

1δ 1. πρὸ τῶν γάμων: πρὸ γάμου Bas. ἐνιαυτόν Bas. 3. τὸ δὲ αὐτό Bas.

1ε 1. μόνον: *om.* Bas. 2. τῶν διακόνων: *praem.* μετὰ Bas. 3. τὸ δὲ αὐτό Bas. *tr.* τούτου πλεῖον O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub> τούτου (*om.* πλεῖον) O<sub>1</sub> 4. ἐν ᾧ: ἐν οἷφ Bas. εἴη:

1ζ O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub>; *om.* O<sub>1</sub>

1ς 2. τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ χρόνου: τοῦ τοσούτου χρόνου Bas.

3. ἐν ἐπιτιμῇ Bas.

1ζ 1. ἐπιδούς Bas. τῆς τῶν φονέων οἰκονομίας: τῶν φονέων (*om.* τῆς οἰκονομίας) Bas.

[ιη]

Πάντας τοὺς μὴ θεολογούντας τὴν ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα κατὰ τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκτεθέντα τόμον, Πνευματομάχους χρῆναι καλεῖν.

[ιθ]

Ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησάμενος καὶ παραβὰς τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον, ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ προσκλαίειν ἐξομολογεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> χρεωστέ· ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ᾧ ἐκβαίνει τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἀγιάσματος . . . πίστει<sup>2</sup> τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας.

[κ]

Ἐὰν μέντοι γε ἕκαστος τῶν ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἁμαρτήμασιν ἔνοχος ὢν σπουδαῖος<sup>3</sup> φαίνοιτο ἐξομολογούμενος, ὁ πιστευθεὶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας λύνει δεσμεῖν, εἰ φιλανθρωπότερος γένοιτο τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ὁρῶν τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος εἰς τὸ ἐλαττώσαι τὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν, οὐκ ἔσται καταγνώσεως ἄξιος· τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἱστορίας 5 γνωριζούσης ἡμῖν ὡς τοὺς μετὰ μείζονος πόνου ἐξομολογουμένους ταχέως τῆς τοῦ κυρίου φιλανθρωπίας καταλαμβάνουσής.

[κα]

Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ψυχικοῖς ἐγκλήμασι κατηγορούντων, εἴτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν νόσοις ἢ ἐν φόβοις ἐξομολογούμενων ὡς ψευδεῖς εἰεν εἰρηκότες ἂν κατηγορήσαν ἢ ἐμαρτύρησαν· εἰ μὲν λαϊκοὶ εἰεν (εἴτε ἄνδρες εἴτε γυναῖκες) ἔδοξεν ἐξοδεύουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν μυστηρίων μεταδίδοσθαι, περιγενομένοις δὲ τῆς νόσου ἢ διαφεύγουσι τὸν ἐπηρεηζόμενον φόβον καὶ ἐπιβιώσασι τὸν μέχρι τελευταίας 5 ἀναπνοῆς ἐπαχθῆναι ἀφωρισμόν, ὡς ἡ<sup>4</sup> τὰ ψευδῇ πρότερον εἰρηκόσι καὶ αἰτίοις γενομένοις κατακρίσεως τῶν ἀνευθύνων, ἢ τότε μὲν τὰ ἀληθῆ καταθεμένοις ὕστερον δὲ τὰ ψευδῇ λέγουσι καὶ σκανδαλίζουσι τὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ψυχάς· εἰ δὲ κληρικοὶ τυγχάνοιεν, τελευτήσαντας μὲν μνημονεύσεως μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου κεκοιμημένων,<sup>5</sup> διαφεύγοντας δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι 10 τοῦ προϋπάρχοντος βαθμοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> προσκλαίειν ἐξομολογεῖσθαι *codd.*: *legendum ut uidetur uel* προσκλαίων ἐξομολογεῖσθαι *uel* προσκλαίειν καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι: προσκλαίειν ὀφείλει καὶ *Bas.*

<sup>2</sup> αγιάσματος πίστει *cod.* ΠΟΓ', αγιάσματος ἐξεῖ πίστει *cod.* ΠΟΒ': *legendum* ἀγιάσματος ἀξιούμενος πίστει *cum Bas.* <sup>3</sup> σπουδαῖος ΠΟΓ'.

<sup>4</sup> ἡ *scripti*: εἰ *codd.*

<sup>5</sup> *Deest, ut uidetur, uerbum.*

ιθ 2. προσκλαίειν: + ὀφείλει καὶ *Bas.*  
τοῦ θεοῦ: θεοῦ *Bas.*

3. τοῦ ἀγιάσματος: + ἀξιούμενος *Bas.*

κ 1. προειρημένοις: προγεγραμμένοις *Bas.* ἔνοχος ὢν: γενομένων *Bas.* 2. φαίνοιτο: γένηται *Bas.* 3. λύνει δεσμεῖν: λύνει καὶ δεσμεῖν *Bas.* 6, 7. ὡς τοὺς . . . τῆς . . . φιλανθρωπίας καταλαμβάνουσής: τοὺς . . . τὴν . . . φιλανθρωπίαν καταλαμβάνειν *Bas.* 7. τοῦ κυρίου: τοῦ θεοῦ *Bas.*

- Νεκτάριος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως  
Αιγύπτου  
Τιμόθεος Ἀλεξανδρείας  
Δωρόθεος πόλεως Ὁξυρύνχου<sup>1</sup>  
Παλαιστίνης  
Κύριλλος πόλεως Ἱεροσολύμων<sup>2</sup>  
5 Πελάγιος πόλεως Καισαρείας<sup>3</sup>  
Μάκερ πόλεως Ἱεριχούντων  
Διονύσιος πόλεως Διοσπόλεως  
Πρισκιανὸς Νικοπόλεως  
Νίλος πόλεως Σεβαστῆς  
10 Ῥούφος Σκυθοπόλεως  
Αὔξέντιος πόλεως Ἀσκαλῶνος  
Ἡλιανὸς πόλεως Ἰαμνίας  
Φοινικῆς  
Ζήνων πόλεως Τύρου  
Παῦλος πόλεως Σιδῶνος  
15 Νεστάβος πόλεως Πτολεμαίδος  
Φί[λι]ππος<sup>4</sup> πόλεως Δαμάσκου  
Βαραχὸς πόλεως Πανιάδος  
Τιμόθεος πόλεως Βηρυτοῦ  
Βασιλειῆς πόλεως Βίβλου  
20 Μώκιμος πόλεως Ἀράδου  
Ἀλέξανδρος πόλεως Ἀρκων  
διὰ Θεοδοσίου πρεσβυτέρου  
Συρίας  
Μελέτιος πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας<sup>5</sup>  
Πελάγιος πόλεως Λαοδικείας<sup>6</sup>  
Ἀκάκιος πόλεως Βεροίας  
25 Ἰωάννης πόλεως Ἀπαμίας  
Βίζος<sup>7</sup> πόλεως Σελευκείας<sup>8</sup>  
Εὐσέβιος πόλεως Ἐπιφανείας<sup>9</sup>  
Μαρκιανὸς πόλεως Σελευκοβήλου<sup>10</sup>  
Πατρόφιλος πόλεως Λαρίσης  
30 Σευήρος πόλεως Πάλτου
- <sup>1</sup> Ὁξυρύνχου POB'.  
<sup>2</sup> Κοίριλλος Ἱεροσολοίμων POB'.  
<sup>3</sup> Καισαρίας POΓ'. <sup>4</sup> Φίππος *codd.*  
<sup>5</sup> Ἀντιωχείας POB'.  
<sup>6</sup> Λαοδικείας POΓ'.  
<sup>7</sup> Βίζος POΓ'. <sup>8</sup> Σελευκείας POΓ'.  
<sup>9</sup> Ἐπιφανίας PO  
<sup>10</sup> Σελευκοβίλου

- Φλανουϊανὸς  
καὶ Ἑλπίδιος } πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας<sup>1</sup>  
πρεσβύτεροι  
Εὐσέβιος πόλεως Καλχίδος  
Δομνήνος πόλεως Γαβαλῶν  
Βασιλῖνος πόλεως Ῥεφαναίων  
Ἀραβίας  
Ἀγάπιος καὶ }  
35 Βαγάλιος } πόλεως Βοστρῶν  
πρεσβύτεροι  
Ἑλπίδιος πόλεως Διουσιιάδος  
Οὐράνιος πόλεως Ἀδραφῆς  
Χίλων πόλεως Κωνσταντιανῆς  
Ξενομήρος Νεαπόλεως  
Ὁσροηνῆς<sup>2</sup>  
40 Εὐλόγιος πόλεως Ἐδέσσης<sup>3</sup>  
Βίτος πόλεως Καρρῶν  
Ἀβράμιος πόλεως Βατῶν  
Μεσοποταμίας<sup>4</sup>  
Μάρας πόλεως Ἐμίσης  
Βατώνης πόλεως Κωνσταντιανῆς  
45 Ἰοβῖνος πόλεως Ἐμμαρίας  
Αὐγουστοευφρατησίας<sup>5</sup>  
Θεόδοτος Ἱερασπόλεως  
Ἀντίοχος<sup>6</sup> πόλεως Σαμοσάτων  
Ἰσιδωρος πόλεως Κύρου  
Ἰοβῖνος πόλεως Πέρρης  
50 Μαρῖνος πόλεως Δολιχῆς  
Κιλικίας  
Διόδωρος πόλεως Τάρσου  
Κυριακὸς πόλεως Ἀδανῶν  
Ἡσύχιος πόλεως Ἐπιφανίας  
Γερμανὸς πόλεως Κωρικοῦ  
55 Ἀέριος πόλεως Ζεφυρίου  
Φιλίμουσος Πομπιουπόλεως  
Ὀλύμπιος πόλεως Μαμψουεσστίας  
Θεόφιλος πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας  
διὰ Ἀλυσίου πρεσβυτέρου
- <sup>1</sup> Ἀντιωχείας POB'. <sup>2</sup> Ὁσροηνῆς *codd.*  
<sup>3</sup> Ἐδάλσης POΓ'. <sup>4</sup> Μεσοποταμίας POΓ'.  
<sup>5</sup> Αὐγουστος Φρατησίας *codd.*  
<sup>6</sup> Ἀντίωχος POB'.

## Καπαδοκίας

	Ἑλλάδιος	πόλεως Καισαρίας
60	Γρηγόριος	Νύσης
	Αιθέριος	πόλεως Τυανῶν
	Βοσπόριος	πόλεως Κολωνίας
	Ὀλύμπιος	πόλεως Παρνασοῦ
	Γρηγόριος	πόλεως Ναζιανζοῦ <sup>1</sup>
	Ἀρμενίας μικρᾶς	
65	Ὅτρήϊος	πόλεως Μελιτήνης <sup>2</sup>
	Ὅτρήϊος	πόλεως Ἀραβίσσου <sup>3</sup>
	Ἰσαυρίας <sup>4</sup>	
	Ὀλύμπιος	πόλεως Σελευκίας
	Μοντανὸς	Κλαυδιουπόλεως
	διὰ Παύλου πρεσβυτέρου	
	Φιλόθεος	Εἰρηνοπόλεως <sup>5</sup>
70	Ύψιστος	πόλεως Φιλαδελφίας
	Μουσώνιος	πόλεως Κελενδέρεως
	Μαρίνος	πόλεως Δαδισάνδου
	Θεοδόσιος	πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας <sup>6</sup>
	Ἀρτέμιος	Τιτιουπόλεως
75	Νέων	πόλεως Σελινούντος <sup>7</sup>
	Μοντανὸς	πόλεως Νεοκαισαρείας <sup>8</sup>
	Εὐσέβιος	πόλεως Ὀλβίης
	Κύπρου	
	Ἰούλιος	πόλεως Πάφου
	Θεόπρεπος	πόλεως Τριμιθούντων
80	Τύχων	πόλεως Ταμασοῦ
	Μνήμιος	πόλεως Κιτιίου
	Παμφυλίας	
	Ῥόηλος	πόλεως Αἰγαίων
	Γάϊος	πόλεως Λύρβης
	Λογγίνος	πόλεως Κολουβράσσου
85	Θεόδουλος	πόλεως Καρακισίου
	Ἡσύχιος	πόλεως Κατηνῶν
	Τουήσιος	πόλεως Καησῶν

<sup>1</sup> Ναζιανζῶ POB'.<sup>2</sup> Μελιτήνης POB'.<sup>3</sup> Ἀραβίσσου POG'.<sup>4</sup> Ἰσαυρίας POG'.<sup>5</sup> Εἰρηνοπόλεως POB'.<sup>6</sup> Ἀντιοχίας POG'.<sup>7</sup> Σελενούντων POB'.<sup>8</sup> Νεοκαισαρίας POG'.

	Μίδος	πόλεως Πανέμου
	Ἡρακλείδης <sup>1</sup>	πόλεως Τίχους
90	Θεόδουλος	πόλεως Εἰαλοῦ
	Παμμένιος	πόλεως Ἀριάσσου

## Λυκαονίας

	Ἀμφιλόχιος	πόλεως Ἰκονίου
	Κύριλλος	πόλεως Οὔμαδῶν
	Ἀριστοφάνης	πόλεως Σωπατρῶν
95	Παῦλος	πόλεως Λυστρῶν
	Ἰνζους	πόλεως Κορινῶν
	Δαρεῖος	πόλεως Μιστίας
	Λεόντιος	πόλεως Πιτρῶν
	Θεοδόσιος	πόλεως Ὑδης
100	Εὐστράτιος	πόλεως Κάνων
	Δάφνος	πόλεως Δέρβης
	Εὐγένιος	πόλεως Πισαλῶν
	Ἰλῦριος	πόλεως Ἰσαυρῶν
	Ξεῆρος	πόλεως Ἀνδαδῶν

## Πισιδίας

105	Ὅπτισιος	πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας <sup>2</sup>
	Θέμιστος	πόλεως Ἀδριανοπόλεως <sup>3</sup>
	Ἀγγαλος	πόλεως Προστανῶν
	Ἀνιανὸς	πόλεως Ἀδανῶν <sup>4</sup>
	Φαῦστος	πόλεως Αἰμενῶν
110	Ἰώνιος	πόλεως Σαγαλάσσου
	Καλλίνικος	πόλεως Ποιμάνδρου
	Εὐστάθιος	πόλεως Μητροπόλεως
	Πατρίκιος	πόλεως Παρλάσσου
	Λούκιος	πόλεως Νεαπόλεως
115	Λουλιανὸς	Σωζοπόλεως

διὰ Συμπλικίου πρεσβυτέρου

<sup>5</sup> Τύραννος πρεσβύτερος	πόλεως Ἀμορίου
Ἀἰζανῶν <sup>5</sup> πρεσβύτερος	πόλεως Ἀπαμείας <sup>6</sup>
Ἑλλάδιος πρεσβύτερος	πόλεως Κονάνων
Θεοσέβιος	πόλεως Φιλομιλίου
διὰ Βάπου πρεσβυτέρου	

<sup>1</sup> Ἡρακλῆδης *codd.*<sup>2</sup> Ἀντιοχίας POG'.<sup>3</sup> Ἀδριανοπόλεως POB'.<sup>4</sup> Ἀνδανῶν POB'.<sup>5-6</sup> Τύραννος . . . Ἀἰζανῶν *ut uid codd.*<sup>6</sup> Ἀπαμείας POG'.

Λυκίας	
120 Τατιανὸς	πόλεως Μύρων
Πιόνιος	πόλεως Χώματος
Εὐδημος	πόλεως Παταρῶν
Πατρίκιος	πόλεως Οἰνοανδῶν <sup>1</sup>
Λουπίκιος	πόλεως Λυμυρῶν
125 Μακεδῶν	πόλεως Ξάνθου
Ῥωμανὸς	πόλεως Φασελιάδος
Ἑρμαῖος	πόλεως Βουβοναίων
Θοαντιανὸς	πόλεως Ἀραξοῦ
Φρυγίας Σαλουταρίας	
Βίτος	πόλεως Πρυμνήσου
130 Αὐξάνικος	πόλεως Εὐκαρπίας
Φρυγίας Πακατιανῆς <sup>2</sup>	
Νεκτάριος	πόλεως Ἰππίας
Θεόδωρος	πόλεως Εὐμενίας
διὰ Προφουτούρου πρεσβυτέρου	

<sup>1</sup> Οἰνωανδῶν *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> Φρυγίας Βατιανῆς  
POB', Φρυγίας Πατιανοῖς POΓ'.

Καρίας	
Ἐκδίκιος	πόλεως Ἀφροδισιάδος
Λεόντιος	πόλεως Κιβυρῶν
Βιθυνίας	
135 Εὐφράσιος	πόλεως Νικομηδείας
Θεόδωρος	πόλεως Νικαίας
Ἰολύμπιος	πόλεως Νεοκαισαρίας
Θεόδουλος	πόλεως Χαλκηδόνος <sup>1</sup>
Εὐστάθιος	πόλεως Προύσης
Πόντου	
140 Τερέντιος	πόλεως Ἀμασίας <sup>2</sup>
Ἐθέριος	πόλεως Τομαίων
Σεβαστιανὸς	πόλεως Χερσονήσου
Ἀχιλεὺς	πόλεως Ἀπαμείας <sup>3</sup>
Ἀγρίος	πόλεως Ἡμιμόντου
Πόντου Πολεμονιακοῦ	
Ἀτάρβιος διὰ Κύλου ἀναγνωστοῦ	

<sup>1</sup> Χαλκιδῶνος *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> Ἀπαμείας POB'.      <sup>3</sup> Ἀπαμίας POΓ'.

5. Πελάγιος: should be Γελάσιος, with Latt. and Thdt. *H. E.* v 8.<sup>1</sup>

7. Διόσπολις: i. e. Lydda.

8. Νικόπολις: i. e. Emmaus.

9. Νίλος: should apparently be Saturninus (with Latt.) or Saturnilus. The Greek form of the Acts of Perpetua gives consistently Σατορνίλος (Σατουρνίλος) for the Latin Saturninus. Σεβαστή, i. e. Samaria.

16. Φίππος *codd.*: read Φίλιππος.

17. Πανιάς: i. e. Caesarea Philippi.

34. Ῥεφαναίων: should be Ῥαφαναίων with Latt.

35. Βαγάλιος: should be Bagadius, compare the Acts of the Council of Constantinople in 394, where the regularity of his deposition from his see (he had become bishop of Bostra) was discussed.

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret, in the passage referred to, gives a summary list of the more noteworthy participants in the council—Helladius, successor of Basil, Gregory and Peter, brothers of Basil, Amphilochius, metropolitan of Lycaonia, Optimus of Pisidia, Diodore of Cilicia: and besides them Pelagius of Laodicea, Eulogius of Edessa, Acacius [no doubt the bishop of the Syrian Beroea, No. 24], 'our own Isidore' [i. e. the bishop of Cyrrhus, No. 48], Cyril of Jerusalem, Gelasius of Palestinian Caesarea. All these can be easily identified in the list, with the single exception of Peter: it is noteworthy that neither in v 8 nor in iv 30 does Theodoret connect his name with any see, and when we further find that his name does not appear in the Constantinopolitan list, the doubt which Venables expresses in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (iv 346 a) as to the value of the evidence which connects him with the see of Sebaste seems amply justified. Either he was not a bishop at all, or, if he was, he was a bishop unattached.



36. Διονυσιάς : i. e. Soada, between Bostra and Canatha.
37. Ἀδραφή : Latt. Adradensis and Adarensis, Syr. Adrados. The atlases give the name of the town as Adraha or Adra.
40. Eulogius of Edessa is named by Thdt. *H. E.* v 8.
43. Ἐμίση : read Ἀμίδη with Latt. Amida.
44. Κωνσταντιανή (perhaps better Κωνσταντινή with lat.-Prisc.) : i. e. Tela, as the Syriac actually gives it. Βατώνης with Batenis lat.-Prisc. : Batthes lat.-Dion., and the Syriac implies some similar form.
45. Ἐμμαρία : Latt. Aemarensis and Emarias, and the Syriac is similar. Ptolemy speaks of a Βεθαμμαρία, and Procopius *de aedif.* II ix 10 (I owe the reference to Mr Hogarth) says that Chosroes pulled down the walls τοῦ καλουμένου Ἡμερίου.
48. Isidore ὁ ἡμέτερος is named by Theodoret, himself bishop of Cyrrhus, *H. E.* v 8.
50. Μαρίνος : Latt. and Syr. agree on the form Maris.

#### Cilicia.

51-58. Here first we have the advantage of the aid to be derived from Sir William Ramsay's invaluable *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890). For the Cilician cities, about which there is no difficulty, see the lists in Ramsay, p. 383 : but it must be remembered that Cilicia was not divided into Prima and Secunda till the fifth century, so that at both Nicaea and Constantinople it is still given as a single unit, while Ramsay only treats of it as divided.

#### Cappadocia.

59-64. The six cities in Cappadocia are all easily identifiable in Ramsay's table, p. 282 : Colonia is the earlier Archelais. But with respect to one name among the bishops, and three among the cities, there is some doubt on the evidence as to the correct orthography, and a brief statement on this head may be worth making.

59. Ἐλάδιος is the form of name given in the Patmos MSS to St Basil's successor at Caesarea, as also to the presbyter of Conana, No. 118 *infra*. With regard to the single l it has the support on this occasion of one family of the MSS of lat.-Prisc., but no support at No. 118, and it seems clear that the Patmos MSS are prone to avoid the double ll, as in 103 Ἰλύριος and 115 Λουλιανός. On the other hand the absence of the aspirate agrees on this occasion (not at 118) with the Syriac evidence, and on both occasions with lat.-Dion., while the MSS of lat.-Prisc. are again divided, with some preponderance both times for Elladius (Eladius). Thdt. *H. E.* v 8 calls the bishop of Caesarea Ἐλλάδιος.

60. Νύσης. The single s has the united testimony of the Patmos MSS and the versions : yet the traditional spelling of Nyssa with

double s seems to reappear in all Ramsay's authorities, pp. 282, 287. Compare 63 Παρνασοῦ, 80 Ταμασοῦ, 129 Πρυμνήσου.

63. Παρνασοῦ is supported by lat.-Prisc., and of Ramsay's authorities by Hierocles: double s lat.-Dion., with the rest of Ramsay's evidence.

64. The strange native-sounding name Ναζιανζός was bound to experience changes at the hands of Greek and Latin scribes: assimilation of one syllable to the other prompted either the insertion of a second n (Ναζιανζός one Patmos MS, Nanzanzenus one family of lat.-Prisc.) or the omission of the one n (Nazazus the rest of the Latin witnesses).

#### Armenia Minor.

That the correct name of this province in the fourth century was not Armenia Secunda but Armenia Minor, Ἀρμενία μικρά, is proved by the consentient testimony of the Laterculi of Verona and Polemius (Bury's *Gibbon* ii 551), and the lists of the Councils of Nicaea (*Ecll. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i pp. 60, 61) and Constantinople. That both the bishops who came from the province to the latter council should bear the unusual name Otreius would be otherwise so strange that the most natural explanation is that, like the two Gregories of Nazianzus and Sasima, they were father and son: the bishop of Melitene is mentioned as far back as the Council of Tyana in 367, the bishop of Arabissus as far on as the episcopate of Chrysostom.

#### Isauria.

67-77. The Patmos MSS give the correct names of the bishops, save in the case of the metropolitan of Seleucia, No. 67, where for Ὀλύμπιος—which has perhaps crept into the text by reminiscence from No. 63 *supra*—we must read with all the versions Συμπόσιος. For the cities see the table in Ramsay opposite p. 362: most of them offer no difficulty at all; for Nos. 69, 70, Εἰρηνόπολις and Φιλαδέλφεια, see p. 365, for No. 73 Ἀντιόχεια—probably Antiochia 'ad Cragum'—p. 380, for No. 74 Τιτιούπολις p. 370. In only the three following cases is the form given by the Patmos MSS incorrect.

72. Δαδισανδοῦ becomes Dalisandus in lat.-Prisc. and Syr., Dasidandus in lat.-Dion.; the evidence given in Ramsay (pp. 362 *b*, 366) shews that Dalisandus is right. Whether the error was one of eye (Δ for Λ) or ear we cannot tell.

76. Νεοκαισαρεία is wrong, though it has confirmatory support in an inferior Syriac MS. All the Latin evidence, and the best Syriac MS, is for Διοκαισαρεία, and this is right: Ramsay, pp. 362 *b*, 364.

77. Ὀλβίης should be Ὀλβης: compare the reading of the best MS of lat.-Prisc., Olbis, and Ramsay, pp. 362 *b*, 364. The other reading has arisen by confusion with Olbia in Pamphylia; the Isaurian city is Olba.

**Pamphylia.**

82-91. The Pamphylia group presents more difficulties perhaps than any other. Coracesium, Catenna or Cotenna, and Ariassos can be identified at once: Colybrassus is in the larger Kiepert: for the rest we must go to Ramsay *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (*ut supra*) and especially to the map facing p. 330. Lyrbe and Casai represent Nos. 83 and 87. No. 90 Εἰαλούου has S for E in all Latin and Syriac authorities, and the confusion of C with E is an easy one for scribe or transcriber to make: Εἰάλονον is then no doubt Ramsay's Sillyon,<sup>1</sup> cf. p. 416. Nos. 88 and 89 Πανέμον and Τίχους (which forms the versions faithfully reproduce) must certainly, as Ramsay points out, p. 409, be run into one place-name Πανεμοντείχος, a bishop from which was present at Nicaea (No. 178 in my *Ecd. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i 76, 77). But the documents do not seem to me to give any support to his further conjecture that the bishop of No. 88, Midus, should be assigned the see-town Petnelissus: the problem of finding a second see-town must be left unsolved, and perhaps the corruption may extend to the neighbouring numbers, for the bishop of No. 87, Τονήσιος, has a name which looks much more like part of a place than a personal name.

But the most serious difficulty raised by the Pamphylian names concerns the very first of the list, No. 82. The versions indeed shew that an initial T has dropped out from the bishop's name: read Τρόηλος (Τρώιλος) for 'Ρόηλος. What, however, was his see-town? The Greek has Αἰγαίων: the Latin Geonensis (adj.) or Egeon (genitive of noun): the Syriac something like Egenon. Ramsay, p. 418, identifies with Έτεννά, which I cannot think quite satisfactory.

**Lycaonia.**

92-104. The Lycaonian names present far less difficulties than the Pamphylian. The names of the bishops are warranted throughout by the Latin: even the strange 'Inzus' (No. 96) reappears in lat.-Dion., though lat.-Prisc. (with some support in Syriac) gives Ininius. There is not one of the thirteen that cannot be satisfactorily identified by the help of Ramsay's table of Lycaonian cities *op. cit.* p. 331: the only name there omitted is that of Derbe, but as the city is given a place both in the map (facing p. 330) and in the detailed enumeration (p. 336), it is to be presumed that the omission in the table is an oversight. The names of Iconium, Lystra, Misthia, Derbe, and Isaura (Nos. 92, 95, 97, 101, 103) present no difficulty; but on each of the rest a word or two may be necessary.

<sup>1</sup> The resemblance of α and λ in Greek uncials would perhaps justify us in conjecturing Σιλλοῦον in our list: but in this case both Latin versions have the α, and at least one Syriac MS.

93. Οὔμαδά should be Οὔμναδά: lat.-Dion. implies Umanada, lat.-Prisc. Cumanada, and the latter form of the name is borne out by most of the Latin versions of the Nicene list (*Ecc. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i 78, 79, No. 182). But the Syriac version here represents Οὔμναδά, and that is no doubt the correct form.

94. Σωπατρά is supported by lat.-Prisc. and by the Syriac, and is nearer to what appears to be the true name, Sabatra or Sauatra, than the Sopara of lat.-Dion.

96. Κορνά is the reading of the Patmos MSS. Ramsay's authorities (p. 330) give Κορνά: but both Latin versions and the Syriac text agree with the Patmos MSS in inserting i between r and n, and Κορνά maintains therefore a claim for consideration.

98. Πετρά has no support anywhere, and must be altered to Περτά with lat.-Prisc., Syriac (and in effect lat.-Dion., which implies Perga): Perta is the form in nearly all Ramsay's authorities.

99. Ὑδη of our MSS and of lat.-Dion. is correct. Ramsay has adopted Udisenus in the column representing the Council of Constantinople, but he has been misled, as in some other cases, by the printed texts: most MSS of lat.-Prisc. have, it is true, Ydisenus, but the best MS has Sydis, and no doubt Ydis was the original form even in lat.-Prisc.

100. Κάνα has the support, for the single n, of one of the *Notitiae*: but the rest of Ramsay's witnesses agree with lat.-Prisc. (and in effect lat.-Dion.) in doubling the n, Κάνα.

102. Ποσαλά is supported as far as the first vowel goes by lat.-Prisc. and Syriac, as far as the λ is concerned by lat.-Dion. and Syriac. But the true reading for our Council would appear to be Πασαδά: most of Ramsay's authorities give Οὔασαδά.

104. Ἀνδαδά would seem at first sight a blunder of our MSS, for the Latin and Syriac evidence is clear for Ἀμβλαδά, and this is the form in Ptolemy, Hierocles, and some of the *Notitiae*: but other *Notitiae* have Ἀμδαδά, which is sufficiently close to the Patmos MSS.

#### Pisidia.

105-119. Fifteen sees are represented under the province Pisidia in the Constantinopolitan signatures: Ramsay, following I do not know what Latin list, gives sixteen in the table facing p. 388, but his Eugenius Paspanensis is absent alike from the Patmos MSS, from lat.-Prisc. and lat.-Dion., and from the Syriac. It is to be noted further that three cities allotted to Pisidia in the Conciliar list will be found in other connexions in Ramsay's work: Philomelium and its neighbour Hadrianopolis (the earlier Thymbriion) under Phrygia, p. 140, and Amorion under Galatia Salutaris—a new province founded soon after

the date of the Council of Constantinople—p. 230. The other twelve cities are dealt with under the heading Pisidia, pp. 387 ff.

No difference worth noting exists in the tradition of the names of Antioch, Metropolis, Neapolis, Sozopolis, Apamea, Conana (Nos. 105, 112, 114, 115, 117, 118; Ramsay *op. cit.* pp. 396, 400, 402, 403, 407): there remain six names of which not so much can be said, though, as in the case of the Lycaonian cities, in no case is the identification at all really doubtful.

107. Προστανά, with which form agree lat.-Dion. and some of the Syriac evidence, is no doubt more correct than either the Prostada of lat.-Prisc. or the Prostama which Ramsay cites as the Conciliar form: the coins give Προσταννέων. Ramsay, p. 407.

108. Ἀδανά of one Patmos MS and Ἀνδανά of the other are both wrong: Ἀδαδά is supported alike by the Latin and Syriac versions, and by all of Ramsay's authorities.

109. Αἰμενά must be corrected into Λιμενά on the testimony of both versions and of the parallels in the *Notitiae* and in the Councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon. The form of the name is so constant in all authorities that I hesitate to accept Ramsay's transformation (p. 414) into Λίμναι, 'the Lakes'.

110. Σαγάλασσος of the Patmos MSS is right, for it agrees both with the coins Σαγαλασσέων and with our other Greek evidence: the two versions combine to invert γ and λ, 'Salagassus'.

111. Ποίμανδρος has the entire support of lat.-Dion., and the partial support of the Syriac 'Pumandun'. But Thymandun of lat.-Prisc. points to the true form Θύμανδος, from which our Greek MS has rather definitely deviated: Ramsay, p. 402.

113. Πάρλασσος, with which compare Parlaxu of lat.-Prisc. and probably the archetype of the Syriac MS, seems to have no authority outside the Constantinople list; but it appears to be a genuine variant on the ordinary Parlais. The town was a colony, and calls itself IVL. AVG. COL. PARLAIS on its coins.

Of the Pisidian episcopal names Ὀπίσιος (105) should be Ὀπιμιος (so Latt. and Syr. as well as Thdt. *H. E.* v 8); Θέμιστος (106) should be Θεμίστιος; Ἀγγαλος (107) should be Ἀτταλος; Ἀνιανός (108) is unobjectionable in itself, but the remaining authorities all point to Ἀράνιος; Ἰώννιος (110) is on the same evidence to be altered to Ἰωνῖνος. The presbyter Βάπος, who subscribes for Theosebius of Philomelium, ought clearly, as the versions shew, to become Βάσσος.

### Lycia.

120-128. For the province of Lycia we get less help than before from Ramsay, whose work on the Lycian cities is practically confined to the

table facing p. 424.<sup>1</sup> But fortunately no serious problems are raised by the list, and it is possible without difficulty to identify each of our nine cities with names appearing in the table. Myra, Choma, Patara, Limyra are certain enough; and such variations as affect the other names are relatively unimportant.

123. The form *Οἰνοανδά* (*Οἰνωανδά*) of the Patmos MSS is supported against Ramsay's *Οἰνιανδά* by both Latin versions (the Prisca corruptly inserts the letter m, Ynomandun) and by the Syriac text, though the editor in his apparatus cites a variant which may represent iota rather than omega.

125. *Ξάνθος* of our text is supported by Ramsay's witnesses against the versions: lat.-Dion. has Xandulensis, lat.-Prisc. and the Syriac agree on the form Xandun or Sandun—an agreement in apparent error which raises the question whether these two versions descend from a common archetype, though it is probably enough to say that in both versions the name follows three towns with the termination -un (-on): the Prisca continues the process, and turns the next town as well from a singular to a plural.

126. The Patmos MSS seem to be the only authority for the presence of an alpha in the name *Φασελιάς*: most of Ramsay's authorities combine with our versions on *Φασελίς* or *Φασηλίς*.

127. *Βουβοναίων* of our MSS agrees well enough with the versions—after we have corrected Bubuteun of the Prisca to Bubuneun—but seems by exception to represent an adjective formed from the name of the town, 'the Bubunaeans': *Βούβων* or *Βούβου* is apparently the proper genitive of the name of the town itself.

128. *Ἀραξα*, genitive *Ἀράξης*, is so consistently given by all Ramsay's authorities that it must presumably be right, and the masculine form implied in the Patmos text *Ἀραξοῦ* (and lat.-Prisc. Araxu) must presumably be wrong. Lat.-Dion. gives no help; the Syriac Araxus may perhaps represent a feminine genitive as easily as a masculine nominative.

Of the names of the bishops, the only cases where the versions modify the text of the Patmos MSS are 124, where Lupicinus (so both Latin and Syriac) must be read for Lupicius, and 128, where, though Thoantianus has some Latin support, we ought probably to read Thoantinus with lat.-Dion., the best MS of lat.-Prisc., and the Syriac—if we may treat the absence of more than a single vowel between t and the second n in the Syriac as a fair indication of the Greek form meant to be represented.

<sup>1</sup> Neither the list of the Council of Nicaea nor that of the Council of Constantinople is on this occasion cited with the rest of the evidence by Ramsay.

### Phrygia Salutaris and Phrygia Pacatiana.

129-132. The province of Phrygia was divided at, or not long after, the reorganization of the empire under Diocletian: if the Nicene list may be trusted, Phrygia was still a single unit in 325. Before the Council of Laodicea—though of that council the exact date is uncertain—the province had not only been divided, but the names Pacatiana (metropolis Laodicea) and Salutaris (metropolis Synnada) had ousted the proper names of Prima and Secunda. Prymnessus should apparently be Prymnessus (Ramsay, p. 139), though the Latin versions agree with the Patmos MSS on the single s: compare above Nos. 59, 60, 63. Neither about the identification of this name, nor of Eucarpia and Eumenia, is there room for doubt: but No. 131 Ἰππία is wrong, and must be corrected by the help of the Latin texts to Ἀππία, cf. Ramsay, p. 146. So too of the bishops' names three are certain, one, No. 130, is doubtful: for Αὐξάνικος lat.-Dion. gives Auxanianus, lat.-Prisc. Eusanus, while one Syriac MS apparently represents Auxaninus and the other Ausaninus. The choice must lie between Auxaninus and Auxaninus.

### Caria.

133, 134. The only point that arises is the difference over the bishop's name, No. 133, where the Patmos MSS with lat.-Prisc. give—rightly, as I suppose—Ecdicius, lat.-Dion., and Syr. Eudocius.

### Bithynia.

135-139. Only one bishop's name is doubtful: for No. 136 the versions combine to substitute Dorotheus for the Θεόδωρος of the Patmos MSS. For the city Neocaesarea see Ramsay, p. 181.

### Pontus Amasia and Pontus Polemoniaca.

The name of Pontus Amasia—which appears to be in the *Laterculus* of Polemius the equivalent of the older Diospontus of the Verona list and the Council of Nicaea, and of the later Helenopontus of the *Notitiae* and the Council of Chalcedon—puzzled the scribe of the archetype of the Patmos MSS, so that Amasia became the name of a city, and at the same time an omission of several lines must have taken place. With the help of the versions we may restore the lost passage as follows: Πόντου Ἀμασίας Πανσόφιος πόλεως Ἰβήρων<sup>1</sup> Μυσίας Μαρτύριος Μαρκανουπόλεως Σκυθίας. Then, as Ἀμασία has been wrongly taken down into the line below its proper place, the bishops and their sees no longer correspond in the Greek: the bishop of No. 140 Τερέντιος belongs to the see of No. 141, Tomi, the bishop of No. 141 Ἐθέριος belongs to the locality or city of No. 142, Chersonesus, and the bishop of No. 142 Σεβαστιανός belongs to Anchialus, which the versions give correctly as a town, while the Greek has made it into the name of No. 143 Ἀχελεύς. But Anchialus belongs to the province Haemimontus, and it is clear

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, pp. 326-328.

therefore that the Ἡμιμόντου which all our authorities, Latin and Syriac as well as Greek, make into the see-town of bishop Agrius, No. 144, ought to be moved higher up, so that the text should run Ἡμιμόντου Σεβαστιανὸς Ἀγχιάλου. We have then, so far, the provinces in succession of Pontus Amasia, Moesia, Scythia, and Haemimontus, and the list is closed by a single name from Pontus Polemoniacus, namely, Atarbius. This bishop's see is not given, but the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* s.v. shews good reason for placing him at Neocaesarea, and Neocaesarea was the metropolis of Pontus Polemoniacus. Possibly we ought to transfer this province with its single representative to a position immediately after Pontus Amasia with its single bishop, and the three provinces Bithynia, Pontus Amasia, Pontus Polemoniacus would then follow one another in proper geographical order from west to east along the northern coast of Asia Minor: but it is also possible that the one prelate whose signature was attached by a member of the lower clergy was considered to be in his proper place at the end of the list.

The above analysis accounts for all the elements in the last section with the exception of the name Agrius, and of a city or province in near connexion with him. The Greek has πόλεως Ἀπαμείας (or Ἀπαμίας) Ἀγριος, the Latin and Syriac (Prouintiae) Spaniae Agrius. Obviously Ἀπαμίας and Σπανίας are not independent of one another; they differ by not more than two letters, and the only question to ask is which has been developed out of which. The presence of a Spanish bishop has caused much perplexity, and the novel suggestion of the Patmos MSS may therefore find the more ready welcome. But for myself I do not think that Agrius of Apamea is correct, and believe rather that the Σπανία of the Latin and Syriac evidence is prior to the Patmos reading Ἀπαμία. Spania itself, however, may be only an earlier stage of corruption: I do not know whether it would be a plausible conjecture to suggest 'Pannonia' as the ultimate original.

C. H. TURNER.

[NOTE 1. Perhaps I may take advantage of this opportunity to say that Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, so often cited in the above paper, enables me to make a correction in the list of Nicene names in my *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.*: p. 365 he mentions that Neronias and the Cilician Irenopolis are one and the same city, so that my No. 86 Narcissus of Neronias is identical with my No. 94 Narcissus of Irenopolis: 94 should therefore have been 86 *b*, and the credit of my fifth column (the only one which does not repeat the name), is proportionately increased.]

[NOTE 2. I have found myself in some difficulty in regard to the accentuation of the cities in the Constantinopolitan list. A considerable number of these are accented on the last syllable in the transcription of the Patmos MSS, where other authorities shew the accent thrown back: and conversely, one or two are oxytone elsewhere but throw back the accent in my list, such as 65 Μελιτήνης and 110 Σαγαλάσσου. After some hesitation, I have determined to follow the transcription throughout.]



## NOTES AND STUDIES

THE RELATION OF CLUNY TO SOME OTHER  
MOVEMENTS OF MONASTIC REFORM.<sup>1</sup>

IN 910 William, Duke of Aquitaine, gave his town of Cluny with the chapel of St Mary and St Peter, and all other appurtenances, chapels, serfs of either sex, vineyards, fields, meadows, woods, waters and wastes, to Berno, Abbot of Baume, to found and rule over a monastery for monks who should live a regular life according to the Rule of St Benedict.<sup>2</sup> A regular life according to the Rule of St Benedict is a statement which lacks precision. The observance of the Rule, in the words of St Benedict himself, was only 'the beginning of a good religious life', and he counselled those who would seek perfection to study 'the Collations of the Fathers, their Lives, and the Rule of our Holy Father Basil'. In the main, St Benedict dealt with general principles, and many necessary details concerning the 'Opus Dei', and the daily life and government of a monastery, are not found in the Rule. The need of supplementing the Rule resulted in the growth of Customs. To know how the Rule was observed in a monastery is to ascertain what were the Customs.

The Customs which the monks of Baume brought to Cluny were those of Benedict of Aniane.<sup>3</sup> This was the testimony of the monk, John, the biographer of Odo, second abbot of Cluny, and the written Customs bear the same witness. Baume had been reformed by monks from the monastery of St Martin at Autun<sup>4</sup>; Autun, when restored, had received monks from St Savin near Poitiers; and St. Savin was one of the twelve monasteries of Benedict of Aniane's own congregation.<sup>5</sup>

The Customs of Benedict of Aniane were the fruit of much study and research. He went from Aniane to other monasteries to find monks who might explain whatever he did not understand in the Rule

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies on April 5, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard et Bruel *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny* i p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Migne *Patrologia Latina* cxxxiii p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> E. Sackur *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeinesgeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* i pp. 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* ciii p. 383.

of St Benedict,<sup>1</sup> and he collected the texts of other Rules of Eastern and Western Monasticism for his great work, the *Codex Regularum*.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, in the monastery of Inde, near Aix-la-Chapelle, which was founded for him by Louis the Pious, he questioned monks who had been at Monte Cassino, and could tell him not only what they had heard but what they had seen.<sup>3</sup> In 817, Louis the Pious summoned a great council of abbots and monks to meet in July at Aix-la-Chapelle. They sat with Benedict for many days, and accepted the Capitula which he had drafted. His biographer, Ardo, summed them up as 'the judgements of the Rule, doubtful matters and Customs which are not described therein'.<sup>4</sup> The chief source was the Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, written by Paul the Deacon, the author of the *History of the Lombards*.<sup>5</sup> Benedict also made use of the letter which Paul wrote for the Abbot of Monte Cassino, when he sent the correct text of the Rule of St Benedict to Charlemagne.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the Capitula, Benedict also adopted, with trifling differences, a document known as the 'Ordo in monasterio qualiter a fratribus religiose ac studiose conversari vel domino militari oportet'.<sup>7</sup> This was written by an unknown Benedictine monk either in Italy or in Provence, and gives a clear account of the monastic day with its round of services, reading and manual labour, and moreover it contains the detailed procedure of the daily chapter which is not to be found in the Rule of St Benedict. Lastly, he accepted a model of liturgical observance, a *Directorium Chori*, as Dom Albers calls it, which was most probably written at Monte Cassino in the eighth century.<sup>8</sup> To sum up, the Capitula of 817, the Ordo Qualiter, and a *Directorium Chori* represent the written Customs of Benedict of Aniane, which the monks of Baume took to Cluny. An important piece of evidence in support of this view, which has been ably put forward by Dom Albers, is the presence of the Capitula of 817 and the Ordo Qualiter in four English manuscripts of the second half of the tenth century.<sup>9</sup> There is little doubt that these were obtained from the Benedictine monastery of Fleury on the Loire, which had been reformed by Odo of Cluny before 930.

The history of the growth of the Cluniac Customs is full of interest. In his preface to his own Statutes in 1132, Abbot Peter the Venerable observed that his predecessors, the great abbots from Odo to Hugh,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 393-702.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 377; *Consuetudines Monasticae*, ed. Albers, iii pp. 115-144.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Cassinensis* iv 1-173.

<sup>6</sup> *Consuetudines Monasticae* iii pp. 50-64.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 26-49, cf. p. xiv.

<sup>8</sup> Albers *Untersuchungen zu den ältesten Mönchsgewohnheiten* pp. 124-126.

<sup>9</sup> *English Historical Review* ix pp. 693-699.

had changed many Customs as need arose.<sup>1</sup> We owe it to the researches of Dom Albers that the texts of three versions of the Customs in the tenth century have been printed.<sup>2</sup> These consist solely of liturgical observances and the order of the monastic day. A much more interesting version<sup>3</sup> was written, between 1009 and 1048, during the rule of Abbot Odilo. Until quite recently these Customs were invariably accepted as those of the monastery of Farfa near Spoleto, which derived its Customs from Cluny, but Dom Berlière and Dom Hildephonse Schuster have shewn conclusively that they are the Customs of Cluny and not a compilation intended solely for Farfa.<sup>4</sup> The calendar is that of Cluny, the relics are those at Cluny, and the names of the monks are among those who witnessed charters at Cluny during the rule of Odilo. The first book of these Customs consists of the liturgical order for the year. It agrees, often verbally, with the earlier versions, and it contains much supplementary matter. There are many chapters concerning the observance of all the feast days which were then kept at Cluny.

The second book mainly concerns the daily life and organization of the monastery. The first chapter is a detailed and measured description of the buildings of Cluny. Seventeen chapters have titles corresponding with those of chapters in the Rule of St Benedict, and are in fact supplements to them. Fifteen chapters concern the 'Opus Dei', arrangements for Mass, the altar lights, processions, prayers and services for rain and fair weather and against adversities, and the duties of three important obedientiars, the camerarius, secretarius, and granatarius. One chapter has a list of the relics, another the schedule of the books which were given out one Lent, and a third the diplomatic form of the letters of commendation given to a monk on a journey. The book ends with twelve chapters about the care of the sick brethren and services for the burial of the dead, monks, bishops, and laymen.

As the first Customs of Cluny were those of Benedict of Aniane, it is natural to find that some of the additions in the second book are taken from the Capitula of 817. Others are based on passages in the Commentary<sup>5</sup> of Paul the Deacon, in which he wrote of the duties of the keeper of the infirmary, of the guest master, of the circas and of the masters in charge of the boys; of the division of guests into three classes, each with its own hostel, viz. abbots and monks, bishops and the rich, and the poor; of the infirmary cloister with its own chapel, the calefactorium or warming-house, and the auditorium or parlour. In

<sup>1</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxix p. 1025.

<sup>2</sup> *Consuetudines Monasticae* ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Consuetudines Monasticae* i, cf. also Migne *Patrologia Lat.* cl pp. 1193-1300.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Benedictine* xvii pp. 164, 165; xxiv pp. 374-385.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Cassinensis* iv 1-173.

the Commentary, too, the Cluniacs found that reading or psalmody might take the place of manual labour. They made use of that slightly later version which is known as the Commentary of Hildemar, because about 845, as Dr Traube has shewn, a French monk of that name dictated Paul's Commentary to his scholars in the monastery of Civate.<sup>1</sup> Hildemar, too, added comments, and he alone described the interesting ceremony of collecting and distributing books at the beginning of Lent, so well known in later Customaries.

Half a century after this last compilation of Cluniac Customs a new edition was needed, and the work was undertaken by a monk named Bernard. In a charming preface he told how the older monks of Cluny had passed away, and disputes frequently took place between their successors about the Customs; there was great diversity of opinion and novices often went out from the chapter more uncertain than when they came in.<sup>2</sup> He resolved to search out the truth with his utmost zeal, both from the written Customs, and from what he had learnt and might be able to discover, and to leave a record for those who should come after him. The result of his labours was a most detailed compilation which bore the simple title '*Consuetudines cenobii Cluniacensis*'.<sup>3</sup> He besought his brethren, when they thirsted, not to despise the draught of truth from a wooden vessel, nor to scorn the cold clear water because it flowed through a leaden pipe. His description of the Order of Divine Service throughout the year is very closely related to the first book of the Customs compiled in the time of Odilo. The more original and much longer part of his work concerned all the officers of the monastery, its finance, organization, and daily life.

These Customs of Bernard were printed in 1726 in that rare book, the *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, edited by Marquard Herrgott, a monk of the Benedictine monastery of St Blaise in the Black Forest. Two passages in Herrgott's text have puzzled some modern critics.<sup>4</sup> These mention Abbot Henry, elected in 1308, and Abbot Stephen, elected in 1163. I was glad to find, when I consulted the manuscript in Paris, MS Latin 13,875, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, that these difficulties disappeared. In the first only the letter H occurs, and it obviously refers to Bernard's own abbot, Hugh. In the second passage in which Herrgott printed '*Dominus Stephanus Abbas "Deus auribus" rescidit his tribus diebus*', the manuscript reads '*Olim "Deus auribus" dicebatur post primam in his tribus diebus*'. It seems probable that these

<sup>1</sup> *Consuetudines Monasticae* i p. 59, iii p. 120; Traube *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften xxi pp. 640-643.

<sup>2</sup> Herrgott *Vetus Disciplina Monastica* p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> MS Latin 13,875; Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>4</sup> Helmsdörfer *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Abtes Wilhelm von Hirschau*, p. 76.

variations were in the text which had been privately printed by the Cluniacs for their own use some years before Herrgott published his own. Herrgott wrote that he collated that printed text with the manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, then in the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>1</sup> He claimed to have purged it from an infinite number of errors, but apparently these escaped his notice.

The history of Cluny in the first two centuries, from 910 to the death of Abbot Hugh I in 1109, explains the importance of studying the growth of the Cluniac Customs. There is a striking parallel between the work of the first abbots of Cluny and of Benedict of Aniane. Twelve monasteries were founded or restored by Louis the Pious, bishops, and others, and were put under the rule of Benedict of Aniane, who sent to them monks and abbots whom he had trained. His Customs were adopted in many other monasteries not only in Aquitaine but throughout the empire. The abbots of Cluny were called upon by kings and princes, dukes, counts, and bishops, to send monks to new foundations, and to restore monasteries which had fallen into decay, a far harder task, as Peter the Venerable observed in a letter to St Bernard. In 937 there were seventeen monasteries dependent upon Cluny; in 994 the number had increased to thirty-seven; in 1049 five new monasteries and twenty-three old foundations had been added. Under the rule of Abbot Hugh (1049-1109) the congregation consisted of two hundred monasteries, and of these many had a number of dependent priories.<sup>2</sup> The several abbots and monks of Cluny had reformed many other Benedictine monasteries which had adapted the Customs of Cluny for their own use, but had remained independent, and in their turn they had reformed other monasteries.<sup>3</sup> The Customs of these monasteries are closely akin to those of Cluny, but there are interesting variations in France, Germany, Italy, and England. Some of these have already been published by Dom Albers,<sup>4</sup> others are promised. The English Customary, which was sanctioned at the Council of Winchester in the reign of King Edgar, is usually known as the *Concordia Regularis*.<sup>5</sup> It was the work of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester.<sup>6</sup> It shews a singular agreement with Cluniac Customs, which were adopted indirectly through Fleury, and there is also in some points an agreement with older Customs of Monte Cassino.

<sup>1</sup> Herrgott *op. cit.* p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Heimbucher *Die Orden und Congregationen* i pp. 243-245.

<sup>3</sup> Sackur *op. cit. passim.*

<sup>4</sup> *Consuetudines Monasticae* iv, v.

<sup>5</sup> Dugdale *Monasticon* i pp. xxvii-xlv; Migne *Patrologia Lat.* cxxxvii pp. 475-502; W. S. Logeman *Anglia* xiii 365-454, xv 20-40.

<sup>6</sup> *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, Appendix vii, ed. Mary Bateson, p. 173. (Hampshire Record Society.)

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the Customs of Bernard in England, France, and Germany. In 1077 Lanfranc sent for Henry, a monk of Bec, to be prior of his cathedral monastery of Canterbury, and for his guidance he wrote the monastic constitutions.<sup>1</sup> These are divided into twenty-two chapters. Chapters ii-xxii concern the daily life and administration of the monastery; with the exception of a few trifling additions, they are only a much abridged version of the Customs of Bernard. Chapter i, the Order of Divine Service throughout the year, was more difficult for Lanfranc to compile and it is difficult now to disentangle; the sources were the Customs of Bernard, the earlier Customs of the time of Abbot Odilo, and Customs of the tenth century edited by Dom Albers. Lanfranc stated that he had added a few things, and changed some, especially in celebrating some festivals.<sup>2</sup> In a few points the Order agrees in substance, but not verbally, with a Use of Bec. Too much prominence has been given to the Customs of Bec as a source for the Constitutions of Lanfranc.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to discover the origin of this misconception. In the catalogue of the library at Canterbury, which was made in the time of Prior Eastry, between 1285 and 1331, the Constitutions of Lanfranc are described as 'Consuetudines Ecclesie Beccensis'.<sup>4</sup> Lanfranc's nephew, Paul of Caen, introduced the Constitutions at St Albans. Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's, wrote that Paul of St Albans 'ibi ordinem Becci instituit sicut usque hodie est'.<sup>5</sup> A copy of Ralph's works was then at Canterbury. If the monks who made the catalogue sought for any evidence beyond the fact that Lanfranc came from Bec, this identification was convincing. But Ralph took this from a parallel passage in the Chronicle of Robert of Torigny, elected abbot of Mont-St-Michel in 1154.<sup>6</sup> Robert of Torigny quoted verbatim from the *Vita Lanfranci*<sup>7</sup> of Milo Crispin, precentor of Bec, and Lanfranc's own pupil. Robert had been a monk of Bec for many years, and in this passage he chose to interpolate the word Becci, which he did not find in his authority, Milo Crispin. There was no tradition at St Albans in the earlier years of the thirteenth century that the Constitutions of Lanfranc were the

<sup>1</sup> *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, i pp. 85-191; Migne *Patrologia Lat.* cl pp. 443-513; *Journal of Theological Studies* x pp. 375-388.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bosworth Psalter*, ed. Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 27-34.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies* x p. 379; E. L. Taunton *English Black Monks of St Benedict* i p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> M. R. James *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* pp. 49, 51.

<sup>5</sup> R. de Diceto *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), i p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (Rolls Series), iv p. 49: 'ibi ordinem Becci et ecclesiastici officii usum instituit, sicut est cernere usque hodie.'

<sup>7</sup> *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, i p. 308.

Customs of Bec; Matthew Paris describes them as the approved Customs of monasteries beyond the seas.<sup>1</sup> Though he used the works of Ralph de Diceto and Robert of Torigny, he ignored the interpolation of Bec, and relied on Lanfranc's own very weighty words, in which he described his Constitutions as 'the written Customs of our Order which we have excerpted from the Customs of those monasteries which in our time are of pre-eminent authority in the monastic Order'.<sup>2</sup> M. le Chanoine Porée has discovered that Abbot Roger II of Bec (1188–1194) revised and re-edited the Customary, and that the sole surviving manuscript containing Customs of Bec was written between 1290 and 1310.<sup>3</sup> This contains either Roger's version or a yet later one. The main portion of it is liturgical. Owing to the agreement in substance between certain passages of the Customary and the first chapter of the Constitutions of Lanfranc, M. le Chanoine Porée infers that the liturgical part of the Bec Customs was the work of Lanfranc.<sup>4</sup> This is a most reasonable conjecture. If it be accepted, it follows that the Customs of Bec of that date were closely akin to earlier Customs of Cluny, and that they were probably derived from those brought by William of Dijon to Fécamp and other Norman monasteries at the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> Lanfranc left Bec in 1063 to be Abbot of St Stephen at Caen.<sup>6</sup> The probable date of the completion of the Customs of Bernard was 1067.<sup>7</sup> Therefore Lanfranc could not have had access to the main source of his Constitutions for Canterbury until after he left Bec. Dr Armitage Robinson has shewn that the misleading title under which Lanfranc's Constitutions have been printed, 'Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicti', occurs in no single manuscript.<sup>8</sup> It appears in the first edition by a mischance. The Constitutions were gradually adopted in a number of other monasteries.

Through the influence of William, who was abbot of Hirsau from 1068 to 1091, Customs derived from those of Cluny were very widely adopted in Germany at the end of the eleventh century and in the early years of the twelfth.<sup>9</sup> William had received a text of the Customs of Cluny which his friend Ulric of Cluny abridged and rearranged from Bernard's Customs.<sup>10</sup> Not content with this, William sent monks from

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden (Rolls Series), i 23, 37; *Monasterii S. Albani Gesta Abbatum*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series), pp. 53, 58, 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, i p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> A. A. Porée *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec* i p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i 477.

<sup>5</sup> H. Boehmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie* pp. 6, 7; Sackur *Die Cluniacenser* ii 45–54.

<sup>6</sup> Porée *op. cit.* i pp. 118, 119.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire littéraire de France* vii p. 596.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies* x p. 388.

<sup>9</sup> Heimbucher *Die Orden und Congregationen* i pp. 253–256.

<sup>10</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* cl pp. 635–678.

Hirsau to Cluny in search of fuller knowledge. With their help he made a digest of the Customs into two books corresponding with the second and third books of Ulric. These were mainly copied from Ulric, but often supplemented verbatim from Bernard. They were first printed by Herrgott and have been reprinted by Migne.<sup>1</sup>

Hermann, Abbot of St Martin at Tournay from 1127 to 1132, wrote that it was then hardly possible to find a monastery in France or in Flanders in which the Customs of Cluny were not observed.<sup>2</sup> In less than thirty years, between 1092 and 1120, they were adopted by one monastery after another in the provinces of Reims and Sens, and in the diocese of Liège.<sup>3</sup>

The Cluniacs appear also to have been influenced by Benedict of Aniane's view that nothing was too splendid for the worship of God. His first church at Aniane was a rude and humble building, the altar vessels were of wood, glass or tin, for he then rejected silver and forbade the use of silk chasubles.<sup>4</sup> But five or six years later, in 782, with the help of dukes and counts, he built a vast and splendid church, and cloisters with colonnades of marble.<sup>5</sup> The vessels were of the finest workmanship, the seven-branched candlestick with its knops, its bowls and flowers, was designed to be like that which Bezaleel made for the Tabernacle. There were seven lamps for the altar of the Trinity, the silver lamps of the quire were in the form of a corona, and there was a multitude of service books, costly vestments and chalices. The building was to be the head of all churches and an example for others. It would seem that Benedict had come under the influence of the school of art fostered by Charlemagne; he was clearly convinced that wealth might be rightly used in the service of God. The first Church of St Mary and the Church of St John in the burial-ground were also within the precincts. There were vast monastic buildings, and as the monks grew too numerous even for these, Benedict founded cells dependent on the mother-house. The first church at Cluny was soon too small, and a great church was built and dedicated in 981.<sup>6</sup> Abbot Odilo rebuilt the whole of the monastery, and for the cloister marble columns were brought by water along the Rhone and the Durance.<sup>7</sup> The third church of Cluny was begun in 1089; when consecrated in 1132 it was the largest church of the age, having double aisles, a double transept, and an ambulatory with radiating chapels.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herrgott *op. cit.* pp. 375-570; Migne, cl pp. 923-1146.

<sup>2</sup> *Spicilegium*, ed. Luc d'Achery, ii p. 913 (ed. 1723).

<sup>3</sup> *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* ii pp. 258-263.

<sup>4</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* ciii p. 360.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 363-365.

<sup>6</sup> *Consuetudines Monasticae* i p. 137; Sackur *op. cit.* ii p. 372.

<sup>7</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* cxlii p. 908.

<sup>8</sup> Viollet-Le-Duc *Dictionnaire de l'architecture française* i pp. 257-259.



It has been shewn that there was no special school of Cluniac architecture.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless it is clear that the Cluniac ideals of vastness and splendour in building, of costly ornaments and magnificent ritual, were followed wherever monastic revivals were related to the Cluniac Customs. It is interesting to note that the great seven-branched candlestick of Cluny, made like that of Aniane from the description of Bezael's work, was the gift of Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, King of England.<sup>2</sup> There was a seven-branched candlestick at Winchester, the gift of King Canute in 1035, one at Canterbury given between 1107 and 1126, one at Bury St Edmunds of about 1200, and the Durham candlestick was so immense that it was of the same breadth as the quire and reached almost to the vault.<sup>3</sup>

It was against this ideal of splendour that St Bernard inveighed in the famous *Apologia* to William of St Thierry.<sup>4</sup> After denouncing idleness, luxury in food and drink, and in dress, he wrote, 'These are small matters. I pass on to greater ones which seem less only because they are more common. I will not speak of the immense height of the churches, of their immoderate length, of their superfluous breadth, costly polishing and strange designs, which, while they attract the eyes of the worshipper, hinder the soul's devotion, and somehow remind me of the old Jewish ritual.' He charged the Cluniacs with investing money in costly ornaments that it might return multiplied many times. 'By the sight of wonderful and costly vanities, men are tempted to give rather than to pray . . . In the churches are suspended, not coronae, but wheels studded with gems, and surrounded by lights which are scarcely brighter than the precious stones which are near them. Instead of candlesticks we behold great trees of brass, fashioned with wonderful skill and glittering as much through their jewels as their lights.'

Cluny was at the height of its power and fame at the end of the eleventh century, at the time of the rise of several new monastic orders in different parts of France. These were the Orders of Cîteaux, Fontevraud, Tiron, Savigny, Grandmont, and the Carthusians. They had their origin in a wave of asceticism, and the early success of some of them was due to the magnetic influence of great preachers.

Cîteaux owed its foundation in 1098 to dissensions within the

<sup>1</sup> Anthyme St Paul *Viollet-Le-Duc, ses travaux d'art et son système archéologique* pp. 172-175.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier and Duchesne, p. 1640.

<sup>3</sup> *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, ed. J. W. Legg and W. H. St John Hope, pp. 44, 47.

<sup>4</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxii pp. 914, 915; J. Cotter Morison *Life and Times of St Bernard* pp. 130, 131, ed. 1868.

monastery of Molesme.<sup>1</sup> In that year Robert, Abbot of Molesme, went with some of his brethren to the papal legate, Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, seeking for permission to go out from Molesme and found a monastery in which they could order their lives wholly according to the Institutes of the Rule of St Benedict. They complained that their Customs at Molesme were at variance with the Rule.<sup>2</sup> Within a few years a Book of Customs was written at Cîteaux. This 'Liber Usuum'<sup>3</sup> consists of the order of divine service throughout the year, of regulations for the details of the daily life of the monastery, and of provisions for its administration by the obedientiars. It is at once apparent from the structure, and from the headings of many of the chapters, that the compilers had before them some version of the Cluniac Customs, most probably that of Bernard or an abridgement. Before Robert became the first Abbot of Molesme he had been Abbot of St Michel at Tonnerre,<sup>4</sup> a monastery which had been reformed by Cluny.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore natural to suppose that the Customs of Molesme were related to those of Cluny, and that when Robert left for Cîteaux he took a copy of the Customs as well as of the service books. When he was compelled by Pope Urban II to go back to Molesme early in 1099, it was agreed that everything which he had brought to Cîteaux should remain except the Breviary.<sup>6</sup> This the monks might keep for a few months longer to make a copy of it. The compilers of the 'Liber Usuum' accepted the Customs of their Fathers in France in so far as they did not conflict with the strict observance of the Rule.<sup>7</sup> But often the Customs of Cîteaux offer an absolute contrast with those of Cluny, e.g. in simplicity in the use of ornaments, in the shortening of services, in financial and economic organization. Orderic Vitalis<sup>8</sup> and others were justified in representing the Cistercians as innovators on Gallican monasticism, for in their determination to keep the Rule, 'as the Jews kept the law of Moses,' they rejected much of the tradition of monastic observance which Benedict of Aniane had derived from Paul the Deacon and other sources. Their writings shew that they were influenced by the lives of the Egyptian monks. Cluny had received churches, tithes, and serfs amongst other gifts of property from the earliest years of its history.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Laurent *Cartulaires de Molesme* i pp. 111-128, 146-152; *Monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, ed. Ph. Guignard, pp. 61-66; *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (new series) xix pp. 169-207.

<sup>2</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxv, *Exordium Magnum Cisterc.* p. 1008.

<sup>3</sup> Guignard *op. cit.* pp. 85-245; *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, ed. Sejalon, pp. 84-211.

<sup>4</sup> Laurent *op. cit.* i p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Sackur *op. cit.* i p. 269.

<sup>6</sup> Guignard *op. cit.* p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii p. 637, clxxxv p. 1011; Guignard *op. cit.* p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii pp. 935, 936.

<sup>9</sup> Bernard et Bruel *op. cit.* i, ii, iii *passim*.

When Abbot Robert urged the monks of Molesme to give up churches and tithes, the opposition party replied, 'So long as the Cluniacs and the monks of Marmoutier and others have obtained these things, we will not give them up, nor will we be condemned by our brethren far and wide as rash discoverers of new things.'<sup>1</sup> Churches and tithes were renounced by the first Cistercians. But the great innovation of the Cistercians was the system of government of their monasteries as set forth in the 'Carta Caritatis'; the new Orders followed them in adopting a yearly general chapter and an organized system of visitation. It may be argued that Stephen Harding and the first Cistercian abbots found a precedent for the yearly general chapter in the practice of St Pachomius and St Basil. On the other hand Dom Berlière points out that the summoning of such an assembly as a general chapter was not unknown in the history of Benedictine monasteries, and he suggests that the Cistercians followed their precedents. But as the study of the lives of the Egyptian monks so strongly influenced the Cistercians, it seems more probable that the idea of a general chapter was derived directly from Eastern monasticism.

The ideals and Customs of Cluny and Cîteaux had a strong influence on the Canons Regular. In the second half of the eleventh century successive popes made efforts to reform the lives of the clergy.<sup>2</sup> The result was a rapid growth of the number of communities in which priests bound themselves to live a regular life, and were known as Regular Canons. This involved the adoption of Customs or Statutes. An earlier reformer, Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz from 742 to 766, had drawn up for priests living in common a Rule which was in great part derived from that of St Benedict. Owing to various causes that movement was a failure. Dr Frere has pointed out that these new communities of the eleventh century began on various lines and spread widely before they accepted the Rule of St Augustine.<sup>3</sup> He writes, 'There was a need of uniformity among the different houses of Canons; and there was also the need of some patron and some formula of life which would enable the canons to hold up their heads in rivalry with the monks.' The so-called Rule of St Augustine was adapted from a letter written by St Augustine, when Bishop of Hippo, to a convent of nuns. It is very brief and touches the spirit of monastic life rather than its details. For this reason the origin of some of the Customs of Canons Regular is of special interest.

Among the most important of the Canons Regular in France were the Canons of St Victor at Paris. Their founder was the famous scholar, William of Champeaux, who withdrew with a few other scholars

<sup>1</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxviii p. 640.

<sup>2</sup> *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus* pp. 186-188.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.

to the hermitage of St Victor in 1108.<sup>1</sup> In 1113 William became Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, and was afterwards one of the well-known friends of St Bernard. The Customs of St Victor<sup>2</sup> are ascribed to his successor, Gilduin, who was abbot from 1114 until 1155.<sup>3</sup> A number of the chapters are derived from the Customs of Bernard of Cluny, parts of them being copied absolutely verbatim; a few other details were borrowed from the Cistercian 'Liber Usuum'. Some passages may be the original work of Gilduin and his canons; of these the most interesting treats of the library, the care of books and the writing of new ones which made a special appeal to men who were scholars before they were canons. The house of St Victor became an important centre of reform, the canons were sought out as heads of other communities, a number of other houses entered into relations with St Victor, and in this way a congregation was gradually formed.<sup>4</sup> Although these Customs were in the main derived from Cluny, there is some evidence to suggest that the system of government within the congregation was that of Cîteaux. Independent communities of Regular Canons adopted the Customs of St Victor of Paris and varied them according to their needs in the same way as independent Benedictine monasteries treated the Customs of Cluny. The Customs of the house of Augustinian Canons at Barnwell, Cambridge, are a most interesting example.<sup>5</sup> On the whole the Augustinian Canons were as loosely related to one another as were the Benedictines.

On the other hand, the Regular Canons of the Order of Prémontré were organized as an Order in the same strict sense as the Cistercians. Their founder was St Norbert (1080?-1134). Having failed to induce the Secular Canons of Xanten to lead the regular life, he left them to become a poor wandering preacher.<sup>6</sup> After a time he settled with a few companions in a desolate valley in the forest of Coucy, near Laon, which received the name of Prémontré. Some months later there were nearly forty clerks and many laymen who had been attracted by his eloquence. His biographer records that he talked much with them about a Rule and the Institutions of the Fathers. The conflicting counsels of many bishops and abbots perplexed him greatly, for some advised that they should live as hermits or anchorites, others that they should follow the Cistercian way of life. But Norbert shrank from choosing a monastic Rule because it seemed to him that he would thereby detract from the

<sup>1</sup> Fourier Bonnard *Histoire de l'Abbaye royale et l'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers de St Victor de Paris* i p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Martène *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritiibus*, ed. 1783, iv pp. 253-291.

<sup>3</sup> Fourier Bonnard *op. cit.* p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, ed. J. Willis Clark.

<sup>6</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxx pp. 1254-1344.

canon's way of life to which he and some of his companions had been vowed from childhood. He sent for the Rule of St Augustine and approved of it so strongly that on Christmas Day, 1119, all the community agreed to adopt it. The Rule appealed to Norbert because it could be interpreted in various ways, and he added precepts for a strict observance. His statutes were confirmed by Honorius III in 1125. Yet within a few years the abbots of the several monasteries which Norbert had founded practically agreed upon the Cistercian way of life. Norbert became Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1126, and shortly after the election of his successor, Hugh de Fosse, several abbots met at Prémontré to make provision for the future of the Order, which they believed to be in peril, and they agreed that, after the example of the Cistercians, they would hold a general chapter every year. It seems that either then or before the first general chapter they wrote a Book of Customs. These '*Institutiones Rerum Premonstratensium*'<sup>1</sup> were divided into four parts, and the last contains some provisions which were added by the advice of the general chapter. The writers took the Institutes about the general chapter in the fourth part and the greater part of the first two divisions concerning the daily life and the officers of the monastery almost verbatim from the Cistercian '*Carta Caritatis*', Customs and Institutes. The third part consists of an elaborate table of penalties for offences which are more minutely classified than in other Customs. In one important particular, the Premonstratensians departed from the Cistercian practice, viz. in their system of visitation. The Order was divided into provinces, and two abbots were appointed each year as circators to visit all the houses in their province and report to the general chapter.

The revival of the double monastery is another instance of the influence of Cluny on later developments. About 1061, with the help of his brother Geoffrey, Count of Semur, Abbot Hugh founded and endowed a priory at Marcigny because there was then no refuge for women within the Order of Cluny.<sup>2</sup> The movement for monastic reform associated with Benedict of Aniane was hostile to double monasteries. The foundation of new double houses had been forbidden by the Council of Nicaea in 787.<sup>3</sup> In his Rule for Nuns, written about 816, Amalarius of Metz ordered that the priests, deacons, and subdeacons who celebrate Mass for nuns should have a dwelling-place and a church of their own outside the nunnery.<sup>4</sup> I have as yet come across no instance in the tenth century of a double monastery which was

<sup>1</sup> Martène *op. cit.* iv pp. 323-336.

<sup>2</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clix p. 949; *Gallia Christiana* iv pp. 486, 487 (ed. 1728).

<sup>3</sup> Labbe *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, ed. Cossart, xiii p. 755 cap. xx.

<sup>4</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* cv p. 972 cap. xxvii.

associated with the Cluniac reform. It was to ensure the most strict enclosure of the nuns that Abbot Hugh created a double monastery. At Marcigny the buildings of nuns and monks were remote from one another, but they had one common church in which a wooden screen separated the quire of the nuns from that of the monks.<sup>1</sup> At an early stage in the history of Marcigny the nuns were limited in number to ninety-nine and the monks to thirteen including the prior.<sup>2</sup> The prioress ruled over the nuns, the prior was their spiritual ruler and heard confessions. Both were appointed and removed by the Abbot of Cluny. Property was held in common. Two monks were appointed as procurators to manage the temporal affairs of the priory, in which the nuns had no share whatever. In the ordinary Benedictine nunnery of that age the abbess and her convent managed their own temporal affairs, and they were therefore not strictly enclosed. Marcigny attracted many women of noble birth, among them were Spanish and Scotch princesses, Adela Countess of Blois, a sister of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and great ladies from Northern Italy as well as from many parts of France.<sup>3</sup>

The vocation of women for monastic life had a strong influence on the rise of some of the new Orders in France. Of these the most original was the Order of Fontevrault, which was founded by Robert of Arbrissel.<sup>4</sup> When at Angers in 1096 Pope Urban II bade Robert give his life to preaching. He spent the next four or five years as a wandering preacher in Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, in company with two of his disciples, Bernard of Ponthieu and Vitalis of Mortain. Men, and still more women, of all ranks were attracted by him, and left their homes to follow him wherever he went. The throng became so great that Robert realized the need of a permanent dwelling and the discipline of a regular life for his community. He parted with Bernard and Vitalis and the majority of the men, and they afterwards founded the monasteries of Tiron and Savigny, the mother houses of new Orders. Robert conceived the idea of founding a double monastery in which a large number of women should be served by priests and lay brothers. This was the origin of the famous house which he founded at Fontevrault in 1101. Before half a century had elapsed there were over fifty daughter-houses in France. The cloisters and buildings of the women were remote from those of the men.<sup>5</sup> The great Church of St Mary

<sup>1</sup> Cucherat *Cluny au onzième siècle* pp. 86-98, 219-251, 262-275.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Marrier and Duchesne, Notae pp. 86, 87.

<sup>3</sup> Cucherat *op. cit.* pp. 86-98.

<sup>4</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxii pp. 1043-1078; Walter *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs* i.

<sup>5</sup> L. A. Bossebœuf *Fontevrault, son histoire et ses monuments* pp. 48-85.

was that of the nuns, to which the priests came only to celebrate Mass and to hear confessions. The monks had a separate oratory dedicated to St John. There can be little doubt that Robert gave the Rule of St Benedict to both monks and nuns; he added statutes defining the relations between the two communities. In these there was a striking contrast with the arrangements made by Abbot Hugh at Marcigny. By Robert's advice a woman was chosen to succeed him as head of the Order and Abbess of Fontevrault, one who had lived in the world and was skilled in the management of temporal affairs, for he feared that a virgin who was cloister-bred would wreck his work through ignorance. The duty of visiting the other houses of the Order devolved upon her, she rode abroad accompanied by two nuns, two monks, and two servants. Stores of all kinds, money, and books were under the charge of the nuns.<sup>1</sup> This last provision was adopted by St Gilbert for the English double Order of Sempringham,<sup>2</sup> which owed much to the model of Fontevrault. Robert of Arbrissel had feared opposition to the rule of a woman. Not long after his death there are signs that the monks resented their subjection, and Pope Calixtus II insisted on their obedience.<sup>3</sup> St Gilbert set up two communities with a Master as supreme ruler, but three of the nuns from each house were summoned to Sempringham to take part in the election of the Master and to attend the yearly general chapter, and the women were visited each year by nuns appointed for the purpose.<sup>4</sup>

But the example of Marcigny was followed in the priories dependent on Molesme,<sup>5</sup> and in the first Cistercian nunneries,<sup>6</sup> and in those dependent on Savigny.<sup>7</sup> The Abbot of Molesme appointed a prior who acted as chaplain to the nuns; under him were three monks who managed all the temporal affairs of the priory with the help of lay brothers. The Abbot exercised supreme jurisdiction over the nuns, and granted the right of election of a new prioress. All the nunneries attempted at some time to gain independence in one direction or another. Of these the most successful was Crisenon. The ruler of the women became an abbess, and when an annual general chapter was instituted, she secured the right of attending either in person or by proxy, whereas the other nunneries were represented by their prior.

<sup>1</sup> Walter *op. cit.* pp. 189-195; Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxii pp. 1079-1086.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale *Monasticon Anglicanum* vii pp. xxi, xliv, xlvii, ed. 1846.

<sup>3</sup> Walter *op. cit.* pp. 166-171.

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale *op. cit.* pp. xx, xxi, lvii.

<sup>5</sup> Laurent *op. cit.* i pp. 253-261.

<sup>6</sup> *Gallia Christiana* iv p. 572, Instr. p. 158 (ed. 1728); *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, ed. Séjalon, pp. 360, 363; Guignard *op. cit.* pp. 407-584.

<sup>7</sup> Auvry *Histoire de la Congrégation de Savigny*, ed. Laveille (Société de l'Histoire de Normandie), i pp. 312, 313.

The first Cistercian nunnery was founded from July, the first nunnery of Molesme, and it is therefore natural to find that their affairs were managed by a chaplain and procurators. No Cistercian abbess had the right to attend the general chapter of the Order, but there is some evidence to shew that both in France<sup>1</sup> and in Spain<sup>2</sup> the Cistercian nunneries sent women representatives to attend a general chapter at the head nunnery of the province.

The conflicting influences of Cluny and Cîteaux on Benedictine monasteries in France have been most carefully traced by Dom Berlière in the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*.<sup>3</sup> Before 1131 the Benedictine abbots in the province of Reims agreed to hold yearly general chapters, to shorten their services, to enforce the keeping of silence, and to increase their fasts. Matthew, Cardinal of Albano, sent a strong letter of remonstrance to the abbots; as prior (1117-1126) of the Cluniac house of St-Martin-des-Champs at Paris, he had been very active in promoting the reform of Benedictine monasteries through the adoption of the Customs of Cluny.<sup>4</sup> In the proposed changes he saw a reaction against the Customs of Cluny 'which have made you glorious and noble and have borne your names to the stars, and have taken away your bad and most evil name, and have given you a good and famous name'. The abbots made a vigorous defence, and reminded the cardinal that they had not been professed to keep the Customs of Cluny but the Rule of St Benedict.<sup>5</sup> Robert of Torigny observes that the result of the new monasticism was a revival in the Benedictine monasteries of Normandy, and that monks from Cluny, Marmoutier, and Bec were chosen as abbots.<sup>6</sup>

Lastly, there is the influence of Cîteaux on Cluny. The Cluniac way of life, which St Bernard attacked in his famous Apologia, written about 1125, to William of St Thierry, had degenerated in the fifteen years after the death of Abbot Hugh in 1109. He was succeeded by Ponce of Melgueil, but his rule belied the promise of his earlier years.<sup>7</sup> In 1121 he agreed to resign and set out for Jerusalem. But in Lent 1125, when Abbot Peter the Venerable was in Aquitaine, Ponce suddenly returned, seized Cluny, and held it for six months by force of arms, spoiling the treasures of the monastery to pay his soldiers. Abbot Peter the Venerable was bent on reform. In 1132 he summoned the heads of

<sup>1</sup> Guignard *op. cit.* pp. lxxxviii-xc, 643-648.

<sup>2</sup> Auvry *op. cit.* i 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* ii pp. 253-264; *Mélanges d'Histoire Bénédictine*, ed. Berlière, 1902, pp. 1-58 (4<sup>e</sup> série).

<sup>4</sup> Berlière *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* i pp. 93-102.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 98, 103.

<sup>6</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* ccii pp. 1313-1320.

<sup>7</sup> Pignot *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny* iii pp. 1-46.



all the Cluniac houses to come to Cluny on the third Sunday of Lent, and to hear 'precepts of monastic life more austere than those which they had hitherto observed.'<sup>1</sup> Orderic Vitalis was present, and he told how Peter added fasts, took away times for speaking, and deprived the sick of some of their comforts. He wished to emulate the Cistercians and others who followed after new things. But in the face of opposition Peter dropped some of his most rigorous precepts. In his Statutes,<sup>2</sup> which were approved by the general chapter, he cut off luxuries in food and extravagance in dress and display. St Bernard rejoiced over the reforms which Peter introduced at Cluny.<sup>3</sup>

Hugh V, who was summoned in 1199 from the English monastery of Reading to be Abbot of Cluny, promulgated statutes for the reform of various abuses in 1200.<sup>4</sup> He adopted the general chapter to be attended yearly by the priors of the Order. Imitating the visitation of Cîteaux by the abbots of the four daughter-houses, he decreed that once a year, on the octave of St Peter and St Paul, two abbots and two priors should make inquisition about the Abbot of Cluny, and the condition of the monastery in temporal and spiritual affairs, and correct everything and notify it to the general chapter. Priors should not be deprived except for some manifest reason, and this by the judgement of the general chapter. In each province one or more camerarii should be appointed to visit and correct under the Abbot of Cluny and to notify the results to the general chapter. This was a complete surrender of the former autocracy of the abbots of Cluny in favour of the constitutional government which had been initiated by the Cistercians.

In this paper I have attempted to sketch the origin and growth of the Customs of Cluny and their widespread influence. I have tried to shew that this body of Customs represented a growth of monastic tradition and to some extent a common measure of monastic observance. Although I have emphasized the resemblance between the Customs of the several monasteries and orders, I am not forgetful of the differences between Cluniacs and Cistercians, Augustinians and Premonstratensians, which I hope to set forth in their due proportions in a longer work.

ROSE GRAHAM.

<sup>1</sup> Migne *Patrologia Lat.* clxxxviii pp. 935, 936.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* clxxxix pp. 1025-1048.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* clxxxii p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ccix pp. 882-896.

## THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN'S 'GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY'.

### I

THE first forty sections of the first Book of the Queen of Sweden's 'Gelasian Sacramentary'—MS Vatican. Regin. 316—contain material proper to a sacramentary, together with excerpts from a *canon poenitentialis*, a pontifical and a *baptisterium*; and would seem to represent a prototype (V') executed on pages of four-and-twenty lines of the average capacity of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  letters to a line, the sacramental portions of this document having been taken from a volume (V) the contents of which were similarly distributed.

Now, I hope to be able to prove that this volume, the V of my hypothesis, had a real existence, and that it was a studiously devised but by no means veritable transcript of a sacramentary ( $S_2$ ), the pages of which were such as had been employed by some of the successive editors of the so-called 'Missale Francorum' and, before them, by one of the editors of the Leonianum; that is to say, from a book of twenty-five-line pages of the average capacity of 28 letters to a line. And, if the results of my analysis are as true to fact as I believe them to be, Redactions  $S_2$  and V were of non-Roman, and presumably cismontane, compilation; as also was V', the complex collection into which V was incorporated.

Further: I believe  $S_2$  to have been a considerably amplified, though carefully elaborated, transcript of a strictly and exclusively Roman predecessor ( $S_1$ ), which, in its turn, had been derived from an earlier and somewhat slighter work, also Roman. This, which, by my hypothesis, was the nucleus, or ultimate original, I distinguish as Redaction  $s$ ; and I am convinced that it was written on pages such as went to the making, probably by Pope Simplicius (A.D. 468-483), of the third general edition of the Leonianum<sup>1</sup> and of the first ascertainable edition of the 'Missale Francorum',<sup>2</sup> that is to say, on twenty-five-line pages of 32 letters to a line; but that  $S_1$ , its derivative, was written on lines of 28 letters, twenty-five such lines being the complement of a page.

Thus my hypothesis postulates a sacramentary in four editions, the first and second ( $s$  and  $S_1$ ) Roman, the third and fourth ( $S_2$  and V)

<sup>1</sup> See *J. T. S.* vol. ix pp. 515-556 and vol. x pp. 54-99.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. T. S.* vol. xii pp. 214-250 and pp. 535-572.

non-Roman; and, besides these, an aggregate and complex document (V'), one of whose contributories was V. It also postulates three successive units of paginal capacity, viz. :—

1. For s, the Roman nucleus of the sacramentarial portion of the extant document, a twenty-five-line page of the average capacity of 32 letters to a line. This paginal unit I style, as in previous essays, 'β'.
2. For S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>—one Roman, the other non-Roman—a twenty-five-line page of the average capacity of 28 letters to a line. This, as heretofore, I distinguish as 'θ'.
3. For V and V'—both non-Roman—a twenty-four-line page, the lines of which had  $29\frac{1}{2}$  letters as their average value. This paginal unit I call 'κ'.

*The Roman Origins of Sections i-xi.* If the earliest of western sacramentaries, the Leonianum, may be our instructor, we must assume the liturgical year of the Roman Church to have run parallel with the civil year as late, at least, as the second quarter of the fifth century; but we do not know when it was that the scribes of the papal scriptorium first made their liturgical year begin on Christmas Eve. Nor, assuming it to have been some post-Leonian bishop of Rome that authorized the change, am I aware that any serious attempt has been made to learn why and when the change was devised. Assuredly, there must have been well-grounded reason for abandoning a method which, convenient in itself, enjoyed the authority of a pontiff so influential and so recent as Leo the Great; and, if the simplest, the most obvious and the most cogent of answers be the right one, we may venture to assert that, though nothing less may have sufficed as warrant for the change, nothing more was needed than the institution of the Octave of Christmas,<sup>1</sup> an anniversary which in the order of thought must be carefully distinguished from the Feast of the Circumcision, a festival of comparatively recent—and, in the opinion of experts, non-Roman—institution; for, so unreasonable would have been the anomaly of setting the Mass for the last of the eight days at the beginning of a book and those for the first five days at the end of it, that common sense would urge an editor to eschew it.

On the other hand: since our document styles itself *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli*, and since the primary meaning of 'ordo anni circuli' would seem to be that of a sequence which has the first day of the year for its beginning and the last day of the year for its completion, we must be on our guard against

<sup>1</sup> The Octave of Christmas is mentioned (Mur. ii 398) in the *Breuiarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis*, printed by Tommasi, and, after him, by Muratori, and, although this document, in at least its extant form, cannot be earlier than a late date in the seventh century, it makes no reference whatever to a feast of the Circumcision.

assuming that when the original document—that is to say, Redaction *s* of my theory—was compiled its first item was not a Mass for an early day in January.

Hence the question, Can it be (1) that at Redaction *s* the cycle of commemorative items did not begin with a Christmas Eve Mass, but (2) with a Mass for the Vigil of the Theophany, and (3) that it ended with the Christmas and post-Nativity groups? To each portion of the question an affirmative answer may with probability be given. For,

1. Assuming the author of the Christmas Eve Mass to have designed it in conformity to the custom which made the first item in a volume—or the first item and the rubric of the second—extend to the last line of a page, I find that, if he set it, as by the hypothesis he would have done, on a page of  $\beta$  capacity, he must have compelled himself to devote as many as eleven lines to ornamentation and rubrics; for its constituents represent but fourteen such lines.

2. But, as against so unsightly and improbable a scheme of distribution, I find that if the Mass for the Vigil of the Theophany was thus devised, the reasonable proportion of but eight lines would have been left for ornamentation and rubrics: thus—

VIGIL OF THEOPHANY.

<i>In nomine dñi ihu xpi . . . preces . . .</i>	100 letters	3 $\beta$ lines
<i>In uigiliis de theophania . . . . .</i>	22 "	$\frac{2}{3}$ " "
Ornamentation . . . . .		$2\frac{1}{3}$ " "
Corda nra quaesumus dñe &c. . . .	134 "	4 " "
Tribue quaesumus dñe &c. . . . .	112 "	4 " "
UD. quia quum unigenitus &c. . . .	121 "	4 " "
Illumina quaesumus dñe &c. . . . .	161 "	5 " "
Of the following . . . . .		2 " "
Total . . . . .		25 $\beta$ lines

3. I find, thirdly, that if we eliminate from §§ i-x the Mass for the Octave of the Nativity (§ ix) and, besides this, the prayers grouped in § v, all other supernumerary prayers, and all Ad Populum prayers, a class not used in Rome on festal occasions—if, that is to say, we reinstate what, by the hypothesis, was the original equipment of the Christmas and post-Nativity groups—and if, that done, we give to the constituents that remain the text which, as will be seen presently,<sup>1</sup> we must assume to have been theirs before the document left Rome and in the first cismontane edition, the resulting value is that of seven integral pages, four of which would contain the four Christmas items, and three the Masses for the subsequent triad of saints' days and for that against peril of idolatry: thus—

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 201, 202; and compare the second table of values on p. 202, and those for §§ vi-xi on pp. 203, 204.

	Eve.	Night.	Morn.	Day.	St Stephen.	St John.	Inno- cents.	Against Idols.
Capitulum . .	34 *	12 1	24 1	20 1	27 1	30 1	19 1	19 1
Collecta . .	94 3	153 5	225 7	174 6	155 5	172 6	173 6	
Oratio . . .	127 4	107 4	87 3	120 4	118 4	152 5	152 5	165 6
Secreta . . .	133 4	183 6	[206] 180 6	[176] 133 4	108 4	135 4	137 5	156 5
Preface . . .		302 10	212 7	194 6				
<i>Infra actionem</i>				13 1				
Communicantes				118 4				
Postcommunio	100 3	95 3	115 4	103 3	124 4	97 3	90 3	112 4
Rubric . . .								2
Totals ( $\beta$ lines)	14	29	28	29 (= 100)	18	19	20	18 (= 75)

The verisimilitude of these several results justifies us in believing, first, that Redaction *s* began with the Vigil of the Theophany, and, secondly, that its Christmas and post-Nativity items, supplemented by the Mass against idolatry, stood at the end of Book I, and possibly on the last gathering of the volume. The latter of these convictions is intensified when we note that the four Christmas items would not have filled a quadruple of pages if the Secretae of § iii and § iv had not been by textual economy reduced from their Leonianum values<sup>1</sup> of 7 lines and 6 to 6 and 4 respectively.

*The Contents and Position of the Second and Third Schemes of Christmas and post-Nativity Masses.* If, then, it be true that Redaction *s* was devised prior to the institution of the Octave of Christmas and that its first constituent was the Mass for the Vigil of the Theophany, the question now arises whether the Octave of Christmas can have been instituted while the Pope's own copy of Redaction *s*, a most carefully executed *Prachtexemplar*, was still in use; and, if so, what was the method chosen for introducing the Mass of the new anniversary into the volume.

Unless the item in question was written on a page that happened to be lying blank, it was introduced into the pontifical *Prachtexemplar* in one or other of two ways; one simple, the other complex.

The simpler plan was to write it on a fly-leaf and to insert the leaf into the volume; but this awkward expedient was unworthy of the volume and unworthy of the occasion; for it would neither give the item its proper place in the textual sequence of post-Nativity Masses, nor give the anniversary, which fell on the first day of January, textual precedence of the Vigil of the Theophany, which fell on the fifth.

The other alternative, if complex, was logical, ingenious, and artistic. It was, to unbind the papal copy; to remove the four leaves containing the Christmas and post-Nativity Masses; and, cutting away the first

<sup>1</sup> In terms of letters they are 206 and 176 respectively. See Mur. i 467 and 473.

two leaves, to replace these with a ternion of membranes which would be filled as follows: The first leaf (pp. 1, 2) would carry the title, and on the last page (p. 12) would begin the Mass for the Feast of the Theophany; while the intervening pages (pp. 3-11) would hold the original series of Christmas and post-Nativity items, *plus* the new Mass and *plus* that for the Vigil of the Theophany. I will set forth all this in tabular form presently; for, before proceeding further I must try to learn what precisely was the linear value of the newly composed Mass.

That it had the extant Collecta, Oratio, Secreta and Postcommunio may be taken for granted; but it cannot have had the whole of the extant Preface. The first sentence, 'Cuius hodie . . . infans et dñs est', enunciates the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation with an epigrammatic completeness and a theological precision such as to challenge speculation concerning anything that might be added to it; but the phrase which follows, 'Merito caeli—or preferably 'Merito ergo caeli'—'locuti sunt, angeli gratulati, pastores laetati', must not be lightly condemned; for, though it reads like an *additamentum*, it is appropriate to the subject and to the occasion. But, that the 'magi mutati, reges turbati, paruuli gloriosa passione coronati' &c., which comes next, should have flowed from the pen of a bishop of Rome in the century that produced a Leo, a Simplicius and a Gelasius, is not to be believed; for its reiterated assonances and overdone alliterations are not the pardonable conceits of a scholar; while its 'magi mutati' must have been excogitated by some provincial to whom the Latin language was neither a vernacular nor a classic. This is curiously like that remarkable passage in the 'Missale Gothicum' (Mur. ii 563; Migne *S. L.* lxxii 251 D) which, commemorating the conversion of St Paul, praises his 'mutatio et fides', 'mutatio' being there a barbarous synonym for 'conuersio', as here 'mutati' does duty for 'conuersi'. And, bad as this is, the 'Lacta mater cibum nostrum, lacta panem de caelo descendentem' &c. is even worse, for it has the further demerits of mixed metaphor and confused historical grouping.

Hence I think it probable (1) that the Preface as originally written ended at 'infans et dñs est', and, with the introductory 'per xp̄m dñm n̄m' and a concluding 'et ideo cum angelis', numbered 142 letters; (2) that a careful Roman editor, whom I should like to identify, amplified it by the 68 letters of 'Merito ergo caeli . . . pastores laetati' and 'et archangelis'; and (3) that 'magi mutati . . . adimplere' is a late addition: the successive totals being thus 142, 210, and 518.

In the subjoined synopses the columns headed 's¹' shew what, in terms of  $\beta$  lines, would have been the results attained by the sub-redaction of *s* which I have just imagined, a sub-redaction which

transferred the Christmas and post-Nativity items to the beginning of the papal *Prachtexemplar* and reinforced the series with the newly devised Mass for the Octave of Christmas. The columns headed 'S<sub>1</sub>' shew what were the results obtained at the second of the two Roman editions postulated by my hypothesis, an edition executed on  $\theta$  pages. It differed from sub-redaction s<sup>1</sup> by making the Christmas group (§§ i-iv), together with a rubric on two lines, conterminous with a page (p. 7): if s<sup>1</sup> had differed from s by enriching the sacramentary with a Mass for the Octave of Christmas, S<sub>1</sub> now differed from s<sup>1</sup> by giving a prayer to each of the six days intervening between feast and octave<sup>1</sup>; and, by help of happily inspired additions to the Preface for the Octave, it enabled the Mass for the Vigil of the Theophany to end, as it had ended at s and again at s<sup>1</sup>, on the antepenultimate line of a page; the last two lines of the page (p. 14) being devoted to the title and sub-title of the Mass for the Feast.

	§ i. Eve.	§ ii. Night.	§ iii. Morn.	§ iv. Day.
	s <sup>1</sup> S <sub>1</sub>	s <sup>1</sup> S <sub>1</sub>	s <sup>1</sup> S <sub>1</sub>	s <sup>1</sup> S <sub>1</sub>
General title . . .	100 3 3½			
Capitulum . . .	34 1 1½	22 1 *	24 1 1	20 1 1
Ornamentation . . .	2 2			
Collecta . . .	94 3 3½	153 5 6	225 7 8	174 6 7
Oratio . . .	127 4 5	107 4 4	87 3 3	120 4 5
Secreta . . .	133 4 5	183 6 7	180 6 7	134 4 5
Preface . . .		329 11 12	209 7 8	194 6 7
<i>Infra actionem</i> . . .				13 1 1
Communicantes . . .				118 4 4
Postcommunion . . .	100 3 4	95 3 4	115 4 4	103 3 4
Of the following . . .	1			2
Totals (β) for s	20	30 = 50 (P. 4 ends)	28	29 = 57
„ (θ) for S <sub>1</sub>	25 (P. 3 ends)	33	31	36 = 100 (P. 7 ends)

## § v. NATIVITY PRAYERS.

	S <sub>1</sub>
<i>Item oriones de natali dñi &amp;c.</i> . . . .	44 *
<i>Adesto dñe supplicationibus &amp;c.</i> . . . .	118 4
<i>Largire quaesumus dñe &amp;c.</i> . . . .	188 7
<i>Dñs qui populo tuo &amp;c.</i> . . . .	237 9
<i>Dñs qui humanae substantiae &amp;c.</i> . . . .	195 7
<i>Oñp. semp. dñs creator &amp;c.</i> . . . .	188 7
<i>Dñs qui natiuitatis tuae &amp;c.</i> . . . .	154 6
Total (θ) for S <sub>1</sub> . . . . .	40

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the intention. See in § lxxxix (Mur. i 602) the six prayers *ad uesperos infra octauas pentecosten*.

	§ vi. St Stephen.	§ vii. St John.	§ viii. Innocents.	§ ix. Octave.	§ x. Against Idols.	§ xi. V. of Theophany.
	$s^1 S_1$	$s^1 S_1$	$s^1 S_1$	$s^1 S_1$	$s^1 S_1$	$s^1 S_1$
Brought forward	57 40					
Capitulum . . .	27 1 1	30 1 1	19 1 1	16 1 1	19 1 1	22 1 1
Collecta . . .	155 5 6	172 6 7	173 6 7	130 4 5		
Oratio . . .	118 4 4	152 5 6	152 5 6	184 6 7	165 6 6	134 4 5
Secreta . . .	108 4 4	135 4 5	137 5 5	133 4 5	156 5 6	112 4 4
Preface . . .				142 <sup>1</sup> , 210 <sup>2</sup> 5 8		124 4 5
Postcommunion .	124 4 5	97 3 4	90 3 3	111 4 4	112 4 4	166 6 6
Of the following .						2 2
Totals (B) for $s^1$	75 (P. 7 ends)	19	20	24	16	21 = 100 (P. 11 ends)
„ (θ) for $S_1$	60	23	22	30	17	23 = 175 (P. 14 ends)

*The First and Second non-Roman Editions of §§ i-xi.* In the next synopses I give over again the values just found for  $S_1$  in order that my readers may the more readily apprehend what it was that I conceive the first of the non-Roman editors to have done.

## CHRISTMAS MASSES.

	§ i. Eve.	§ ii. Night.	§ iii. Morn.	§ iv. Day.
	$S_1 \quad S_2 \quad V$	$S_1 \quad S_2 \quad V$	$S_1 \quad S_2 \quad V$	$S_1 \quad S_2 \quad V$
General title . .	100 $3\frac{1}{2}$ *			
Capitulum . . .	34 <sup>1</sup> , 20 <sup>2</sup> $1\frac{1}{2}$ 1	22 * 1	24 1 1	20 $\overbrace{1}^*$ 1
Ornamentation .	2			
Collecta . . .	94 $3\frac{1}{2}$ 3	153 6 6	225 8 8	174 7 6
Oratio . . .	127 5 5	104 (107) 4 4	87 3 3	120 <sup>1</sup> , 102 <sup>2</sup> 5 <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>2</sup>
Secreta . . .	133 5 5	183 <sup>1</sup> , 156 <sup>2</sup> 7 <sup>1</sup> 6 <sup>2</sup>	180 7 6	133 <sup>1</sup> , 155 <sup>2</sup> 5 <sup>1</sup> 6 <sup>2</sup>
„ . . .			120 $\overbrace{5}^{} 4$	
Preface . . .		328 (329) 12 11	205 (209) 8 8	194 7 7
<i>Infra actionem</i> .				13 1 1
Communicantes .				118 4 4
Postcommunion .	100 <sup>1</sup> , 93 <sup>2</sup> $\overbrace{4}^{} 3^2$	95 $\overbrace{4}^{} 3$	112 (115) $\overbrace{4}^{} 4$	103 <sup>1</sup> , 124 <sup>2</sup> $\overbrace{4}^{} 4^2$
Ad Populum . .			137 $\overbrace{5}^{} 5$	114 (120) $\overbrace{5}^{} 4$
Of the following .	1 1		1	2
Totals (θ) for $S_1$	25 (P. 3 ends)	33	31	36 = 100 (P. 7 ends)
„ (θ) for $S_2$	25 (P. 3 ends)	33	42 = 75 (P. 6 ends)	38 = 38
„ (κ) for V	17	31 = 48 (P. 4 ends)	39	37 = 76



§ v. NATIVITY PRAYERS.

		S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V
Brought forward . . . . .			38	76
Capitulum . . . . .	44	*	2	2
Adesto dñe supplicationibus &c. . . . .	118	4	4	
Largire quaesumus &c. . . . .	188	7	7	
Dñs qui populo tuo &c. . . . .	237	9	9	
Dñs qui humane &c. . . . .	195	7	7	
Oñp. semp. dñs creator &c. . . . .	188	7	7	
Dñs qui natiuitatis &c. . . . .	154	6	6	
Of the following . . . . .				2
Totals (θ) for S <sub>1</sub> . . . . .		40		
„ (θ) for S <sub>2</sub> . . . . .			80	
„ (κ) for V . . . . .				120 (P. 9 ends)

*Memorandum.* I correct within brackets the value of the Preface of § ii from 328 to 329 because the words ‘per xpm dñm nrm’ are needed as antecedent to ‘cuius diuinae natiuitatis’ &c., and because there is preponderating authority for a concluding ‘et ideo’ in preference to ‘quem laudant angeli’. The other slight and stichometrically inconsiderable corrections—104 (107), 205 (209), &c.—will be understood on referring to Mr Wilson’s notes.

	§ vi. St Stephen.	§ vii. St John.	§ viii. Innocents.
	S <sub>1</sub> S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>1</sub> S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>1</sub> S <sub>2</sub> V
Brought forward .	40 80		
Capitulum . . . . .	27 1 } *	30 1 } 2	19 1 } 1
Calendral date . . . . .	14 6 } 6	14 7 } 6	13 7 } 6
Collecta . . . . .	155 4 4	172 6 1 5 <sup>2</sup>	173 7 6 5 <sup>2</sup>
Oratio . . . . .	118 4 4	152 <sup>1</sup> , 150 <sup>2</sup> 6 1 5 <sup>2</sup>	152 <sup>1</sup> , 149 <sup>2</sup> 6 1 5 <sup>2</sup>
„ . . . . .	147 6 5	134 5 5	126 5 5
Secreta . . . . .	108 4 4	135 5 5	137 5 5
Postcommunion . . . . .	124 5 4	97 4 3	90 3 3
Ad Populum . . . . .	117 4 4	112 4 4	129 5 5
Of the following .			1
Totals (θ) for S <sub>1</sub>	60	23	22 = 105
„ (θ) for S <sub>2</sub>	110	32	33 = 175
„ (κ) for V	27	30	(P. 13 ends) 30 = 87

	§ ix. Octave of Nativity.			§ x. Against Idols.	§ xi. V. of Theophany.
	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	S <sub>1</sub> S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>1</sub> S <sub>2</sub> V
Brought forward .		105	87		
Capitulum . . .	16	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ * \end{array}$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} 1$	19	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 1 \end{array}$
Calendral date . .	12				
Collecta . . . .	130	5	5		
Oratio . . . . .	183	7	7	165	$\begin{array}{c} 134^1, 136^2 \\ 5^1 \end{array}$
Secreta . . . . .	$133^1, 124^2$	$\begin{array}{c} 5^1 \\ 5^1 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 4^2 \\ 4^2 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 156^1, 149^2 \\ 6^1 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 5^2 \\ 4 \end{array}$
Preface . . . . .	$210^2, 518^3$	$\begin{array}{c} 8^2 \\ 8^2 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 8^2 = 25 \\ 18^3 = 122 \end{array}$		$\begin{array}{c} 121 \\ 5 \end{array}$
Postcommunion .	111	4	4	112	$\begin{array}{c} 6 \\ 6 \end{array}$
Ad Populum . . .	165	$\begin{array}{c} 6 \end{array}$	6		
Of the following .					$\begin{array}{c} 2 \\ 2 \end{array}$
Totals ( $\theta$ ) for S <sub>1</sub>	135			17	23 = 175 (P. 14 ends)
„ ( $\theta$ ) for S <sub>2</sub>		35		17	23 = 75 (P. 16 ends)
„ ( $\kappa$ ) for V			132	16	20 = 168 (P. 16 ends)

I am convinced that the first of the non-Roman editors, like his immediate Roman predecessor, used  $\theta$  pages, and that his amanuensis wrote a script as equable as that which had been employed in the execution of Redaction S<sub>1</sub>. Can it be that his amanuensis had been trained in the Lateran scriptorium and had brought thence, already ruled, the vellum on which he was to work?<sup>1</sup>

By my hypothesis, the chief characteristic of the first non-Roman editor, as contrasted with his Roman predecessor, was that he introduced supernumerary prayers into some of the items—e.g. a second Secreta into § iii and a second Oratio into § vi, § vii, § viii—and gave Ad Populum prayers to Masses from which, as being meant for festive occasions, they had been by Roman use barred out.

That these enhancements were devised in obedience to a carefully premeditated plan would seem to be unquestionable; and I purposely dwell for a moment on the fact because there awaits us in the sequel a similar phenomenon of no slight argumentative importance. I observe

<sup>1</sup> Let me note an illustrative instance. Plate 7 of Chatelain's *Uncialis Scriptura* is a heliograph duplicate of a page of MS Veronensis 51, a fifth-century transcript—if transcript it be, and not the original—of the *capitula euangeliorum* attributed by some to Maximus of Turin. As regards ruling and textual capacity it is the very sort of page on which I conceive the Roman S<sub>1</sub> and the non-Roman S<sub>2</sub> to have been written. Since, therefore, Maximus was a contemporary, perhaps a kinsman, of Leo the Great, and since he knew Rome, and certainly was there in 465, a few years after the death of Leo, it is fairly conceivable that the vellum of MS Veronensis 51 had been ruled at the Lateran.

then : (1) That, by the admirable device of giving a second *Secreta* to § iii, as well as an *Ad Populum*, the editor of *S*<sub>2</sub>, herein more felicitous than his predecessor, enabled the culminating Mass of Christmas Day to begin on a fresh page (p. 7 of his volume) ; (2) that, by giving an *Ad Populum* to § iv and a second *Oratio*, as well as an *Ad Populum*, to § vi, to § vii, and to § viii, he secured the same distinction (on p. 14 of his volume) to the Mass for the Octave of the Nativity ; and (3) that, by means of an *Ad Populum* of six lines added to this item, he carried on the series, with a connecting rubric, to the end of his sixteenth page, not improbably the last page of a quire. Could anything have been more ingenious ? Nor was this all. On comparing his totals with his predecessor's, first at the end of § vi and then at the end of § ix, we see how carefully he measured his distances. At the first of these points he, like his predecessor, covered the tenth line of a page ; at the second of these points he, like his predecessor, once more covered the tenth line of a page. After completing § ix he put in nothing new, but travelled *pari passu* with the earlier editor to the end of the series.

Let us now give careful attention to the work of the second cismontane editor postulated by my hypothesis ; for here, as throughout so much of the sacramentarial contributory to the extant document as I have examined with a view to the present essay, it is from his text or from that of the final coadunator, the editor of *V'*, that I have worked my way back to *S*<sub>2</sub> and thence to *S*<sub>1</sub> and *s*.

In terms of letters, the full capacity of one  $\theta$  page is ( $25 \times 28 =$ ) 700 ; that of one  $\kappa$  page is ( $24 \times 29\frac{1}{2} =$ ) 708. Hence it follows that, if it had been the second cismontane editor's task to transfer three long unbroken paragraphs of four, seven and three integral  $\theta$  pages to four, seven and three  $\kappa$  pages, respectively, his task would have been an easy one. Nothing more would have been needed than to add a few words to the first group, and to prolong the second by the value of rather more than a line of text. But, having to deal with eleven *missae* comprising in fourteen  $\theta$  pages a host of short, or very short, prayers and Prefaces each of which had occupied, though it may not have filled, an integral number of  $\theta$  lines, he would scarcely hope to reproduce his predecessor's paginal grouping of those *missae*. For example : in §§ i-iii, which at Redaction *S*<sub>2</sub> had been lodged in the hundred lines of four integral  $\theta$  pages, there might be precisely four constituents each of which, as a consequence of the change of linear unit from 28 to  $29\frac{1}{2}$ , would sustain an automatic reduction of a line, thus enabling the three sections to cover the ninety-six lines of four integral  $\kappa$  pages. In §§ iv-viii, which had been accommodated in seven integral  $\theta$  pages, there might be precisely seven such cases, thus enabling these items in their turn to cover seven integral  $\kappa$  pages. And similarly for §§ ix-xi. But obliging

coincidences like these were not to be expected to occur; nor did they. What, then, was the editor of V to do? What, in fact, did he do?

I believe him to have begun by doing what the artists of the Reginensis codex itself did after him<sup>1</sup>: I believe, that is to say, that he devoted the *verso* of his first leaf to profuse ornamentation, to the general title of the work, and to the first three words, '*Orationes et preces*', of the capitulum of § i.

Pages 3 and 4 of his volume contained, I feel sure, the remainder of the capitulum—'*in uigiliis natalis dñi*'—the four constituents of § i and the whole of § ii. But—and I crave very special attention to what I am about to say—in order that § ii should not travel beyond the end of a page (i.e. p. 4), he cancelled the word '*natiuitas*' in the Postcommunion of § i, thus reducing 100 letters, the equivalent of four lines, to 93, the equivalent of three; and lowered the *Secreta* of § ii from 183 letters to 156, by omitting an entire phrase, '*et pacem nobis semper infundant*'.<sup>2</sup> For my knowledge of these two expedients, as of most of those which will be noted in the sequel, I am indebted to Signor Rappagliosi's collation of Mr Wilson's proof-sheets and to Mr Wilson's record of the variants exhibited by the Rheinau and St Gallen sacramentaries, and by the triple collection on which Gerbert worked. I am convinced that when these three documents agree in giving a clearly acceptable text which differs from that of the Reginensis codex theirs has an unquestionable right to be deemed the Roman *textus classicus*.

Examining his copy of S<sub>2</sub>, the second cismontane editor now saw that five of his pages (pp. 5–9) would amply suffice for §§ iii–v; but he made assurance doubly sure by pruning the *Oratio* of § iv, which numbered 120 letters in his exemplar, to 102. This he did by substituting '*m̄rs d̄s*' for '*quaesumus om̄p. d̄s*' and omitting '*mundi*' and '*nobis*'.<sup>3</sup>

He seems, however, to have had a keen eye to dogmatic accuracy; for in the *Secreta* of § iv, instead of writing, like his predecessors, '*diuini cultus nobis est indita plenitudo. per*', he wrote, or at least intended the scribe to write, either '*diuini cultus nobis est indita pleni-*

<sup>1</sup> For this see Ebner *Missale Romanum im Mittelalter, Iter Italicum* p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> For this see Gerbert *Monumenta* i 3, and the fourth of Mr Wilson's notes on § ii.

<sup>3</sup> I should be slow to suggest, with Mr Wilson, that '*mundi*' and '*nobis*' are absent from the Reginensis MS by mere clerical error, for I cannot find instances in support of that view. What certainly is very curious in the Reginensis text of § iv is that its '*Praesta m̄rs d̄s*' in the *Oratio* and its '*ipsius*' and '*uegetari*' (not '*respirare*') in the Postcommunion are supported by the Leonianum. Can that document have been known to the editor of V, to his amanuensis, or to a later scribe? Here let me add that, though with a slightly different text, the second and fourth prayers are to be found in the Leonianum (Mur. i 468 and 467).

tudo ihc xpc dñs n̄. qui tecum uiuit', or, more probably, 'diuinitatis' nobis est indita plenitudo ihu xpi dñi n̄ri qui tecum uiuit', thus raising the total of letters from 133 to either 154 or 155. Similarly, and with like dogmatic intent, instead of phrasing the Postcommunion 'Da nobis dñe quaesumus unigeniti filii tui . . . cuius caelesti mysterio et pascimur et potamur. per' (in 103 letters), he preferred to render it 'Da nobis dñe quaesumus ipsius . . . cuius caelesti mysterio et pascimur et potamur ihu xpi dñi n̄ri filii tui qui tecum uiuit' (in 124 letters).

Pursuing his course through the post-Nativity items, §§ vi–ix, the editor of V, in order to ensure beyond doubt a now much needed economy of space, wrote 'splendet' for 'resplendet' in the Oratio of § vii, thus reducing 152 letters to 150, the certain equivalent of not more than five  $\kappa$  lines; and not improbably omitted 'nos' from the Oratio of § viii, thus lowering 152 to 149: while in the Secreta of § ix he wrote 'dñi' for 'dñi n̄ri' and 'per' for 'per eundem', by this means substituting for 133, 124 letters, for which four lines would suffice.<sup>2</sup>

My own belief is that he made these textual economies—economies which, though in terms of letters they were slight indeed, could not fail to be efficient in a distribution of text which obeyed the etymological laws of syllabic distribution—in order to give himself room for the long and marvellous 'magi mutati reges turbati . . . Lacta mater cibum n̄m lacta panem de caelo uenientem in praesepio positum' &c., which now adorns the Preface of § ix.

That § xi might end on the last line of a page (p. 16), all that the editor of V now needed was a textual economy having the value of one  $\kappa$  line; and those of my readers who may take the trouble to examine

<sup>1</sup> Compare St Paul's 'diuinitatis plenitudo' at Col. ii 9. If I am right in making this suggestion the question arises whether the editor of V may not, consciously or unconsciously, have deserted what on that hypothesis would be the reading of S<sub>2</sub> in favour of 'diuini cultus', which again is the reading in our only known copy of the Leonianum.

<sup>2</sup> Here let me repeat what I have said elsewhere: That when resolving terms of letters into terms of lines I always neglect the concluding 'per' of a prayer, though not, of course, the concluding 'per eundem'; for 'per', should need be, could be written as a crossed 'p' or set *in extenso* in the margin; but that when dealing with  $\theta$  pages I compute ( $3 \times 28 + 4 + 3 =$ ) 91 letters as the maximum content of a three-line prayer and ( $4 \times 28 + 4 + 3 =$ ) 119 as the maximum content of a four-line prayer, for in writing so short constituents as these an expert scribe would be careful to make economical equipment of his lines. When dealing with  $\kappa$  pages I allow  $5 + 3$  as the extreme concession. In short, for three-line prayers on  $\beta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\kappa$  pages respectively, the highest permissible values are 103, 91, 96; and for four-line prayers 135, 119, 126. For five-line prayers, on the contrary, which end with a mere 'per', I allow no more than 163, 143, 151. Similarly, should occasion arise, we are at liberty to neglect the conventional 'et ideo' subjoined to Prefaces.

the last two constituents of § ix and the whole of §§ x, xi, will see that such economy could not have been better effected than by the simple device of changing the Leonianum words 'ueritatis tuae praemia' (see Leon. XVIII. xviii; Mur. i 364) in the Secreta of § x into 'diuina praemia'. A substitution such as this would have the merit of retaining that duplication of the consonantal 'u' which is characteristic of both the classical and the post-classical stylists; and I believe that it was in fact made, and made by the editor of V, because the 'diu' in 'diuina' gives us a ready explanation of the very curious Reginensis reading 'diuersitatis tuae praemia', a reading so strange that Mr Wilson has relegated it to his notes rather than exhibit it in his text.

*Two Post-editorial Blemishes in §§ x, xi.* This 'diuersitatis tuae praemia' in the Secreta of § x and the cruelly abbreviated Preface of § xi demand special attention, if but for a moment.

1. The Leonianum text (Mur. i 364) of the first of these constituents is 'Ut tibi grata sint dñe munera populi tui ab omni quaesumus eum contagione peruersitatis emunda nec falsis gaudiis inhaerere patiaris quos ad ueritatis tuae praemia uenire promittis. per' (156 letters); and this I believe to have been the text of  $S_1$ , and of  $S_2$ . The account, then, which I propose of the Reginensis 'quos ad diuersitatis tuae praemia' is as follows: That the editor of V, in order to effect the needed economy of a line, substituted 'ad diuina praemia' for 'ad ueritatis tuae praemia', thus reducing the text to 149 letters, the value of precisely five of his  $\kappa$  lines—

UT TIBI GRATA SINT DÑE MUNERA POPULI  
TUI AB OMNI QUAESUMUS EUM CONTAGI-  
ONE PERUERSITATIS EMUNDA NEC FALSIS  
GAUDIIS INHAERERE PATIARIS QUOS AD DI-  
UINA PRAEMIA UENIRE PROMITTIS. PER:

but that some post-editorial copyist at the very moment of writing the 'di' which he found at the end of the fourth line, was disturbed by a subconscious echo of the 'peruersitatis' which he had himself just written, and, besides this, by a reminiscence of the original 'ueritatis tuae'; and that, as a result of the double distraction, he unthinkingly excogitated a conflation of 'di uina' 'per UERSIT atis' and 'uerit ATIS TUAE'.

2. A line thus wasted on his fifteenth page, a line was saved on his sixteenth, perhaps intentionally, perhaps inadvertently, in the Preface of § xi. I incline to the latter alternative, attributing this disfigurement, like the other, to ill health or physical weakness; and I think my readers will agree with me when they observe what has happened. Not only are the words 'apparuit in nouam nos immortalitatis suae' omitted

between 'mortalitatis' and 'lucem'; 'per quem maiestatem tuam' has been superseded by an intolerable 'per quem laudant angeli'.

But, whichever view we take, the values he gave to the *Secreta* of § x and to the Preface of § xi were such that, if his pages were ruled and his script written in accordance with those of V and V', he ended the series on the last line of a page. The next table shews what I mean.

	§ x. Against Idols.				§ xi. V. of Theophany.			
		S <sub>2</sub> VV' x				S <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V' x		
Brought forward . . .		35	13 <sup>2</sup>	13 <sup>2</sup>				
Capitulum . . . . .	19	1	1	1	22	1	1	1
Oratio . . . . .	165	6	6	6	134 <sup>1</sup> , 136 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>
Secreta . . . . .	156 <sup>1</sup> , 149 <sup>2</sup> , 159 <sup>3</sup>	6 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	6 <sup>3</sup>	112	4	4	4
Preface . . . . .					121 <sup>1</sup> , 84 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>
Postcommunion. . . .	112	4	4	4	163	6	6	6
Of the following . . .						2		
Totals (θ) for S <sub>2</sub>		5 <sup>2</sup>			23			= 75
„ (κ) for V and V'			148			20		= 168
„ (κ) for x				149				19 = 168

*Data for the External History of §§ i-xi.* Thus we have, as data for a working hypothesis of the development of this part of the sacramental contingent of our document after its original issue in Redaction *s*, first, a stage of enhancement, *s*<sup>1</sup>, at which (*a*) the Mass for the Octave of Christmas was introduced; secondly, a later stage, *S*<sub>1</sub>, at which (*b*) the six post-Nativity Prayers were inserted, and the phrase 'Merito ergo . . . pastores laetati' subjoined to the Preface of the Octave; and thirdly, a cismontane stage, *S*<sub>2</sub>, at which (*c*) a second *Secreta* was given to the Christmas Morning Mass, while three supernumerary Orations and six Ad Populum prayers were distributed through the series. Hence it follows that—assuming my analysis to be free from prejudicial error—if it should ever be possible to aver with certainty that either *a* or *b* or *c* is the work of such and such a pope, a *point d'appui* will have been secured for dealing with the external history of the document. Let me illustrate my meaning:—

1. On the seemingly unquestionable assumption that the original issue, written on β pages and beginning with the In Vigiliis de Theophania, was so arranged as to have the seven Christmas and post-Nativity items on the concluding pages of a book, the stichometry of the document (see the table of values on p. 199) bids us infer that these were followed by the short Prohibendum ab Idolis (now § x). Was there, then, ever a period—and, if so, when was it—at which the Roman Church was in such peril from *profanae uanitates* (see the Oratio of the present § x), from *gaudia falsa* (see the *Secreta*), and from *diabolicae insidiae* (see the Postcommunion), as to justify the compiler of a papal

sacramentary in making a votive Mass on the subject integral to the scheme of the document<sup>1</sup>; a votive Mass, be it borne in mind, which is not so worded as to oblige us to say that it was to be used exclusively, or even preferably, at Christmastide? If so, that would be the period to which, until better informed, we should have to refer Redaction s.

2. If my analysis has conducted me to a right chronological distribution, we shall have to say that the Mass for the Octave of the Nativity—although, as having the value of one  $\beta$  page, it may have in the first instance been set on a fly-leaf—was co-opted into the document at the sub-redaction which I notify as s<sup>1</sup>, its Preface then ending with the words 'infans et dñs est'; but that this constituent was at Redaction S<sup>1</sup> augmented by the phrase 'Merito ergo . . . laetati', and that the six Nativity Prayers were inserted on the same occasion. Now, the Leonian text (Leon. xl i) of the second of these, 'Largire quæsumus' &c., is so worded as to suggest the possibility—it does no more than this, but still it does it—that the primary and proper subject of our Christmas joy is the Eternal Generation of the consubstantial Word; but our text, with its 'ihū xpī' in place of 'tui filii' carries on our thoughts to His human birth; and, whereas the Leonian text (Leon. xl i, as before) of the fourth prayer, 'Dñs qui humane substantiæ' &c., ends at 'particeps', ours, by adding 'xpc filius tuus. per eundem dñm nrm', emphasizes the dogmatic distinction of the two natures of the one Person. So, too, does the very remarkable 'unigeniti tui natiuitas corporea' of the third prayer, 'Dñs qui populo tuo' &c., whoever may have been its author. These characteristics of our text, while suggesting an Eutychian or sub-Eutychian date for S<sub>1</sub>, call to mind the *elimatio* by means of a *cautus sermo* which is the peculiar praise of the first Gelasius, and thus give that pontiff a primary claim to the editorship of that redaction. And, if I am well advised in attributing to that redaction the structurally needless 'Merito ergo . . . laetati' in the extant Preface for the Octave, it certainly is a striking coincidence that those words read like an *additamentum*<sup>2</sup> such as might have been inserted by so conspicuously anti-Eutychian a theologian as

<sup>1</sup> I say 'integral to the scheme of the document' because without it the document would have been bibliographically imperfect; for it is a necessary part of one and the same group with the saints' Masses which precede it, each member of the quatrain having been so devised as to co-operate with the others in filling three successive  $\beta$  pages. It cannot be regarded as an insertion introduced *ex post facto* to Redaction s.

<sup>2</sup> The very bold 'caeli locuti sunt' of this passage occurs also in that commentary on Psalms i-lxxv which modern scholarship assigns to the 'Vincentius . . . natione Gallus' commemorated by Gennadius *De uiris illustribus* § 81. Expounding Ps. xlv 3, the commentator says, 'Pulcher natus infans Verbum quia cum esset infans . . . coeli loquuti sunt'. (Migne S. L. xxi 821B.) For a similar, if not precisely analogous, coincidence, recently detected by Dom G. Morin, see the *Revue Bénédictine* for April 1913.



was he. They tell us that the Hypostatic Union was the inspiring motive of the wonders attendant on the birth in Bethlehem.

3. Again. By my hypothesis, it was not at *s* or at *S*<sub>1</sub>, but at *S*<sub>2</sub>, a cismontane issue, that a second *Secreta* was given to § iii and an *Ad Populum* added to the Mass for the Octave of the Nativity. Was there, then, ever a time—and, if so, when was it—at which in some cismontane region it can have been deemed expedient to use in a Christmas-day Mass a *Secreta* against the *diabolica figmenta* of some heresy on the subject of the Incarnation, and on New Year's Day to implore Heaven, again in an adventitious prayer, to save the children of the Church from the *diabolicum conuiuium* of food dedicated to false gods? If so, the correctness of my diagnosis assumed, we should have two clues to the when and the where of Redaction *S*<sub>1</sub>.

4. If Rheinau and St Gallen may be our guides, it was not until the second of the cismontane revisions which I conceive the sacramental component of our document to have undergone, that the words 'ihc xpc dñs n̄. qui tecum uiuit' were added to the very remarkable 'nobis est indita plenitudo' of the *Secreta* for Christmas Day. The words are a censure, not of Eutychianism, but of the heresy of Arius; and, especially if employed in concert with other clues, might serve as aid towards determining the when and the where of Redaction V.

5. Let me add another example. Assuming that the whole of the passage 'magi mutati . . . dignatus es adimplere' in the extant Preface of § ix was added at a second cismontane issue, Redaction V of my analysis, it is worthy of note that it reads like the composition of one who, though his literary language was Latin, thought in some other. I have already observed that the 'Missale Gothicum' has an analogue to 'magi mutati' in '*mutatio*' as used for the '*conuersio*' of St Paul. I would further observe that, the Virgin-mother having *suckled* her Child, none but a *barbarus*, who, while thinking in one language and writing in another, was insensible to the niceties and requirements of idiom, would have perpetrated such a solecism as '*lacta* cibum nostrum, *lacta* panem' &c.—'*milk* our food, *milk* the bread' &c. Again, the truth which, as the last clause, 'Quod etiam . . . adimplere', tells us, ox and ass had prefiguratively hinted the prophet Simeon proclaimed by word of mouth in his 'Nunc dimittis'; the truth that both Jew and Gentile were to be saved by Christ. This the ancient did; but he *adimpleuit* nothing. Here, too, we see that the author of the last half of the constituent must have thought in a language whose vocabulary had a word the literal Latin rendering of which was '*adimplere*', but that the sense intended was either *to epitomize* or *to formulate*. Should linguists know of such a language, they may help us to determine the when and the where of Redaction V.

*The Roman Equipment and Text of §§ xii-xiv.* Sections xii-xiv of the Reginensis codex contain Masses for the Theophany, and for Septuagesima and Sexagesima.

I. For a probable reinstatement of their original equipment we must eliminate the second Oratio of § xii, 'Dñs illuminator' &c., as inconsistent with the simplicity of an *editio classica*; and also the Ad Populum prayers of §§ xii, xiv, as inconsistent with Roman use.

II. Textual accommodations must be made. 1. The Reginensis text of the Theophany Preface does not seem to be true to the original text. As compared with that of the Rheinau sacramentary it has 'regni tui mysteria', not 'sacratissima regni tui mysteria', and the very strange 'index puerpera uirginalis stella', not 'index puerperii uirginalis stella'; thus comprising 301 letters (the precise equivalent of 10 completely filled  $\kappa$  lines, as against 314<sup>1</sup>) (10  $\beta$  lines, 11 of  $\theta$ ). Why it should have been thus reduced I hope to enquire when the moment comes for dealing with the methods of the second of the cismontane editors. Meanwhile I assume that in the Roman editions the value of the constituent had been 314. 2. There can be little doubt that in the Secreta of § xiv 'quam sacris muneribus facis esse participes tribuas ad eam plenitudinem uenire' should be corrected to 'quam sacri muneris facis esse participem tribuas ad eius plenitudinem uenire' and the value computed as 108, not 110.

These corrections made, we have as follows for Redactions *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub>; where, since, by the hypothesis, *s* began with the Vigil of the Theophany (see above, p. 198), and on page 3 of the pope's book, I assume that the Mass of the Feast began on page 4; but where, since, by the hypothesis, *S*<sub>1</sub> began with the Vigil of the Nativity (see above, pp. 199, 200), I assume that § xii began on page 15 of the papal copy of this latter edition.

	§ xii. Theophany.		§ xiii. lxxma.		§ xiv. lxxma.	
	<i>s</i>	<i>S</i> <sub>1</sub>	<i>s</i>	<i>S</i> <sub>1</sub>	<i>s</i>	<i>S</i> <sub>1</sub>
Capitulum . . . .	16	* *	14	1 1	12	1 1
Sub-title . . . .	5	* *				
Collecta . . . .	223	7 8	164	6 6	153	5 6
Oratio . . . .	124	4 5	140	5 5	96	3 4
Secreta . . . .	143	5 5	88	3 3	110 (108)	4 4
Preface . . . .	314†	10 11				
<i>Infra actionem</i> . . .	13	1 1				
Communicantes . .	179	6 7				
Postcommunion . .	140	5 5	110	4 4	93	3 4
Of the following . .						2
Totals ( $\beta$ ) for <i>s</i>	38		19		18 = 75 (P. 6 ends)	
" ( $\theta$ ) for <i>S</i> <sub>1</sub>	42		19		19 = 80	

<sup>1</sup> For reasons which will in due course be submitted to the notice of my readers,

*The Obseruantia Paschalis of § xvii.* Sections xv and xvi were, by the hypothesis, incorporated into the extant document during the cismontane period. They consist of material proper to a *canon poenitentialis*. Since, therefore, our obvious course is to proceed with the subject on which we have just entered, the equipment and text of the sacramentary during the Roman period of its evolution, I pass on to § xvii in which the series of Masses is resumed.

It so happens that the first day after Quinquagesima Sunday to which our document (Mur. i 506) gives a Mass is the first day of the comparatively modern Lent. We must for that reason be careful to note, in the first place, that in neither rubrics nor text of that or of any other item in § xvii is anything said of a fast either prolonged or restricted to forty days; in the second, that no such words as 'quadragesima' and 'quadragesimalis' occur in any of them; and, in the third, that 'quadragesima' is a term of the same category with 'septuagesima', 'sexagesima' and 'quinquagesima', and must not be regarded as originally or necessarily of equivalent meaning or identical scope with the term 'quadraginta dies'.

On the other hand, and in the fourth place, we must carefully note that, although 'quadragesima' and 'quadragesimalis' do not occur in any of the items of § xvii, distinctive formulae do abound in them, and that these are not only distinctive but suggestive, viz. 'obseruantia paschalis' in the Secreta of the first item; 'inchoata ieiunia' and 'obseruantia' in the Collecta of the second; 'ieiunia paschalia' in the Collecta of the third; 'obseruatio haec' and 'paschales actiones' in the Collecta of the fourth and last.<sup>1</sup>

To these cautions I would add another. The Mass for Quinquagesima Sunday is member of one and the same liturgical scheme with the other items of § xvii. The 'obseruantia sc̃a' of its Oratio and the 'obseruantia paschalis' of its Secreta are identical with the 'obseruantia' of the Wednesday Collecta and with the 'ieiunia paschalia' and 'paschales actiones' of those for Friday and Saturday. This considera-

I reserve to a later page (see below, p. 224) my syllabus of values for S<sub>2</sub> and V. Meanwhile I set a printer's dagger (†) against the '314' of the present list.

<sup>1</sup> Pamelius finds, in his MS of a Carolingian sacramentary of quasi-Gregorian type, a Mass for the Saturday in Quinquagesima week; herein differing from Muratori, who, in a similar sacramentary (see Mur. ii 30) finds none. In it he inserts, whether with or without authority, the prayer, 'Obseruantias' &c., which in our document serves as that day's Collecta; but with the remarkable difference that, instead of 'paschalibus actionibus', he reads 'actibus quadragesimalibus'. Thus the Pamelian reading assumes a Lent which, beginning in Quinquagesima week, and comprising forty fasting days, anticipates Quadragesima Sunday. The Reginensis reading, as I am about to shew, assumes an *obseruantia*, the inspiring motive of which is not a commemorative imitation of the Redeemer's forty days' fast, but a preparation for the baptismal solemnities of Easter.

tion suffices to refute the late Dr Probst's theory that the ferial *missae* of § xvii were ember Masses.

Yet another caution must be added. Our document gives no *missae* to any of the Thursdays before Holy Week; for, although these were fasts, they were not station-days. If, then, it be true that though the Thursday in Quinquagesima week has not a *missa* it yet was a fast, we are not at liberty to exclude the Monday and Tuesday for no better reason than that *missae* have not been assigned them. Nor must the opening words, 'Inchoata ieiunia', of the Wednesday Collecta mislead us into thinking that that was the day on which the *observantia paschalis* began. Rheinau and St Gallen use this very prayer in their Friday Mass, the third day and the third station of their comparatively modern Lent; and our own document uses the words on the Friday, not the Wednesday, of the autumn ember-week (II lx).

What account, then, are we to give of the 'observantia paschalis', the 'paschales actiones', and other like peculiarities of § xvii?

The Liber Pontificalis,<sup>1</sup> in its account of Telesphorus, bishop of Rome between the years 142 and 152, says 'Hic constituit ut septem hebdomadas ante Pascha ieiunium celebraretur', but does not tell us whether the fast was enjoined as an esoteric observance or was obligatory on laity equally with clergy, or on seculars equally with ascetics. On the other hand, it was at the close of the sixth century the general custom of the Roman Church to keep a fast which began not, like the Telesphoran, on the morrow of Quinquagesima Sunday, but a week later. Are we, then, to infer that the Telesphoran fast was intended to be of general obligation, but that in course of time its duration was lowered from seven weeks to six; or is it more reasonable to believe that the six weeks' fast customary at the time of Gregory the Great, so far from being a modification of the *constitutio* of Telesphorus, represented another tradition and was historically distinct from it? The latter would seem to be the more probable opinion of the two; but, as an aid to the better understanding of the document with which we are now more especially concerned, I must be content with inviting attention to what I believe to be the unquestionable fact that, although in Rome, as probably in other cities of Italy, the Telesphoran, or seven weeks', use survived until the second half of the fifth century, the later, or six weeks', use was already bidding fair to supersede it.

Leo the Great (A.D. 440-461) in some of his sermons speaks in terms so explicit of *quadraginta dies* devoted to fasting as to raise a very strong presumption that he had in mind a true quarantine of fasts, and thus a quarantine which, by arithmetical necessity, began before Quadragesima week. I refer to the phrases 'quadraginta

<sup>1</sup> Migne *S. L.* cxxxvii 1175. It is worthy of special note that Telesphorus is described as 'natio Graecus'.

dierum continentia' in the third sermon (Migne *S. L.* liv 273 D); 'quadraginta dierum exercitatio' in the fourth (*ib.* 275 B); 'quadraginta dierum ieiunium' in the fifth, seventh and tenth (*ib.* 283 B, 288 B, 298 B), and more especially to the 'quadraginta dierum ieiunia' of the sixth and eighth (*ib.* 286 B, 294 B).

But, if so, are we to understand by these phrases a quarantine of *feriae* which began on the Wednesday after Quinquagesima Sunday? I think not. I believe it to have begun, as Telesphorus would seem to have designed, on the Monday of Quinquagesima week, and, as a consequence, to have ended on the evening of the Thursday before Easter, being followed by what was perhaps already known to some of the churches of Gaul as the *ieiunium biđuanum*, the Paschal fast κατ' ἐξοχὴν of the two days before Easter<sup>1</sup>: because Leo, in his fifth Lenten sermon (Migne *S. L.* liv 283 B), speaks of a forty days' fast which was a preparation, not specifically and exclusively for the anniversary of our Lord's resurrection, but for the 'sacramenta redemptionis nostrae', a phrase which the context seems to explain of the death as well as the resurrection of our Lord<sup>2</sup>: because when, in the seventh (*ib.* 288 B-290 A), he speaks of a 'quadraginta dierum ieiunium quod festi paschalis est praeuium' he identifies<sup>3</sup> the 'festum paschale' with the reconciliation of penitents and the baptism of catechumens: because, in the twelfth (*ib.* 305 C), he is careful to expound 'solemnitas paschalis' of the death equally with the rising again of the Redeemer<sup>4</sup>: because, in the ninth<sup>5</sup> and tenth<sup>6</sup> (*ib.* 295 A, 298 A), he associates the Crucifixion with the

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 217 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> His words are 'Quae (*scil.* redemptionis nostrae sacramenta) ut dignius celebremus quadraginta dierum ieiunio praeparemus. Non enim ii tantum qui per mortis Christi resurrectionisque mysterium in nouam uitam baptismo sunt regenerante uenturi sed etiam omnes populi renatorum utiliter sibi et necessarie praesidium huius sanctificationis assumunt, illi ut . . . isti ut' &c.

<sup>3</sup> 'Siue enim illam partem populi cogitemus quae . . . tendit ad palmam, siue illam quae lethalium conscia peccatorum per reconciliationis auxilium festinat ad ueniam, siue illam quae, Sancti Spiritus regeneranda baptismate, uetustate Adam exui et Christi cupit nouitate uestiri, apte et utiliter omnibus dicitur "Parate uiam Domini" . . . Unde ut sacramentorum paschaliu diuina mysteria digno suscipiantur officio' &c.

<sup>4</sup> 'Appropinquante, dilectissimi, solemnitate paschali adest praecurrentis consuetudo ieiunii quod nos quadraginta dierum numero . . . exerceat. Suscepturi enim festorum omnium maximum festum ea nos debemus obseruantia praeparare ut in cuius sumus resurrectione conresuscitati in ipsius inueniamur passione commortui.'

<sup>5</sup> Here, speaking of the 'dies quos illi sublimissimo diuinae misericordiae sacramento scimus esse contiguos', he says 'in quibus . . . maiora sunt ordinata ieiunia ut per commune consortium crucis Christi etiam nos aliquid in eo quod propter nos gessit ageremus, sicut apostolus ait "Si compatimur et conglorificabimur"'.  
<sup>6</sup> Here, speaking of the 'festiuitas paschalis', he says 'Siquidem etiam ipsa Domini ex matre generatio huic est impensa sacramento; nec alia fuit Dei Filio

'paschale sacramentum', the 'festiuitas paschalis', and the 'celebrandus paschae dies' to which a 'quadraginta dierum ieiunium' had led the way: because, in the fourth (*ib.* 275 A, B), he equates the 'sacratissimum maximumque ieiunium' which is its subject-matter with a 'quadraginta dierum exercitatio', and declares the object of this to be 'ut excellens super omnia *passionis dominicae* sacramentum purificatis et corporibus et animis celebremus'; and because, in his seventh sermon on the Passion (*ib.* 332 B, C; 333 A, B), so far from calling Easter Day a passover, he gives the appellation of '*nouum pascha*'—and that in no doubtful terms—to the eucharistic feast instituted on the night of the first Maundy Thursday, and instituted as antitype to the *solemnitas paschalis* and *festiuitas paschalis* of the Old Law—'Antiqua obseruantia nouo tollitur sacramento, hostia in Hostiam transit, Sanguine sanguis aufertur, et legalis festiuitas dum mutatur impletur', 'Incipiente enim festiuitate paschali . . . nouum pascha condebat', 'Discumbentibus enim secum discipulis ad edendam mysticam coenam . . . ille corporis et sanguinis sui ordinans sacramentum' &c.

Such, then, is the evidence yielded by the majority of St Leo's prae-Paschal sermons. But when we turn to the first and second of those discourses we find a conspicuously different terminology; a fact the more noteworthy from the circumstance that each of them was preached on a Quadragesima Sunday. When, in the first sermon, the pontiff refers to our Lord's victory over the tempter, he says 'Vicit enim aduersarium, *ut audistis*, testimonio legis'; for the Quadragesima Gospel had just been sung as part of the Mass then in progress: and when, in the second, he quotes the Epistle for the same day, he says 'Unde opportune auribus nostris lectio apostolicae praedicationis *insonuit* dicens "Ecce nunc tempus acceptum, ecce nunc dies salutis"': for the passage was still lingering in the ears of his audience (*ib.* 265 A; 268 B).

Now, in these two sermons he neither mentions a 'ieiunium quadraginta dierum' nor employs any phrase that can be deemed equivalent to it. But he does say in one of them (*ib.* 264 B) that he and his hearers are keeping<sup>1</sup> the 'sacratissimi *quadragesima* dies', days therefore, which, as beginning with Quadragesima Sunday, cannot have comprised as many as forty feriae on which to fast: while in the other (*ib.* 268 A) he describes the devotional exercise on which they are about to enter as a 'ieiunium *quadagesimale*': in each case using *causa nascendi* quam ut cruci posset affigi . . . ut esset nobis sacrificium redemptionis abolitio peccati et ad aeternam uitam initium resurgendi'.

<sup>1</sup> The Ballerini, following Quesnel, here print 'Scientes enim *adesse* sacratissimos *quadragesima* dies' in place of 'Scientes enim *agere* nos sacratissimos *quadragesima* dies'. The substitution is due to a mistake which ought not to have been made. The quadragesimal *fast* had not begun, but the quadragesimal *season* had, and Sundays are part of it.

'*quadragesima*' as a noun substantive, but in each case making it evident that in the public vocabulary of the Roman Church the term '*ieiunium quadragesimale*' was not, and cannot have been, regarded as equivalent to '*ieiunium quadraginta dierum*'. On this last consideration it is impossible to insist too strongly.

Thus we find in St Leo's sermons two co-existent, but not necessarily antagonistic, theories. By one of these a *quadraginta dierum ieiunium* kept on forty ferial days in seven successive weeks; the first feria being Quinquagesima Monday, and the last the Thursday before Easter. If to these we add the *mysterium paschale* of the Friday and Saturday, we complete the seven weeks' fast which the *Liber Pontificalis* asserts that Telesphorus instituted; the forty-two days' fast on which an author identified by some with St Ambrose, by some with Maximus of Turin, dilates when he calls them the antitype of the forty-two *stationes* of the children of Israel on their journey to the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup> By the other theory, a thirty-four days' fast kept in as many feriae as are included in forty<sup>2</sup> out of the forty-two consecutive days of six weeks, the first of which days is Quadragesima Sunday—whence the name *ieiunium quadragesimale*—and the last the Thursday before Easter. If to these we add the next two days we have, as total, the thirty-six days' fast on which Gregory the Great descants in his sixteenth homily on the Gospels.<sup>3</sup>

*The Roman Equipment, Text and Rubrics of §§ xvii, xviii.* In the document on which we are engaged two theories of prae-Paschal fast are discernible; and I beg my readers to note that they correspond to those found in the sermons of Leo. In § xvii, which is devoted to Quinquagesima week, we find, as in St Leo's sermons concerning

<sup>1</sup> See Migne *S. L.* lvii 311 A-312 A. Be it carefully observed, however, that the preacher, whoever he may have been, employs '*quadragesima*' in the secondary sense of the Italian '*quaresima*', the Spanish '*quaresma*', the French '*carême*', the English '*lent*', all of which begin on the Wednesday in Quinquagesima week. On the other hand, a homily preached on the Wednesday in Quinquagesima week, and as to which there is no doubt that Maximus of Turin is its author (*Hom.* 36, Migne *S. L.* lvii 301 C), gives the word its proper and primary sense of a season beginning in Quadragesima week—'*Quia nonnullorum est consuetudo, carissimi, aduenientes quadragesimae dies deuotiore ieiunio praeuenire*' &c.

<sup>2</sup> These forty consecutive days—some of them Sundays—make up what Amalarius (*De ecl. off.* I iv) calls the '*quadragenarius numerus*', a number upon the completion of which, on the '*quinta dies ante Pascha*', '*duo dies supersunt usque ad baptismum*' (Migne *S. L.* cv 1001 D).

<sup>3</sup> The whole of what he says is too long for citation. Let the following suffice: '*A praesenti etenim die usque ad paschalis solemnitatis gaudia sex hebdomadae ueniunt, quarum uidelicet dies quadraginta duo fiunt: ex quibus dum sex dies dominici ab abstinentia subtrahuntur non plus in abstinentia quam triginta et sex remanent*' (Migne *S. L.* lxxvi 1137 B).

the *ieiunium quadraginta dierum* and the *quadraginta dierum ieiunia*, the phrases 'obseruantia paschalis', 'ieiunia paschalia', 'paschales actiones'; phrases correlative with, and equivalent to, the 'obseruantia' which the pontiff describes as preparatory to the *solemnitas paschalis*. On the other hand, in § xviii, and in its first item, the Mass for Quadragesima Sunday, we find, as in St Leo's sermons for that day, no mention whatever of 'paschalia ieiunia' and the like; but terms of another category, namely, 'quadragessimale sacramentum' and 'sacrificium quadragesimalis initii'; terms identical in scope and meaning with the 'sacratissimi quadragesima dies' and 'quadragesima initium' in the two sermons just mentioned.

How long after the age of St Leo these two theories may have subsisted, and subsisted each distinct from the other, in the public apprehension<sup>1</sup> of the Roman Church, we do not know; nor do we know when it was that the second of them can be said to have finally asserted itself in Rome to the general exclusion, or the general oblivion, of the first: but there can be no doubt that after the lapse of some four human generations from the death of Leo the first of them was not in general recognition. Even then, however, Roman custom does not seem to have employed the term 'quadragesima tempus' in any such loose and extended sense as that which is now given to 'carême', 'quaresma', 'quaresima', and our own 'lent'; still less, the single

<sup>1</sup> I say designedly 'public apprehension', 'general exclusion', 'general oblivion', 'general recognition'; for it stands to reason that in conservative circles tradition may have not only kept alive the memory, but perpetuated the observance, of that seven weeks' fast of which I see unquestionable proof alike in the sermons of St Leo and the book we are studying. The Vatican MS, to which I have already referred, the *Breuiarium* edited by Tommasi, and after him by Muratori (ii 391, &c.), admirably illustrates and enforces my surmise, not only in the passage I am about to cite, but in certain words, which I italicize, of its title: 'Incipit breuiarium ecclesiastici ordinis qualiter in coenobiis Domino seruientes . . . debeant celebrare sicut in sancta ac Romana ecclesia a sapientibus ac uenerabilibus patribus traditum fuit.' The passage germane to the subject of the two theories of fast is (*ib.* 400) as follows: 'Monachi uero et Romani deuoti, uel boni Christiani, a Quinquagesima; rustici autem et reliquis uulgi a Quadragesima [*heic aliquid desideratur*].' Then follows 'Primum autem ieiunium quarta et sexta feria post Quinquagesimam, id est una hebdomada ante Quadragessimam apud eos publice agitur', where an implied distinction is drawn between the *publicae actiones*—that is to say the *publicae stationes*—of Wednesday and Friday and the fast common to all the *feriae* of which the previous sentence has informed us.

See also, in Gerbert *Monumenta* ii 171, the following, from a composite document which has much in common with the foregoing: 'Monachi uero et Romani deuoti a Quinquagesima [*de carne*] leuant ieiunium': and, from yet another (*ib.* 189), 'Clerici nostri, auctore Telesphoro papa, sequentem [*hebdomadam*] id est Quinquagesimam sanctificant; qui constituit septem hebdomadarum ieiunium ante Pascha'.



word 'quadragesima': for Gregory the Great, in passages of the homily just mentioned, says that the 'quadragesimae tempus' was a season which had its *inchoatio*, not on a feria, but on Quadragesima Sunday, and that the days over which the *abstinentia* of the season was distributed were forty in number; but that even when that number was raised to forty-two, by the added abstinence of the two days next before Easter 'non plus in abstinentia quam triginta et sex dies remanent' (Migne S. L. lxxvi 1137 A, B).

Hence two inferences concerning the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday for which in § xvii (Mur. i 505-508) Masses have been provided; one negative, the other positive: One, that in the order of thought they are not identical with three out of the four days which at a comparatively late date in Rome, and at a still later date elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> were co-opted to the quadragesimal *observantia*, thus raising St Gregory's thirty-six days to forty: the other, that in the order of thought they are contributory units to St Leo's *ieiunium quadraginta dierum* and *quadraginta dierum ieiunia*, contributory units to a quarantine of fasts which, beginning on Quinquagesima Monday and taken in conjunction with the *paschale mysterium* of Good Friday and Holy Saturday, coincided with the seven weeks' observance of which Telesphorus is said to have been the institutor.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the contrasted terminologies of § xvii and § xviii correspond, and correspond precisely, with the two distinct theories of prae-Paschal abstinence which, though clearly discernible in the teaching of Leo the Great, had ceased to be publicly recognized in the Roman Church a century and a half later, it is reasonable to infer that the inception of our document may be referable to a date which fell, at the latest, during that interval. What, then, must on this hypothesis be done if we would reconstruct their original equipment, rubrics and text with probable claim to verisimilitude?

I. 1. As a preliminary step to reconstruction of equipment, we must restore the *Secreta* of the first item in § xvii to the text in which there can be no reasonable doubt that it appeared at Redaction S<sub>2</sub>.

Signor Rappagliosi, the Roman expert who collated Mr Wilson's proofs with the Reginensis MS, assures us that the Sunday *Secreta* in § xvii runs thus: 'Sacrificium dñe observantiae paschalis exerimus: praesta quaesumus ut tibi et mentes nras reddat acceptas et continentiae promptiores. per.' The Oxford editor, substituting 'promptio-

<sup>1</sup> This was not done at Monte Cassino until the abbacy of Desiderius, subsequently known as Pope Victor III (A.D. 1086). Such, at least, is the inference I draw from the *Chronicon Casinense* of Leo Marsicanus: 'Porro autem dominus Petrus Damiani ad hoc monasterium ueniens . . . a cuncta congregatione . . . obtinuit ut triduanum ieiunium in capite quadragesimae per annos singulos agerent' (Migne S. L. clxxiii 112 C: or, see *ib.* cxlix 933 A).

ris' for 'promptiores', subjoins—though, with scholarly caution, within brackets—'nobis tribuat facultatem'; words which have the commanding authority of Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert's triple sacramentary; and I think that in so doing he has given us the original extent of the prayer. But I think that he is mistaken in believing that, if we would have the text of the prototype of Reginensis, we must substitute the longer form for the shorter; because, but for reasons which cannot be duly set forth till the moment comes for discussing the literary methods of the cismontane editors, I am convinced that the words 'nobis tribuat facultatem' were deliberately excised by the second of these. The longer text comprises 141 letters<sup>1</sup> (5 β lines, 5 of θ); the shorter comprises 119 (4 κ lines). I assign the higher value to the Roman editions which I hope to be able to reconstruct.

2. We must also remember that Roman use eschewed Ad Populum prayers on Sundays. Such prayers must therefore be eliminated from the Sunday items of §§ xvii, xviii—and indeed of all other Sections—if we are to succeed in reconstructing the equipment of *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub>.

II. Let me next invite attention to a detail which is of very great interest as elucidatory of the non-Roman career of the document.

Prefixed to the title of § xix (Mur. i 511) Reginensis has the rubric '*Istae orationes quae sequuntur primo sabbato in mense primo sunt dicendae*'; and, consistently with this direction, the last item of § xviii, the Mass for the Saturday in Quadagesima week, is equipped like that for any ordinary feria in Lent: whereas in a duly provided Roman item for that day we should expect to find the numerous constituents proper to an ember Saturday. Hence it follows that, if, as my hypothesis postulates, Redaction V', the prototype of Reginensis, was elaborated from an ultimate original purely Roman, this part of the document must in all probability have been recast at some period of its history. I am happy to be able to say that a very strong presumption in favour of this view is yielded by the Reginensis text of the Collecta of the Wednesday Mass in § xviii: 'Precamur o[mn]i. d[eu] ut de transitoriis operibus abstinentes ea potius operemur quibus ad aeterna gaudia consequenda et spes nobis suppetat et facultas. per' (in 127 letters).

Now, this 'de transitoriis operibus abstinentes' is bad Latin, for the preposition required by the construction is *a*, not *de*: and, even if *de* were right, since all our works in this life are transitory, abstention from them would be self-annihilation. Why, then, so strange a phrase?

If the reader will consult the ember prayers in XLIII iii of the

<sup>1</sup> For, on the authority of Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert, I assume that at Redactions *s*, *S*<sub>1</sub>, and *S*<sub>2</sub> the verb of the first clause was 'offerimus', not 'exerimus', as in Reginensis.

Leonianum (Mur. i 480) he will find as follows: 'Precamur o[mn]p. d[omi]ni ut *de transitoriis opibus ea potius operemur* quibus ad aeterna gaudia consequenda et spes nobis suppetat et facultas. per' (in 114 letters): and, remembering that the primary aim of the ember seasons was to obtain by prayer and fasting grace so to use temporal things—the fruits of the earth more especially—as not to lose eternal, he will, I think, deem it probable (i) that in the earlier history of our document this 'Precamur' &c. was set forth as in the Leonianum; (ii) that some subsequent editor, repudiating the original intention of the prayer, designed to replace its '*de transitoriis opibus ea potius operemur*' by '*a transitoriis operibus abstinentes ea potius operemur*'; but (iii) that *de* was inadvertently allowed to remain instead of giving place to *a*. In this unidiomatic '*de transitoriis operibus abstinentes*', therefore, I see a clue to the original intention of the Wednesday Mass of Quadragesima week, and thus to the intention of the Saturday Mass set forth in Redactions *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub>.

But, if so, what was the equipment of the Saturday Mass in Redactions *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub>? How, that is to say, shall we with reasonable claim to probability reconstruct that Mass for the Saturday of the Roman ember week in spring which, if the account I have just proposed be true, was superseded by the extant group of prayers?

The simplest course would seem to be the right one. It is (i) to cancel the Reginensis Collecta and Oratio for the day in question, in favour of (ii) the first five prayers now found in § xix, and, (iii) retaining the Secreta and Postcommunion, (iv) to eliminate the Ad Populum, because, as is well known, such prayer would not be admitted into a Mass which, having begun *aduesperascente sabbato in diem dominicum*, ended on a Sunday.

By my reconstruction, therefore, the value of the Sunday Secreta in § xvii was at the two Roman editions 141, not 119<sup>1</sup>; and that of the Wednesday Collecta in § xviii was 114, not 127. But these divergencies are slight indeed as compared with the differences yielded by the complex reconstitution of the Saturday Mass in § xviii which I have just proposed. Begging the reader, while he bears in mind the *prima facie* reasonableness of this reconstitution, to remember that, the greater its complexity the greater is the unlikelihood that, if ill-conceived, it should respond to a stichometrical test which we have good reason to regard as trustworthy, I now apply that test.

The result for Quinquagesima week, the capitulum of the first item having been set at Redaction *s* on the last two lines of the previous page (see above, p. 212) is as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> See p. 220, *supra*.

	§ xvii. lma S.	In ieiunio &c.	F. in lma.	Sat. in lma.
	s S <sub>1</sub>	s S <sub>1</sub>	s S <sub>1</sub>	s S <sub>1</sub>
Brought forward . . .	80			
Capitulum . . .	48 * 2	22 1 *	21 1 1	22 1 1
Sub-title . . .		7 1 *		
Collecta . . .	82 3 3	122 4 5	138 5 5	120 4 5
Oratio . . .	104 3 4	112 4 4	90 3 3	126 4 5
Secreta . . .	141† 5 5	114 4 4	100 3 4	147 5 6
Postcommunion . .	111 4 4	90 3 3	81 3 3	104 3 4
Ad Populum . .		88 3 3	137 5 5	86 3 3
Of the following .	2			
Totals (β) for s	15	20	20	20 = 75 (P. 9 ends)
„ (θ) for S <sub>1</sub>	100 (P. 18 ends) 19		21	24 = 64 <sup>1</sup>

III. Before proceeding to tabulate the values yielded by my reconstruction of § xviii at Redactions *s* and S<sub>1</sub> I must give my reason for thinking that the Roman capitulum of its Sunday Mass so far differed from the extant heading as to consist of 19 letters, not 50.

The titles of our Ferial Masses in § xviii are worded '*Feria ii in quadragesima*', '*Feria iii in quadragesima*', &c.; and thus resemble the '*Feria vi in quinquagesima*', '*Feria vii in quinquagesima*' of the last two items of § xvii (Mur. i 507): but, had they been phrased in analogy with those of the ferial *missae* of the following weeks (see Mur. i 518-532), we should have had '*Feria ii in hebdomada prima*', '*Feria iii in hebdomada prima*', &c. Hence the inference that in these the ferial rubrics of § xviii '*quadragesima*' has not the secondary and improper sense perpetuated in the modern '*quaresima*', '*quaresma*', '*carême*', but its original and proper sense, a sense analogous to that of '*septuagesima*', '*sexagesima*', '*quinquagesima*', '*tricesima*' (a word not infrequently found), a sense the scope of which is confined to a single week. This consideration leads me to believe it morally certain that the Roman heading of the first Mass in § xviii was '*Dñica in quadragesima*' (19 letters), and that the extant '*Oñones et preces dñica in quadragesimae inchoantis initium*' (not '*initio*') is a Merovingian substitute.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From their common starting-point on the Feast of the Theophany the scribe of *s* has now covered (75 + 75 =) 150 β lines, the scribe of S<sub>1</sub> has covered 164 θ lines. The proportion 150 : 164 = 11 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  : 12 × 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

<sup>2</sup> Why the substitution should have been made we must enquire when we endeavour to trace the external history of the document.

We therefore have as follows :—

	§ xviii. x ma S.	M. in x ma.	T. in x ma.	W. in x ma.	F. in x ma.
	<i>s</i> S <sub>1</sub>	<i>s</i> S <sub>1</sub>	<i>s</i> S <sub>1</sub>	<i>s</i> S <sub>1</sub>	<i>s</i> S <sub>1</sub>
Brought forward . . . . .	64				
Capitulum . . . . .	19† 1 1	21 1 1	8 1 1	7 1 1	7 1 1
Collecta . . . . .	141 5 5	83 3 3	108 4 4	114† 4 4	114 4 4
Oratio . . . . .	143 5 5	176 6 7	120 4 5	128 4 5	111 4 4
Secreta . . . . .	142 5 5	120 4 5	142 5 5	75 3 3	122 4 5
Postcommunion . . . . .	82 3 3	76 3 3	114 4 4	77 3 3	78 3 3
Ad Populum . . . . .		86 3 3	97 3 4	91 3 3	97 3 4
Totals (β) for <i>s</i>	19	20	21	18	19 = 97
„ (θ) for S <sub>1</sub>	83	22	23	19	21 = 168

Saturday in Quadragesima.

	<i>s</i> S <sub>1</sub>
Brought forward . . . . .	97 168
Capitulum . . . . .	24 1 1
Dñ qui delinquentes &c. . . . .	194 6 7
Omnium nřm dñe &c. . . . .	102 3 4
Ieiunia quaesumus &c. . . . .	122 4 5
Adesto quaesumus &c. . . . .	80 3 3
Da nobis obseruantiam &c. . . . .	113 4 4
Secreta (Haec quae nos &c.) . . . . .	70 2 3
Postcommunion (Perpetuo dñe &c.) . . . . .	116 4 4
Of the following . . . . .	1 1
Total (β) for <i>s</i>	125 (P. 14 ends)
„ (θ) for S <sub>1</sub>	200 (P. 26 ends)

Thus do two systems, each of which (see above, p. 212) on the Feast of the Epiphany began on a fresh page, end; each of them on the penultimate line of a page.<sup>1</sup> If that of *s* is original and of earlier date than the other, it is of course the more interesting of the two: it certainly has the characteristics that we should expect to find in a studiously premeditated scheme. An integral page (p. 3) is devoted to the first Mass in the volume<sup>2</sup>; then three (pp. 4–6) to those for the Theophany, Septuagesima, and Sexagesima<sup>3</sup>: Quinquagesima week,<sup>4</sup> as might be expected of a skilled editor familiar with St Leo's two theories, falls into three integral pages (pp. 7–9); while Quadragesima week, as might be expected of such an editor, holds possession of an integral number (pp. 10–14). At what point will he next make a

<sup>1</sup> From their common starting-point on the Feast of the Epiphany the scribe of *s* has now covered (75 + 75 + 125 =) 275 β lines, the scribe of S<sub>1</sub> has covered (100 + 200 =) 300 θ lines. The proportion is 275 : 300 = 11 : 12.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 222.

logically determined series of items and simultaneously with a group of pages?

The same question may be asked as regards Redaction  $S_1$ , because the twelve  $\theta$  pages over which it distributes §§ xii–xiv, xvii, xviii resolve themselves into two groups of four and eight, respectively, the second group beginning at what was certainly a starting-point in the liturgical year, the first station of St Leo's *observantia paschalis* (see above, p. 222). I cannot help suspecting that the original compiler, the editor of  $s$ , so selected and distributed his prayers and Prefaces as that, in the event of a transcription on  $\theta$  pages, this result should ensue. If this was indeed his design while elaborating §§ xii–xiv, xvii, we may well be curious to learn when next, not only in  $s$  but in  $S_1$  as well, ended item will be found to coincide with ended page.

*The Cismontane Editions of Sections xii–xiv.* In the next table I transcribe from a previous page (see above, p. 212) the values for  $S_1$ , in order the more clearly to shew what were the foresight and care with which I conceive the first of the cismontane editors to have worked.

	§ xii. Theophany.			§ xiii. lxxma.			§ xiv. lxxma.		
		$S_1$	$S_2$	V		$S_1$	$S_2$	V	
Capitulum . . .	16	*		1	14	1		1	72
Sub-title . . .	5	*		1					
Collecta . . .	223	8		8	164	6		6	153
Oratio . . .	124	5		5	140	5		5	96
„ . . .	138		5	5					
Secreta . . .	143	5		5	88	3		3	110 (108)
Preface . . .	314, <sup>1</sup> 301 <sup>2</sup>	11 <sup>1</sup>		10 <sup>2</sup>					4
<i>Infra actionem</i> . . .	13	1		1					4
Communicantes . . .	179	7		6					
Postcommunio . . .	140	5		5	110	4		4	93
Ad Populum . . .	208, <sup>1</sup> 170 <sup>2</sup>	8 <sup>1</sup>		6 <sup>2</sup>		1			145
Of the following . . .									6 5
									1
Totals ( $\theta$ ) for $S_1$	42				19				19 = 80
„ ( $\theta$ ) for $S_2$	55				20 = 75 (P. 19 ends)				25 (P. 20 ends)
„ ( $\kappa$ ) for V	53				19 = 72 (P. 19 ends)				24 (P. 20 ends)

*Redaction  $S_2$ .* Whether or not the first of the cismontanes had on his desk a copy of the original Roman edition ( $s$ ) in which this group of items filled three  $\beta$  pages, I believe that he, working on  $\theta$  pages, was resolved that it should fill an integral number of these, not, as at  $S_1$ , a mixed number, and that he therefore observed the method which he had adopted when re-editing §§ vi, vii, viii (see above, p. 203); that he gave § xii a second Oratio of 5 lines and an Ad Populum of 8, thus

making this and § xiii fill three pages ; and that, as when dealing with § ix (see above, p. 204) he gave § xiv an Ad Populum of 6 lines, thus making it fill, with a connecting rubric, a fourth. Can it be, I would again ask, that, ingenious craftsman as he was, he not only worked on membranes which had been ruled at the Lateran,<sup>1</sup> but that he had himself received his professional training there?

*Redaction V.* By the hypothesis, the Ad Populum for the Feast of the Theophany is one of that numerous category of prayers which the first cismontane editor inserted into the document. Now, the Reginensis text of the apodosis of this prayer is 'da plebi tuae . . . ut ad perpetuam claritatem per eius incrementa perueniat'; where, though the grammatical construction is not at fault, we are left in some suspense as to the precise meaning of 'eius'. On the other hand, Rheinau and the uncorrected St Gallen continue the phrase in words which the corrected St Gallen improves into what would certainly seem to be the *textus classicus*, 'da plebi tuae . . . ut ad perpetuam claritatem per eius incrementa perueniat per quem eiusdem sumpsit exordium'. Hence I seem to detect in the Reginensis reading a curtailment made in obedience to the stichometrical necessity to which the editor of V from time to time found himself subject, the necessity of restricting to a multiple of 24 κ lines material which had occupied the same multiple of 25 θ lines.

Of this necessity I see evidence in the absence already noted (see above, p. 212) from Reginensis of the word 'sacratissima', which is found in all the other texts ; if not also in its 'puerpera' for 'puerperii'.

Instances justifying the view I take of these two textual peculiarities of Reginensis await us in the sequel. For the moment, therefore, I content myself with observing that if the editor of V had given the Preface and Ad Populum of § xii the ampler of their respective texts, the former of these would have required 11 of his κ lines, not 10, as by my hypothesis it did ; and that the latter would have required 7, not 6, such lines : the consequence being that, unlike his predecessor, he would not have kept §§ xii, xiii within the compass of an integral number of pages.

MARTIN RULE.

<sup>1</sup> An alternative to this would be the attractive, and by no means improbable, theory that membranes of θ lineation had half a century earlier been transported to Rome from his own scriptorium ; a scriptorium, let us say, in Southern Gaul.

(To be continued.)

## THE SAINTS COMMEMORATED IN THE ROMAN CANON.

A RECENT first visit to Rome, which was all too short, and on my return the publication of Dr Srawley's most useful *Early History of the Liturgy* in the series of Cambridge Liturgical Handbooks, have set me a-thinking about the very curious strings of names of those commemorated at various points in the Roman Mass to-day. Those who are at all familiar with the Eternal City, with its ancient sites and catacombs and churches, will at once realize why it might act as a stimulus in that direction to one who like myself sees for the first time places of which he has read for years in the course of his antiquarian and liturgical studies; and any one who has taken the book I mention into his hands will equally well realize how it too could incite him to pursue the subject.

The two principal lists I refer to are of course those in the *Communicantes* and the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* of the Canon. Besides these, there are the much shorter ones (*a*) in the *Libera nos* also of the Canon and (*b*) in the *Confiteor* and *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* outside the Canon, not to mention the provision made in the *Te igitur* and in the two *Memento* clauses for the living and the departed. In the case of these last, nothing has to be said in direct connexion with my present purpose: no names are actually given; they are naturally to vary from time to time and from place to place, while the provisions made are intelligible and obvious. Nor is there much to be said now about the names mentioned in the *Confiteor*, the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, and the *Libera nos*. Lastly I leave out of my present purview, tempting as it would be to include them, the allusions to (*a*) the O. T. worthies Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech, and (*b*) the fourfold reference to the Archangels and Angels scattered throughout the Mass, and in particular to the *Sanctus Angelus* in the *Supplices te rogamus* of the Canon. It is the two long lists which I have chiefly considered in this study, because they strike one as so strangely incomplete if not capriciously selected, and furnish, it seems to me, an additional evidence of that extreme antiquity which Dr Srawley claims for the Roman Liturgy.<sup>1</sup>

A. Let us take first the names commemorated in the *Communicantes*. The list begins with *gloriosae semper*<sup>2</sup> *virginis Mariae, Genitricis Dei et*

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *semperque* in two of the oldest texts.



*Domini nostri Iesu Christi.* It may be questioned whether such a description of the Mother of our Lord is likely to have been incorporated in the Liturgy of Rome earlier than the middle of the fifth century, whereas the main part of this list would appear, as the sequel indicates, to have been fixed at a somewhat earlier period. I would suggest then (a) that the words *Dei et*, which now make the whole phrase *Genitricis . . . Christi* awkward and clumsy, are a later insertion, dating perhaps not long after the Council of Ephesus (431) or from the Pontificate of Leo I (†461), and (b) that possibly *semper* or *semperque* was also added to the original text some time after 383, when St Jerome had issued his defence of the Perpetual Virginity of our Lord's Mother against Helvidius. Thus the original phrase would have run *gloriosae Virginis Mariae, Genitricis Dom. n. I. Xri.*

After her follow *beati Apostoli ac Martyres*, twelve of each. The number of the Apostles is obtained not by substituting Matthias for Judas Iscariot,<sup>1</sup> but by inserting [*et*] *Paulus* next to *Petrus* who stands first. The order of the rest is not in accordance with any of the N. T. lists; it runs thus: *Andreas, Iacobus, Ioannes, Thomas, Iacobus* (i. e. *Alphaei*), *Philippus, Bartholomaeus, Matthaeus, Simon et Thaddaeus.*<sup>2</sup> *Thaddaeus* is St Matthew's and St Mark's name for *Iudas Iacobi*, whom St Luke both in his Gospel and in Acts i 13 associates with *Simon Zelotes* and puts last (save for Judas Iscariot). No explanation occurs to me of this order, but one cannot help pondering over the first of the two *et*'s in a list otherwise anarthrous. The *et* before *Thaddaeus* is not without precedent at the end of a string of names, at least in post-classical Latin; and so it serves to emphasize the unexpectedness of the *et* between SS. Peter and Paul: can it have been introduced to emphasize the original design of putting the two Prince Apostles together, or is it rather an indication of a later though perhaps early insertion of St Paul's name altogether? Four of the earliest texts omit the *et*; otherwise I should incline to think the latter alternative the more likely one.

It is, however, when we approach the twelve Martyrs that our wonder and bewilderment chiefly arise. They are as follows: *Linus, Cletus* (or *Anacletus*), *Clemens, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprianus, Laurentius, Chrysogonus, Ioannes et Paulus, Cosmas et Damianus et omnes sancti.* Of these the first three are all reckoned to have been contemporary with St Peter at Rome (Le Brun *Explic. de la Messe* i p. 435), Linus

<sup>1</sup> Matthias has been added to the 'Mozarabic' list; see next note.

<sup>2</sup> The parallel clause in the Mozarabic Liturgy *Facientes commemorationem* displays an equally irregular order: *Petri, Pauli, Ioannis, Iacobi, Andrae, Philippi, Thomae, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Iacobi, Simonis et Iudae, Matthiae, &c.* (Hammond *Liturgies* p. 317).

being identified with the Christian of that name mentioned 2 Tim. iv 21, and Clement with him who is mentioned Phil. iv 3, and of course with the author of the Epistle that bears his name (and with other 'Clementine' literature). They are each in turn reputed to have held the See after St Peter, Linus first (68-78), Cletus (or Anacletus) second (78-91), and Clement third (91-100).<sup>1</sup> Of Linus the Rom. Brev. (Sept. 23) says: *Scripsit res gestas beati Petri et ea maxime quae ab illo acta sunt contra Simonem magum. Sancivit ne qua mulier nisi velato capite in ecclesiam introiret.* Of Cletus (Apr. 26): *Ex praecepto Principis Apostolorum in Urbe xxx presbyteros ordinavit. Primus in litteris verbis illis usus est Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.* For Clement (Nov. 23)<sup>2</sup> there are three Lections in the Breviary containing a number of statements which are not necessary to be quoted in this connexion, as he is quite well enough known to history and tradition to cause no surprise at his name being included in the list.

The fourth name is Xystus (or Sixtus). There were two popes so called among the early Roman martyrs, one towards the beginning of the second century (†127) and the other in the middle of the third (†259). As he stands before Cornelius (†252), it would be natural to suppose the former to be referred to: nevertheless it is usually held that it is Xystus II who is meant. In the Rom. Brev. (Aug. 6) he is said to have been *Atheniensis ex philosopho Christi discipulus*,<sup>3</sup> but no administrative action is attributed to him: he suffered martyrdom under Valerian.

Cornelius, who was pope for a very brief period (251-252), comes next, followed immediately by his distinguished contemporary Cyprian of Carthage (†258). The former, who belonged to the noble *gens Cornelia*, seems actually to have died in exile at Centumcellae in Etruria, though the Rom. Brev. claims that he returned to Rome and was martyred in the stricter and later sense of the word. Whether Cornelius originally stood in this list is open to doubt, but ever since the middle of the fourth century his name has been thought to have been associated with Cyprian on Sept. 14 (Benson *Cyprian* pp. 299

<sup>1</sup> I am not here concerned to maintain or reject any modern theory as to the accuracy, &c., of this list and order. I only adduce the traditional account, as I do the statements of the Roman Breviary here and elsewhere *non-critically*, with a view to shewing what the official justification is for the names being included in the Canon. And after all the compilers of the Lections, &c., may have had a quantity of authorities and materials for their statements, which have since perished.

<sup>2</sup> The date is Nov. 9 in Kal. Buch., but Nov. 23 in Sac. Leon. (459 Mur.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kal. Buch. for Aug. 6 *Xysti in Callisti*; so too in Sac. Leon. (389 Mur.). The 'Station' *ad s̄m Sixtum* is marked for the fourth Wednesday in Lent, Sacrh. Greg. (40 Mur.).

and 614),<sup>1</sup> and Jerome *de viris ill.* 66, 67 is responsible for the allegation that 'they suffered on the same day, though not in the same year'.<sup>2</sup> But it is noteworthy that, when Cornelius was added to the Kalendar, though he precedes his companion (as here in the Canon), the date of his commemoration is that of Cyprian, who had already gained admission. Perhaps a later generation at Rome felt it necessary to commend the illustrious foreign bishop who had not always seen eye to eye with the Apostolic See by this device. There are two Lections for Cornelius in Rom. Brev., in which the most important statement is *corpora Apostolorum Petri et Pauli e catacumbis in opportuniorem locum translulit* (but for this see Benson *op. cit.* pp. 481 ff).

After these we have Laurentius, the (arch)deacon of Rome, whose martyrdom (on a gridiron according to the familiar story) took place shortly after his former chief Xystus II (259). He is commemorated on Aug. 10.<sup>3</sup>

Then there is the very obscure Chrysogonus, who is said to have been imprisoned at Rome for two years under Diocletian, and to have been sent for by the emperor to Aquileia and executed<sup>4</sup> *ad aquas gradatas* (Nov. 23, 304).<sup>5</sup>

Next we have a pair of brothers, *Ioannes et Paulus*, who were officers in the household of Constantia, Constantine the Great's daughter, the one being *praepositus* and the other *primicerius*. They were martyred under Julian in 362, *abscissis capitibus* according to the Rom. Brev., where there are three Lections (June 26).

Lastly, there is a second pair of brothers, Cosmas and Damianus, who present the greatest puzzle of all. Three different pairs of saints of these names seem to emerge from the mists of antiquity: in each case they are brothers, physicians who would take no fees (*ἀνάργυροι*), and martyrs: the first are said to be Arabs, the second Asiatics, the third Romans. At least that is Bona's account of them (*rerum liturg. lib. II cap. xii § 3*), who says *extat de his ex MSS graecis syntagma historicum Viennae in Austria editum, interprete Simone Wangnereckio*. Bona discusses the problem why it is the Arab pair that are identified with the saints commemorated in the Roman Kalendar and Canon by the Brev. (Sept. 27) and not the Roman pair: *Arabes in Aegea urbe nati nobiles*

<sup>1</sup> They are not, however, so joined in the Kal. Buch. (*circ.* 354), which only has *Cypriani Africae. Romae celebratur in Callisti*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sac. Leon. (405 Mur.) *eadem die diversis licet temporibus*: a similar allegation is made for SS. Peter and Paul (344 Mur.), where see my note *in loco*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kal. Buch. *Laurenti in Tiburtina* and Sac. Leon. (393 Mur.).

<sup>4</sup> The phrase in the Brev. is *securi perculti iubet*, which may not mean 'beheaded' (i. e. as a citizen).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sac. Leon. (463 Mur.): also the Carthaginian Kal. (early sixth century.).

*medici*.<sup>1</sup> His suggestion is that the Acta of the Roman brothers were lost, and through ignorance or negligence those of the Arabians (†303) were substituted. The article in *D.C.B.*<sup>1</sup> is more guarded and less definite as to the three pairs, and in particular it seems to throw doubt on the genuineness of the Roman pair altogether: if they are mythical, the inclusion of these two names in the Canon is even more mysterious than it would be otherwise. The present church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, near the Forum, is one of the twenty-eight *tituli* of the city and was built by Felix IV (†530), who incorporated with it the circular mausoleum which Maxentius had raised to his son Romulus<sup>2</sup> some two hundred years previously. If there is much truth in Gibbon's statement that the Christians under Maxentius, 'whenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use any bodies of martyrs, were obliged to purchase them from the most distant provinces of the East' (chap. xvi = ii p. 249), is it not possible that the relics of the Arabian brothers were brought to Rome soon after their martyrdom and placed in a sanctuary on the site, where afterwards Felix IV raised his basilica?

If now we analyse this list of twelve martyrs, we get five early bishops of Rome, one bishop of Carthage, one (arch)deacon, and five laymen (or four, if Chrysogonus was, as I suspect, a cleric), and of these laymen two were brothers and courtiers and two were brothers and physicians. One is astonished at the general unimportance of the persons commemorated for the last 1,500 years in the Roman Communion. If we except Clement, the only famous person to this day is Cyprian, a prelate of the North African Church, whose controversy with the Roman See on the subject of rebaptizing heretics who return to the Faith is notorious. It is not without significance, however, to notice how ancient and dignified are the traditions and associations with the churches in Rome of several of them, in particular of St Clement, of St Laurence (*fuori le mura*),<sup>3</sup> of SS. John and Paul, of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and of St Chrysogonus.

As to the chronology, so far as it can be relied upon, the first century is represented by the first three popes in their traditional order. Then comes a gap of a century and a half, after which we have four whose death belongs to the middle of the third century, the first of the four being out of chronological order, and, lastly, we have five laymen (or

<sup>1</sup> The phrase to describe their death is *varie et crudeliter tortos securi percussit*: this can hardly imply beheading, as they were Arabs, and the torture of citizens was illegal.

<sup>2</sup> He had been consul a second time in 310 (Mas Latrie): see Gregorovius I 344 (note). The church is noted as a 'Station' three times in Sacr. Greg. (41, 75, and 126 Mur.).

<sup>3</sup> There are also six churches of St Laurence in the city itself, two of them noted as 'Stations' in Sacr. Greg., viz. in *Lucina* and in *Damaso*.

one cleric and four laymen) whose death is assigned to the fourth century, and of these the latest in date (362) do not now stand last, as one would expect.

Another point one notices is a growing tendency towards the end of the list to pairs of names. Not to mention *Petrus* [et] *Paulus* to begin with, which we have already considered, there are Cornelius, Cyprianus (anarthrous); Laurentius separated from his more natural companion Xystus on account of the difference in rank and (though still without the article) associated with Chrysogonus, who was either a presbyter<sup>1</sup> or in one of the minor orders or a layman; and then very distinctly the two pairs of brothers both joined together by the conjunction *et*. This tendency becomes still more marked by the time that, in parts remote from Rome, confessors and doctors were admitted in variable quantities into the list (hitherto confined to martyrs) according to the evidence of MSS which exhibit non-Roman elements: e.g. Hilarius (†368) and Martinus (†400), Augustinus and Gregorius, Hieronymus and Benedictus, &c. (see Ebner *Quellen und Forschungen* pp. 408 f on this point and on other interesting details connected with it).

It seems evident from these facts and considerations that, at Rome itself and in parts where Roman customs and influence were predominant, the list of those to be included in this clause was early fixed and strictly limited, while in other parts of the West greater latitude was observed in adding local worthies—especially on their ‘Natal’ days or Festivals—though the stereotyped list of strictly Roman names was always retained, when once settled. The very fact that these names are as a whole so obscure and unimportant to us points to the early date at which the list was finally closed, probably not later than the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, when their memories were still fresh and strong. For it is absurd and unworthy to imagine that a Church of the dignity and importance which belonged to Rome, at least by then, would be merely capricious in her choice of saints to commemorate, or would choose saints whose glory was not originally real and conspicuous.

B. We now turn to the second of the longer lists, that contained in the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*. This is at least as strange a list to us as the one already considered. It runs thus: *societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: cum Ioanne Stephano Mathia Barnaba Ignatio Alexandro Marcellino Petro Felicitate Perpetua Agatha Caecilia Anastasia et omnibus sanctis tuis*. Here there are two main divisions—eight men martyrs and seven women martyrs. First comes

<sup>1</sup> If he was a presbyter, his being placed after the (arch)deacon may be in accordance with early Roman usage; see Sacr. Leon. (423 f Mur.), but I rather think he was in minor orders, if any.

*Ioannes*: there can be no doubt that this is the Baptist as he is definitely so called both in the *Confiteor* and in the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, which are probably later parts of the Mass, and there he is placed between the B. V. M. and SS. Peter and Paul.<sup>1</sup> Then we have *Matthias*, who, though he was solemnly appointed one of the Twelve in place of the traitor Judas, has had to give way to St Paul in the *Communicantes*. Next there is *Barnabas*, as one whose claim to be of Apostolic rank stands next to St Matthias (Acts xiv 4, 14), and also possibly as the reputed founder of the Church of Milan and Liguria (Ambr. Brev. June 11). After him we come to *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, martyred at Rome in 107 and commemorated Feb. 1; and then to *Alexander*, who is identified with the first pope of that name (†119?), called 'young' in the Saxon Menology perhaps in contrast with his fellow-martyr Eventius, the presbyter, who was 81. In the Roman Brev. (May 3) he is said to have been *securi percussus*, which, in his case, as he is called a Roman, probably implies beheading. His present obscurity is remarkable, if there is *any* truth, as there must surely be, in the statements of the Breviary, which go far to justify his inclusion in this list of worthies: *magnam partem Romanae nobilitatis ad Christum convertit. Is constituit ut tantum modo panis et vinum in mysterio offerretur: vinum autem aqua misceri iussit, propter sanguinem et aquam quae ex Iesu Christi latere profluxerunt: et in Canone Missae addidit: Qui pridie quam pateretur. Idem decrevit ut aqua benedicta sale admixto perpetuo in ecclesia asservaretur et in cubiculis adhiberetur ad fugandos daemones.* With regard to the allegation that Alexander introduced the clause *Qui pridie* into the Canon Bona (*rerum lit.* lib. II chap. xiii 1) remarks *Walfridus (Strabo) et Micrologus opinati sunt ab Alexandro Papa additam hanc clausulam: sed rectius sentit Alcuinus etiam Apostolis in usu fuisse.* Alcuin's view can of course hardly be maintained any better than Walfrid Strabo's and Micrologus's, but I quote the passage simply to indicate the mediaeval tradition: for a more scientific discussion see Srawley *op. cit.* pp. 166 ff and 204. Alexander's body now reposes in S. Sabina on the Aventine, as he has no church in the city, but in 1854 an oratory and crypt, said to be his, were discovered on the Via Nomentana beyond S. Agnese (*fuori le mura*) in accordance with the statement in the Rom. Brev.<sup>2</sup>

The last two names of men martyrs are *Marcellinus*, *Petrus*, of whom the one was a presbyter and the other an exorcist, martyred together nearly 200 years later under Diocletian (304). In the Roman Brev.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Confiteor* Michael the Archangel is also named and comes between the B. V. M. and the Baptist.

<sup>2</sup> See Mulooly *Saint Clement* p. xlv. I cannot verify the epithet 'young' above.

(June 2) Peter is the more prominent person. They are described as having been tortured before being beheaded (*absaisso capite*), which, being illegal if they were citizens, casts some doubt on the accuracy of the record. They have now no church in Rome, but there was a church with this dedication in early times, as is evidenced by (1) the fact that Homily 6 in *Evangelia* by Gregory Magnus was *habita ad populum in basilica SS. Marcellini et Petri*, and (2) by its being noted as the 'Station' on the third Sunday in Lent in *Sacr. Greg.* (38 Mur.): the 'Station' *ad sēn Marcellinum* on Wednesday in the fifth week is probably a church with a different dedication. Their catacombs remain in *via Labicana* with important mosaics and frescoes.

The list of seven women martyrs begins with *Felicitas, Perpetua*. As *Felicitas* stands first, it is usually held that the Roman matron is meant, who was martyred in 150, as well as her seven noble sons. She is commemorated on Nov. 23 in the *Rom. Brev.* and *Sacr. Leon.* (461 ff Mur.). *Perpetua* was martyred in Africa under Severus (203), and as early as the *Kal. Buch.* (c. 354) she and her companion *Felicitas*, a slave, are commemorated on March 7, both being married women. It is possible, therefore, that both these first two women martyrs were foreigners, though it is unlikely that a slave's name should stand first. Anyhow, it is significant that in each of these lists we have at least one member of the North African Church included where the rest are distinctly Roman or connected with Rome.

After these two representatives of the married state come five virgin martyrs, viz. *Agatha* (Feb. 5) †251 under Decius; *Lucia* (Dec. 13), *Agnes* (Jan. 21) †304 under Diocletian; *Caecilia*, *Anastasia*. Of these *S. Agnese* (*fuori le mura*)<sup>1</sup> and *S. Caecilia* (*in Trastevere*) have important ancient churches in Rome.<sup>2</sup> As to *Caecilia* much uncertainty prevails. She is commemorated on Nov. 22 in *Rom. Brev.*, where she has three Lections. She is said to have been a Roman lady (? of the gens *Caecilia*), and to have perished in 230 under Alexander Severus: her connexion with church music is of the slightest, the only allusion to it being *cantantibus organis Caec. virgo in corde suo soli Domino decantabat*. Though forced into marriage with Valerian, she remained a virgin till her death. *Anastasia*, again, was a lady of high birth, who attended Chrysogonus, her instructor in the Faith, assiduously during his imprisonment for two years, and was at last put to death about the same time (304). She is commemorated on Dec. 25 (cf.

<sup>1</sup> There was another church 'in the side vaults of the Circus where she suffered martyrdom' (Baedeker, p. 221).

<sup>2</sup> The 'Station' is *ad sēn Caeciliam* for the third Wednesday in Lent in *Sacr. Greg.* (36 Mur.).

Sacr. Leon. (467 Mur.)) and the second Christmas Mass was ordered to be said in her church, the Station *ad Anastasiam* being still noted in the Missal.

In non-Roman districts additional names were permitted here as in the *Communicantes*, among the more common being *Eufemia* (†307), *Eugenia*, *Victoria*, *Anatolia*, &c. (see Ebner *op. cit.* pp. 423 f).

Much the same impression is left on our minds in this case as in the former, viz. that the persons commemorated have long ceased to be at all famous enough to explain their inclusion in the list, with the exception, of course, of the first four, who are Scriptural characters, and of Ignatius of Antioch. We notice too that, so far as the dates are reliable, they all fall well within the limit of the former list; there is nothing later than the beginning of the fourth century. So that our opinion of the extreme antiquity of the Canon is only strengthened by our investigation.

C. A few words remain to be said about the third list, viz. that in the *Libera nos*. At present this runs as follows: *intercedente beata et gloriosa semper<sup>1</sup> Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria cum beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea et omnibus sanctis*. If there is any force in what I have urged above, then it seems likely that the words *semper* and *Dei Genitricis* were later additions to the original text. The other point which strikes one here is the insertion of Andrew's name, and his only after those of Peter and Paul; even the *atque* (= 'aye and' or 'moreover') is rather curious, coming between two *et*'s.<sup>2</sup> Bona (*op. cit.* lib. II chap. xv § 2) suggests that Andrew is added because *primus ad apostolatam vocatus fuit*. Le Brun (*Explic.* i 560) states that St Peter's brother has always been specially honoured in Rome, and quotes Ordo Rom. xi in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum* p. 152 to this effect: *in Festivitate sancti Andreae debet esse Ds. Pontifex cum omnibus scholis ad sanctum Andream in Vaticano ibique honorifice . . . vespertas et vigiliis celebrare*. This church no longer, I believe, exists,<sup>3</sup> but the quotation is apposite so far as it goes, which is not far, I admit. More to the point are Ebner's quotations (*op. cit.* pp. 426 f) (1) from Ord. Rom. iv *hic* (i.e. after St Andrew's name) *sacerdos nominatim quales voluerit sanctos vel quantos commemorat*, and (2) from Micrologus (c. 23) *hic nominat quotquot sanctos voluerit* compared with his remark (c. 13) *aliorum sanctorum nomina annumerare non debemus, nisi quos in canone invenimus antiquitus descriptos, excepto post Pater noster in illa oratione*

<sup>1</sup> Or *semperque*: Sacr. Gall. (779 Mur.) first hand omits *Dei Genitrice*.

<sup>2</sup> Sacr. Gall. (779 Mur.) omits *atque Andrea* and the St Gallen MS has added it in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> It is marked as the 'Station' on five consecutive days at Easter in Sacr. Greg. (68 ff Mur.).



*ubi iuxta ordinem quorumlibet sanctorum nomina internumerare possumus.* From these and other indications which he adduces, it would seem that the Embolismus was recognized at Rome as the most legitimate place for the introduction of additional names to be mentioned in the Canon.

In conclusion I may observe that the purpose of the Saints being mentioned in each of these three places is not quite identical. Here it is that they may join their intercessions for us with that of the B. V. M. ; in the *Communicantes* it is very similar that, as we are partakers with them and venerate their memory, God may regard their merits and listen to their prayers for us ; but in the *Nobis quoque* it is only and more simply that we may be granted with them a share in future happiness. And of these three purposes the last would seem obviously the most scriptural and the most primitive, reminding us of the petition in *Te Deum* :

*Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria munerari.*

C. L. FELTOE.

## THE APOCRYPHAL EZEKIEL.

## I

ENOUGH remains of this book to excite a very lively curiosity as to what the complete document can have been: yet, so far, little time has been spent on it by any scholar. Resch in the 1906 edition of his *Agrapha* pp. 305, 322 sqq., 381 has accorded to it the fullest treatment it has hitherto met with. Having just encountered an interesting parallel to the most important fragment of it in the recent book of Fiebig on the Parables (*Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im Lichte der Rabbinischen Gleichnisse des NTlichen Zeitalters*), I am tempted to lay a few notes on this lost *apocryphon* before the readers of this JOURNAL.

The important fragment to which I have alluded is to be found in Epiphanius *Haer.* lxi. ('Ωριγενιανοί B' 70, ii p. 683 Dindorf). In discussing the resurrection of the body he says:—

“Ἀναστήσονται γὰρ οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις” φησὶν ὁ προφήτης. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀποκρύφῳ ῥηθέντα περὶ ἀναστάσεως μὴ παρασιωπήσω, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν ταῦθα παραστήσομαι. αἰνιγματωδῶς γὰρ διηγούμενος λέγει περὶ τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως, ἣ κοινωνεῖ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς τις ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ πάντας εἶχεν ἐστρατευμένους, παγανὸν δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνον δύο, ἓνα χωλὸν καὶ ἓνα τυφλόν, καὶ ἕκαστος κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκαθέζετο καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ᾤκει. γάμους δὲ ποιήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ ἐκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ, περιεφρόνησε δὲ τῶν δύο παγανῶν, τοῦ τε χωλοῦ καὶ τοῦ τυφλοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἡγανάκτησαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐργάσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπενόουν. παράδεισον δὲ εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀπὸ μηκόθεν ὁ τυφλὸς ἐλάλει τῷ χωλῷ λέγων “πόσον ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ κλάσμα τοῦ ἄρτου μετὰ τῶν ὀχλῶν τῶν βληθέντων (? κληθέντων) εἰς τὴν εὐφρασίαν; δεῦρο τοίνυν, καθὼς ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν, ἀμυνώμεθα αὐτόν”. ὁ δὲ ἔτερος ἡρώτα “ποῖω τρόπῳ;” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν “ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφανίσωμεν ἐκεῖ τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου”. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν “καὶ πῶς δύναμαι, χωλὸς ὢν, μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπιβαίνειν;” ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς ἔφη “αὐτὸς ἐγὼ δύναμαι τι πράττειν μὴ ὁρῶν ποῦ ἀπέρχομαι; ἀλλὰ τεχνασώμεθα”. (τότε ὁ χωλὸς) τίλας χορτὸν τὸν πλησίον καὶ πλέξας σχοινίον ἠκόντισε τῷ τυφλῷ καὶ εἶπεν “κράτει, καὶ δεῦρο πρὸς τὸ σχοινίον πρὸς με”. ὥς δὲ ἐποίησεν ὁ προεστράπη, ὅτε ἔφθασε, λέγει “δεῦρο μοι γενοῦ πόδες καὶ βάστασόν με, καὶ γίνομαι σοι ὀφθαλμοὶ ἄνωθεν ὁδηγῶν σε δεξιὰ καὶ

εὐώνυμα". τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον. εἴτα λοιπόν, εἴτε ἡδίκησαν εἴτε οὐκ ἡδίκησαν, ὁμῶς τὰ ἴχνη πέφηνεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. καταλύσαντες δὲ ἐκ τῶν γάμων οἱ εὐφρανθέντες, κατάβαιντες εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐξεπλάγησαν τὰ ἴχνη εἰρόντες ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ταῦτα ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, λέγοντες "ἅπαντες στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ παγανός. πόθεν τοῖνυν ἴχνη παγανῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ;" ὁ δὲ ἐθαύμασε· καὶ ὡς μὲν ἡ παραβολὴ—δηλον ὅτι τοῦ ἀποκρύφου—λέγει, ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον αἰνίττεται, ὁ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖ. ἡ δὲ διήγησις λέγει ὡς μετεστείλατο τὸν χωλὸν καὶ τὸν τυφλόν, καὶ ἠρώτησε τὸν τυφλόν "μὴ σὺ κατῆλθες εἰς τὸν παράδεισον;" ὁ δὲ ἔφη "οἶμοι, κύριε· ὁρᾷς ἡμῶν τὴν ἀδυναμίαν· οἶδας ὅτι οὐχ ὁρῶ ποῦ βαδίζω". εἴτα ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν χωλόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἠρώτα "σὺ κατῆλθες εἰς τὸν παράδεισόν μου;" ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν "ὦ κύριε, πικρᾶναι μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ μέρει τῆς ἀδυναμίας βούλει;" καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ κρίσις ἀργεῖ. τί οὖν ποιεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ὁ δίκαιος; ἀναγνοὺς ποίῳ τρόπῳ ἀμφοτέροι ἐξεύχθησαν, ἐπιτίθῃσι τὸν χωλὸν τῷ πηρῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐτάξει μᾶστιξι, καὶ οὐ δύνανται ἀρνήσασθαι. ἑκάτεροι ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσιν, ὁ μὲν χωλὸς λέγων τῷ τυφλῷ "οὐ σύ με ἐβάστασας καὶ ἀπήνεγκας;" καὶ ὁ τυφλὸς τῷ χωλῷ "οὐκ αὐτὸς ὀφθαλμοί μου γέγονας;" οὕτω τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς κοινῆς ἐργασίας συνάπτεται, καὶ ἡ κρίσις τελεῖα γίνεται παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων, σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς, τῶν ἔργων τῶν γεγεννημένων μήτε (? εἴτε) ἀγαθῶν μήτε (? εἴτε) φανλῶν.

There is at least one obvious blemish in the text, which I have tried to remedy. It is plain that it was the lame man (the soul) who contrived the plan of weaving a rope and throwing it to the blind man. Some words have dropped out before *τίλας*.

I see nothing, in the pages which immediately follow, to indicate that Epiphanius is still using the apocryphal Ezekiel; but on p. 687 he comes near it again.

Εἰ δ' ἄρα κοινωνεῖ σῶμα ψυχῇ ἐν πολιτείαις, ἐν ἀγνεῖα, ἐν νηστείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, οὐκ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ἀποστερεῖν τὸν κάματον τοῦ κεκημηκότος καὶ μὴ ἀποτίσαι τὴν μισθαποδοσίαν τῷ ἅμα τῇ ψυχῇ κεκημηκῶτι σώματι. εὐθὺς γὰρ εὐρεθήσεται ἀργὴ ἡ κρίσις· εἰ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ μονωτάτῃ εὐρεθήσεται, ἀντιλέξειεν κρινομένη ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ αἴτιον τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ φθαρτοῦ καὶ γήινου σώματος, τὸ πορνεύειν, τὸ μοιχεύειν, τὸ ἀσελγαίνειν. ἐξότε γὰρ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη, οὐδέν μοι τούτων πέπρακται· καὶ ἔσται εὐαπολόγητος καὶ παραλύουσα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀγάγοι ὁ θεός· δύναται γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἄνω μοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιὴλ δεδηλωται, εἰ καὶ διὰ παραβολῆς τὸ ἔργον γεγέννηται, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος εἰς ἀλληγορίαν τῆς τότε παραβολευθείσης ἀληθείας ἐτελειώθη, ὡς συνήχθη ὁστέον πρὸς ὁστέον κτλ. . . . ἄλλ' οὐκ δυνήσεται σῶμα ἄνευ ψυχῆς κριθῆναι· ἀντιλέξει γὰρ καὶ αὐτό, λέγον· ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ ἥμαρτον, ἀλλὰ ἡ ψυχὴ· μὴ, ἐξότε ἀπεκρίθη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐμοίχευσα; μὴ ἐπόρνευσα; μὴ εἰδωλολάτρησα; καὶ ἔσται ἀντιλέγον τὸ σῶμα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ

δικαιοκρισία, καὶ εὐλόγως ἀντιλέγον· τούτου ἕνεκα τοῖνυν . . . ὁ θεὸς . . . τὰ τεθνεῶτα ἡμῶν σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν φέρει κτλ.

It may be just worth while to remark that in this passage the reference to Ezekiel is a reference to the vision of the dry bones in the canonical book, and not to the apocryphal one; I quote the passage because it is at least an amplification of the moral of the apocryphal parable, and probably contains some fragments of the interpretation of it.

The Rabbinic parallel, which is to be found in Fiebig's book (p. 73), is ascribed to Rabbi Ishmael (*cir.* 130 A.D.), and is quoted *à propos* of Lev. iv 2 'If a soul shall sin through ignorance', &c.

'The matter is like a king who had a garden, and had therein choice early fruits. And the king set guardians in it, one lame and the other blind, and said to them "Be careful of these choice fruits". After some days the lame man said to the blind "I see beautiful fruits in the garden". Said the blind, "Come on, let us eat them". The lame man answered, "Can I walk?" and the blind replied, "Can I see?" Then the lame man mounted on the blind man's back, and they went and ate the early fruits and returned and sat each in his place.

'After certain days the king went into that garden, and said to them, "Where are they, the choice early fruits?" The blind man answered him, "My lord king, am I able to see anything?" and the lame, "My lord king, am I able to walk?" Now what did that king, who was a clever man, do? He made the lame man ride on the blind, and they began to walk. Then said he to them, "This is the way you have contrived it, and have eaten the early fruits".

'So also in the next world the Holy One, blessed be He, saith to the soul, "Why hast thou sinned before Me?" The soul saith, "Lord of the world, I have not sinned; it is the body that hath sinned. Since I came out from it, I have been like a pure bird that flies in the air. How have I sinned before Thee?" He saith to the body, "Why hast thou sinned before Me?" It saith, "Lord of the world, I have not sinned; it is the soul that hath sinned. Since it went forth from me I have been cast down like a stone that is thrown on the ground. Have I sinned before Thee?" What doth the Holy One, blessed be He? He brings the soul and puts it into the body, and judges both of them together, as it is said (Ps. 14) "He calleth to the Heaven above (to bring the soul), and to the earth beneath (to give up the body) that He may judge them."

Two other versions of the Parable are given by Fiebig, both said to have been related by R. Jehuda (*cir.* 200 A.D.) in answer to a question of Antoninos. The differences which they (or rather one of them—the other is incomplete) present are not important for our purpose.

The Rabbinic form of the parable will be allowed to be somewhat unsatisfactory: we cannot regard it as probable that the king would have picked out a lame and a blind man as caretakers. It is not, I think, unreasonable to suppose that we have here a form of the story in which everything but the main point has been discarded. The Ezekiel-form is—if not necessarily more original—far more plausible. It supplies a good reason for the action of the two culprits; and the episode of their judgement and confession runs on all fours with the interpretation. It is important to notice how the Rabbinic comment and that of Epiphanius coincide in the phrase *ἐξότε γὰρ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη*—*ἐξότε ἀπεκρίθη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*, and 'since I came out from it'—'since it went forth from me'. It seems very much as if Epiphanius were here quoting the exposition of the parable as given in the apocryphal book.

Is it possible to determine whether the fragment is Jewish or Christian? We do not know to what extent Epiphanius is preserving the language of the book; but there is one phrase which seems likely to be original—*γάμους ποιήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἰδίῳ νύῳ ἐκάλεσε πάντας κτλ.*—and which recalls Mt. xxii 2, 3: compare also *τί οὖν ποιεῖ ὁ κριτής* with *τί οὖν ποιήσει . . . ὁ κύριος* Lc. xx 15. There are others less striking; *τὸ κλάσμα τοῦ ἄρτου* and *ἡ κρίσις ἀργεῖ* (cf. 2 Pet. ii 3 *οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαισι οὐκ ἀργεῖ*). But we shall gather more from the other relics of the book.

The salient image, of the lame man mounted on the blind, will be recollected as the theme of epigrams in the Palatine Anthology ix 11-13). A couplet familiar to schoolboys may be quoted from that attributed to Plato 'ὁ νεώτερος'.

*Ἀνέρα τις λιπόγυιον ὑπὲρ νότιοιο λιπανγῆς  
ἦγε, πόδας χρήσας, ὄμματα χρυσάμενος.*

There is nothing in the other epigrams to warrant our bringing them into connexion with the parable.

As to the form of the Ezekiel-book we learn from the introductory words of Epiphanius that it was an *ἀπόκρυφον* under the name of Ezekiel, and that the prophet was represented as telling the story to illustrate God's method of judging the body and soul. The phrase *τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ . . . ρηθέντα περὶ ἀναστάσεως* seems to me to shew that the parable had definite reference to the Final Judgement and resurrection of the body: the last a theme of which Ezekiel seemed an appropriate expositor in virtue of the vision of the dry bones.

## II

The other fragments of the book are very meagre. The most significant is one which is quoted by several early writers:—

<sup>1</sup> Resch (p. 331) says—I cannot imagine why—that the Parable must be considered as a late addition to the apocryphal Ezekiel.

a. Tertullian *de carne Christi* 23 is the only one who gives the source of the words: 'Legimus quidem apud Ezechielem de vacca illa quae peperit et non peperit; sed videte ne vos iam tunc providens spiritus sanctus notarit hac voce, disceptaturos super uterum Mariae.'

b. Epiph. *Haer.* xxx 30 (ii 127 Dindorf) "ἰδοὺ" φησὶν "ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν". καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν "ἰδοὺ ἡ γυνή". καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει "καὶ τέξεται ἡ δάμαλις, καὶ ἐροῦσιν, οὐ τέτοκεν". ἐπειδὴ γάρ τινες τῶν Μανιχαίων καὶ Μαρκιωνιστῶν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν μὴ τετέχθαι, διὰ τοῦτο "τέξεται, καὶ ἐροῦσιν. οὐ τέτοκεν". The name of the prophet is not given for either quotation.

c. *Actus Petri cum Simone* 24. Here several prophecies are quoted, including one from the Ascension of Isaiah. Among them is this: et iterum dicit 'Peperit et non peperit'.

d. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii 16 (p. 66 Stähelin) "τέτοκεν καὶ οὐ τέτοκεν" φησὶν ἡ γραφή.

e. Greg. Nyssen. *adv. Iud.* 3 καὶ πάλιν "Ἴδον ἡ δάμαλις τέτοκε καὶ οὐ τέτοκε". This is placed between quotations from Isa. ix and Isa. vii.

Were it not for the express mention of Ezekiel by Tertullian, which we have no reason to discredit, one would be inclined to guess from the collocation of the passage in b, c, e that it was one fathered upon Isaiah.

An allusion to Job xxi 10 ἡ βοῦς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὤμοτόκησε κτλ., has been supposed to underlie the words, but with little probability.

Tertullian writes as if he were alluding to a narrative, and the perfect tense τέτοκε, peperit, in three of the other citations fits with this. The future, τέξεται, of Epiphanius, if not wholly irreconcilable, constitutes a difficulty, which, however, might very probably disappear if we had the whole passage. There can be little doubt here, at any rate, that the source was Christian or Christianized, and that an allusion to the Virgin-birth was intended by the writer of the words.

The 'Logion' ἐν ᾧ εἶπω σε, ἐν αὐτῷ (τούτῳ) καὶ κρινῶ σε is attributed to Ezekiel by the *Vita S. Antonii*, and to a prophet by Elias Cretensis. It has been fully dealt with in Resch's *Agrapha*, and, even supposing it to have occurred in the apocryphal Ezekiel, I cannot deduce anything from it as to the character or form of the book.

Another saying 'In quacunque hora ingemuerit peccator, salvus erit' is said by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i 1119) to be quoted from Ezekiel by Lucifer of Cagliari 'and others'; and he gives a reference to a work of Richard Simon which I have been unable to trace. I do not find the words in Lucifer, but only a similar sentiment from Isa. xxx 15 'Cum conversus ingemueris, tunc salvus eris et scies ubi fueris' (p. 63 Vienna ed.). Something nearer is in Ps.-Aug. *de conflictu vit. et virt.* 15 'In quacumque die peccator conversus ingemuerit salvus erit', and in *de vera et falsa poenit.* 33 'Quacumque hora peccator ingemuerit et

conversus fuerit vita vivet'. It is also used by such late writers as Petrus Comestor, Rob. Pullus, and Walter Map. It may be regarded as a loose quotation of Ezek. xxxiii 11, perhaps conflated with the old Latin of Isa. xxx 15.

The supposed allusion to the existence of a second book of Ezekiel by Josephus *Ant.* x 6 may probably be dismissed. The apocryphal Ezekiel is, however, certainly mentioned in the stichometry of Nicephorus (in the Pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis) thus: Βαρούχ, Ἀμβακούμ, Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ Δανιήλ ψευδεπίγραφα without note of length. The group forms the last item in the list of O. T. apocrypha.

There are, then, only two fragments which throw any real light upon the apocryphal Ezekiel. The fragment in Epiphanius suggests that the prophet who dealt so largely in parables was selected as the ostensible author of a further series of them, and that one of these, also current in Jewish circles, dealt with the Final Judgement. The words of Tertullian may allude to another parable of distinctly Christian character.

A third parabolic narrative has survived without any note of provenance, which may possibly, I think, have found a place in this same book. It is preserved by the Byzantine chronographer George Cedrenus (*Migne P. L.* cxxi 225), who tells it immediately after the story of Tobit.

Ἐπὶ τούτου (sc. Ἐζεκίου) καὶ ἀνθρωπὸς τις ἐγνωρίζετο ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ πλούσιος καὶ ἀνελεήμων, ὃς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τινα τῶν διδασκάλων, καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶντος εὗρεν εὐθύς. “Ὁ ἐλεῶν πτωχὸν δανεῖζει τῷ θεῷ” καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος καὶ κατατωγείς ἀπελθὼν πέπρακε πάντα καὶ διένειμε πτωχοῖς (cf. Mt. xix 21, &c.), μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ καταλείψας πλὴν νομισμάτων δύο. καὶ πτωχεύσας πάνν, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐκ θείας δοκιμασίας ἐλεούμενος, ὕστερον ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγει μικροψυχήσας. “Ἀπελεύσομαι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ διακρινοῦμαι τῷ θεῷ μου ὅτι ἐπλάνησέ με διασκορπίσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου.” πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν ἄνδρας δύο μαχομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐρόντας λίθον τίμιον, καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτούς. “Ἰνα τί, ἀδελφοί, μάχεσθε; δότε μοι αὐτὸν καὶ λάβετε νομίσματα δύο.” τῶν δὲ μετὰ χαρᾶς τούτον παρασχόντων (οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν τοῦ λίθου τὸ ὑπερτίμιον) ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὸν λίθον ἐπιφερόμενος. καὶ δεῖξας αὐτὸν χρυσοχόῳ, παραχρήμα τὸν λίθον ἐκείνος ἰδὼν ἀναστὰς προσεκύνησε, καὶ ἔκθαμβος γενόμενος ἐπυνθάνετο “Ποῦ τὸν πολυτίμιον”, λέγων, “καὶ θεῖον λίθον τούτον εὗρες; ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἔτη τρία σήμερον Ἱερουσαλὴμ δονεῖται καὶ ἀκαταστατεῖ διὰ τὸν περιβόητον λίθον τούτον. καὶ ἀπελθὼν δὸς αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ σφόδρα πλουτήσεις”. τοῦ δὲ ἀπερχομένου ἄγγελος Κυρίου εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα “Νῦν ἐλεύσεται ἄνθρωπος πρὸς σε τὸν ἀπολεσθέντα πολυθρύλητον λίθον ἐκ τῆς διπλοῖδος Ἀαρὼν τοῦ

ἀρχιερέως ἔχων. λαβὼν αὐτὸν δὸς τῷ ἐνέγκαντι αὐτὸν χρυσίον πολὺ καὶ ἀργύριον· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ῥάπισας μετρίως εἶπέ Μὴ δίσταζε ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, μηδὲ ἀπίσται τῷ διὰ τῆς γραφῆς λέγοντι “Ὁ ἐλεῶν πτωχὸν δανεῖζει θεῷ”. Ἴδου γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἐξεπλήρωσά σοι πολλαπλασίονα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδάνεισάς μοι; καὶ εἰ πιστεύεις, λήψη καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι πλοῦτον ἀνυπέρβλητον.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ διατεταγμένα πάντα πεποίηκε πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ λελάληκεν· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος πάντα ἑάσας ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐξῆλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν καὶ πιστεύων Κυρίῳ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ διηγορευμένα.

I have only met this story elsewhere in the Ethiopic *History of Peter* (Budge *Contendings of the Apostles* ii 8-18), where it is told at great length of Kewestôs the father of Clement of Rome.

It is of course a matter of pure conjecture that the apocryphal Ezekiel may have been the source of this tale. I am led to make the suggestion because (a) it seems clear that we have here a bit of an *apocryphon* of some kind which was current in Greek, and of which Cedrenus had access at least to an excerpt; (b) because Cedrenus places it in connexion with the story of Tobit, and thereby indicates that it came to him with some sort of ‘Biblical’ sanction; (c) because I cannot recall, in the whole body of apocryphal literature any book save that of Ezekiel in which such a story could find a place; and, to my thinking, it resembles in character the extract which Epiphanius has preserved for us out of that very book. However, whether the suggestion commends itself to others or not, I think it worth while to call attention to the story, in hopes that further parallels to it may be forthcoming, and especially Rabbinic parallels.

It has been suggested that the apocryphal Ezekiel had no proper separate existence, and that it consisted of Christian additions to the canonical book resembling the Jewish additions to Esther and Daniel. The Epiphanian passage with its definite mention of the ἴδιον ἀπόκρυφον of Ezekiel contravenes this idea: but there may have been such Christian additions to the canonical text as well. Two passages are in my mind, both of which resemble Ezekiel in language, but are not in our texts:—

a. Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* viii “Ζῶ γὰρ ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος, οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὴν μετάνοιαν” προστιθεὶς καὶ γνώμην ἀγαθὴν “Μετανοήσατε, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας ὑμῶν· εἶπον τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ μου. Ἐὰν ᾧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔαν ᾧσιν πυρρότεραι κόκκου καὶ μελανώτεραι σάκκου, καὶ ἐπιστραφῇτε πρὸς με ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἴπητε, Πάτερ, ἐπακούσομαι ὑμῶν ὡς λαοῦ ἁγίου.”



Clement of Alexandria attributes the last clause 'Εὰν . . . ἐπιστραφήτε κτλ. to Ezekiel in *Paedag.* i 10, and has a somewhat expanded form of the first part of the passage, without name of author, in *Q. D. S.* 39.

b. Tertullian *de Resurr. Carn.* 32 'Sed ne solummodo eorum corporum resurrectio videatur quae sepulcris demandantur, habes scriptum : Et mandabo piscibus maris et eructabunt ossa quae sunt comesta, et faciam compaginem (ἀρμονίαν) ad compaginem et os ad os'.

To these passages, both of which might well be amplifications of Ezekiel (though it is not difficult to suggest other possible sources for the second), may perhaps be added :

c. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* viii (p. 62 Stähelin) ἄκουε πάλιν προφήτου λέγοντος· "ἐκλείψει μὲν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς σκοτισθήσεται, λάμψει δὲ ὁ παντοκράτωρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ (αἱ) δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται, καὶ οἱ οὐανοὶ εἰλιγῇσονται ὡς δέρρις ἐκτεινόμενοι καὶ συστελλόμενοι" (αὗται γὰρ αἱ προφητικαὶ) "καὶ ἡ γῆ φεύζεται ἀπὸ προσώπου Κυρίου".

Resch would further attribute to the Pseudo-Ezekiel the passage about the δύνῃχοι which is quoted in 1 Clem. 23 and 2 Clem. 11, and other prophetical quotations in 1 Clem. (29. 3, 50. 4) and Baruch (16. 6).

I am not prepared to suggest that the legends concerning Ezekiel in the Pseudo-Epiphanian *Vitae Prophetarum* are derived from the lost book : I agree with Fabricius that they were probably drawn 'e Iudaeorum traditione'. But it is possible that a martyrdom of Ezekiel may have been narrated in it. The *Vita* simply says that the prophet was slain by a wicked ruler ; but there is a Christian tradition, occurring in the Syriac Acts of Philip and the Apocalypse of Paul, that he was dragged by his feet upon the mountains until his brains were dashed out. Is it not quite likely that, as in the case of Isaiah (in the *Ascension of Isaiah*) and Jeremiah (in the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*), the utterance of a prophecy (a Christian prophecy, I imagine) provoked the unbelieving people to this act of violence ?

I hope that these notes and guesses may at least have the effect of directing attention to the Epiphanian parable, which, I am sure, will be recognized as a very notable fragment of early Christian (?) literature.

M. R. JAMES.

### MYSTICISM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

MISS EVELYN UNDERHILL's remarkable book *The Mystic Way* was noticed briefly by the Dean of St Paul's in the July number of the JOURNAL (vol. xiv p. 580), but the questions which it raises, or suggests, are sufficiently important to call for further discussion, and it will be convenient to consider them in immediate relation to her treatment of them in that book. It is singularly stimulating as a whole, often very beautiful, and above all eminently religious in tone throughout. For although many will dissent from much that she says, and still more from her methods of statement, it is impossible to deny that the whole book is the reflexion of real reverence for the subject. Or at least any one who thinks her treatment of it irreverent must condemn to silence any attempt to re-interpret the kernel of Christianity in terms other than the conventional. Miss Underhill's view clearly means much to her own religious life and as such is entitled to a respectful and sympathetic consideration quite apart from the interest and elegance of her presentation of it. Criticism can only be justified if the view seems inadequate to allow for the full developement of the specifically Christian consciousness and life.

The centre of theological interest has largely shifted in the last year or two from higher critical questions to their 'anthropological' implications, and especially to the psychological aspect of religious history. And this sphere of comparative psychology on one side Miss Underhill has made peculiarly her own. Following Baron von Hügel's great work on 'the Mystical Element in Religion', her book on 'Mysticism' made accessible to a wider audience the general facts of the experience found among the great Mystics all through later Christian times. In her present book she turns back from them to make a detailed study of Christian origins on the same line. After an introduction on the general question of mysticism and human life, she deals in three successive parts with the lives of our Lord, St Paul, and 'the Johannine Mystic', as the supreme embodiments of the great facts of Christian mysticism. In these she sees the final culmination of the great struggle for the self-expression of God in Man, and in two final parts she carries the study on into the early Church and sums it up in an interpretation of the Mass. It is impossible to give an adequate summary of any of these parts, still less to convey an impression of the real beauty and strength of Miss Underhill's literary style. If the points that are selected for treatment here are mainly marked out for criticism, this is only due to

a deep sense that so valuable a book should not be left without a supplement of sympathetic questioning.

In the first place, Miss Underhill's main thesis in this, as in her former book, seems to be that mysticism is the true essence of all real religion. She does not, however, supply in this book, and only suggests in the other, any clear definition of the term, and we are left to gather what she wishes to convey by it through the examination of what it is used to cover. And here considerable perplexity besets the reader; for she certainly does not mean anything merely ecstatic, and she regards as the essential features of Christian, as opposed to all other, mystics, their practical character; nor does she seek to separate it from institutional religion, with which she exhibits it in intimate connexion; and even the intellectual aspect of spiritual life is not excluded, though she has much to say in depreciation of mere dogma, whether of theology, or of philosophy, or of criticism. One is led to believe that she regards progressive union with God as the characteristic feature of true mysticism. But apart from the fact that many (and, indeed, she herself) would regard this as the specific fact of all genuine religion, it is important and difficult to discover what is meant by union—whether this is union of will or union of feeling: and, if the reply is that in true love both are combined, it is difficult to see what kind of real religion can be excluded from such a definition. Any treatment of mysticism as only one element in a full religious life (such as is implied by the very title, and still more by the contents, of Baron von Hügel's *magnum opus*) seems foreign to Miss Underhill's way of thought; and confusion is, at least to the mind of the reader, a necessary result.

If mysticism, however, be defined as the growing consciousness of immediate union with the divine, realized through feeling (or possibly thought), it will cover all the facts usually known by that term and at the same time leave place for, and even demand, other elements for the fullest religious life. And, although this has the disadvantage of separating things which in actual life are found less separable, it seems to be in *religion* that they are found conjoined inseparably, and not in mysticism merely as such. For Miss Underhill's use of the term to mean a full religion would really, if pressed, exclude much of that which even she herself uses it to cover—the great Hindu mystics, for whom the practical has been a temptation to be shunned, and even Plotinus with his 'flight of the alone to the Alone', and the impersonal outlook of such an intellectual mystic as Spinoza. It would seem that mysticism as such and in the common use of the term must be fundamentally the same all the world and all the ages over. Even if, as Miss Underhill maintains (in agreement with Baron von Hügel), it

only comes to its full expression and growth in Christianity, this is not owing to the addition of any other specifically mystical ingredients, but to the presence in Christianity of certain facts of a historical, moral, and institutional character which have enabled mysticism to find its true place as a vital element in the final religion of mankind.

For the characteristic features of historical Christianity, as it appears in the first century A.D., are not, at least to the ordinary eye, easy to recognize as nothing but the fine flower of mysticism. Indeed the fact that it should require a book to prove it admits this. And Miss Underhill's attempt to present this view seems to omit certain very plain marks of the history and to over-emphasize others. This is rather the result of a reflexion from the later brilliance of Christian mysticism which, while finding in the earliest origins its source and model, yet does not find them there as mysticism *alone*, but only as *part* of fundamental Christianity. For if there is one fact evident from the New Testament it is that Christ and the Christianity there portrayed are radically *Jewish*. They draw on the Old Testament as the acknowledged fount, and though something revolutionary and new comes to pass it is not the abolition but the completion of the Old. Now the Jews and their Scriptures are quite clearly and indisputably *not* primarily in the mystic line of developement: if we want to distinguish them by a label, they are pre-eminently *prophetic*.

The mystic and the prophetic may be compared if not contrasted as being concerned predominantly, the one with the feelings or thought and the other with the will. The prophet is concerned in the first place with the will of God, to proclaim it and enforce it by witness of word and work on the will of man, and it is this which leads him to emphasize the *social* aspect of religion in morality and worship. The mystic, on the other hand, has converse with God most typically in the sphere of the emotions or the intellect, and for this only his personal contact with God is indispensable. Further, the mystic is bound to lay emphasis on the immediacy of his intuition and relation with the object of his individual experience; while for the prophet, and for the type of the religious consciousness which he represents (the doer of the Will), this is largely mediated through tradition and institution which possess social authority and value. Miss Underhill's effort to present the Prophets and the Old Testament writers in general as tentative mystics is perhaps the least convincing part of her work. It can only be made even plausible by a very careful selection of quotations and by the omission of the most characteristic features, such as the emphasis on righteousness and the expectation of judgement.

Perhaps it is possible to bring out the distinction with regard to the

social character and intelligibility between the mystic and the prophetic type of religious consciousness by comparing them respectively to the musical and the poetical on the aesthetic side. The similarities are obvious and far-reaching and very suggestive—and it is quite clearly impossible to reduce either member of the two parts to a mere form of the other.

It is of course obvious that neither of these types can exist completely alone, or if existent could be treated as real religion; but it is clear that the ordinary use of the term Mystic is to describe the elements of experience which in isolation would be ideally opposed to the Prophetic. We are far from denying the presence of either in the New Testament. But what we find in the New Testament is not the lonely flowering of a perfected mysticism in this, the ordinary, sense of the word, but the fusion at white heat of both these supreme types of the religious consciousness in their most powerful and balanced form, each supplementing and correcting the flaws of the other till they combine to present the perfect relation of man to God.

And this completion is presented in full and unique power in the figure of Jesus. In Him, as it were, the two streams of God's revelation flow through a cañon, and it is only as the overflow of the united waters rushing through that single passage that the flood of Christian life and love waters the country below, where the channels though never so deep or all-containing as in Him from whom they first issued, yet keep their freshness and fertility for all lands and times beyond.

And it is precisely in the treatment of this central Figure from whom all Christian life, including Mysticism, is derived, that the ordinary student will find Miss Underhill's treatment most inadequate.<sup>1</sup> For, although she admits that He is on a higher plane than the greatest of the Mystics, she is yet forced by her method to treat Him as if He were one of them. Taking the ordinary main divisions of the Mystic Way (the Purgative, Illuminative, and Unitive), she is concerned to find in the scanty psychological notices of the Synoptic Gospels the material for a reconstruction of His inner life such as can be assigned

<sup>1</sup> [Miss Underhill's treatment of this part of her subject would derive strong support from the reconstruction of the actual facts as to the development of our Lord's consciousness (underlying the foreshortened narratives of the Gospels) to which many students of the Gospels are led to-day. From their point of view her theory, while needing some corrections and expansions, is not exposed to the criticisms which Mr Johnston passes on it in this and the three following paragraphs. In its general features it 'fits in' with their main 'results', and Miss Underhill's statement of it will appeal to them rather than to 'the ordinary student' of the Gospels.—J. F. B-B.]

to the three parts. Although with Him the speed of the development far exceeds the normal, so that He passes to the activity of the Illuminative state in the brief period of '40 days' Temptation, He yet does not finally attain to the Unitive state until, through the break-up of the illuminative consciousness, the Agony reaches its culmination in the despairing yet trustful cry from the Cross, and the final Union is only fully manifested in the renewed life which lies behind the conflicting testimony as to the Resurrection appearances and Pentecost.

Now it is quite true that this Life does seem to pass through three phases as Miss Underhill has described, but far from only *attaining* to union with the Father after the end, the Christian consciousness and all the evidence seem to demand that He should be regarded as *starting* at least as far up as the point to which the Mystics attain after their struggle: that is, that as He came to consciousness of Himself, it was never of Himself as separated from or opposed to God. It is the climax of this process of thus knowing Himself as completely the Son of God that is represented by the account of the Baptismal vision and voice, and it is the testing in application of this perfect Sonship that forms the meaning of the Temptation narrative, not any struggle to *attain*. This view is certified by the fact, which Miss Underhill notes but does not explain in her theory, that there is a complete absence of any consciousness of sin or even of imperfection in His recorded utterances, and by the further implications of His expressed attitude towards the Father (never in His use of the term putting Himself merely alongside of His disciples or other men) as in some unique sense *His* Father throughout.

It is therefore probable that the Mystic categories are not really applicable to the life of our Lord: they deal with the growth and struggle upward of a soul, the effort to attain; no evidence inside the Synoptic Gospels suggests that the bitter strife which is certainly portrayed in them has any other object than the *maintenance* of a position already won, or rather of an inherent possession. The signs of growth recorded in the third Gospel would indicate only the natural process of coming to self-consciousness, but the Self of which He thus becomes conscious has never been anything but the perfect Son.

While we are thus bound to hold that there is no justification for the attempt to treat the life of our Lord as in its inner being and progress one with the general mystic type on however high a plane, this method of approach has enabled Miss Underhill to throw out very suggestive interpretations of detail in the events and sayings: her treatment of faith especially and the hypothesis that the grain of mustard seed, to

which the Kingdom is compared, may be paralleled, e.g., by the mystic 'Fünklein' in Böhme, and is what is meant by the reference to the divine element in the soul which may be touched to life and grow to perfect union. And in many other points the mystic analogies are valuable. It is, however, clear that such treatment has great defects. When, for instance, Miss Underhill applies her thought to the relation of the life and person of our Lord to the Christian experience, it becomes clear that He cannot be said on her theory to be much more than the path-finder to the highest reality—while *not* the light Himself, He is a sort of Prometheus. But whatever may be the explanation of the Christian sense of Atonement through Christ, it seems fairly clear that this was to St Paul and most other Christians of all ages more than stimulus to imitation. It is then, as we have said, on Christology that mystic interpretation seems most clearly to break down.

But when we approach the second and third parts of her book, those on St Paul and 'the Johannine Mystic', the method becomes much more valuable, since, though not an exhaustive explanation of the phenomena, the comparison of mystic psychology is very valuable as an illustration of facts which have a genuinely mystical side—and Miss Underhill's stores of knowledge are never at fault for an apt quotation. St Paul's conversion, as she shews, is closely parallel to the entrance of many mystics on the Illuminative way; and even in its psychological manifestations may be found significantly similar (although it is curious that she seems to be unaware that temporary blindness is a common phenomenon in conversion—there are two cases on one page of John Wesley's journal). And in dealing with the Johannine Mystic this method is especially fruitful in hypothesis. Here the close similarities with such writings as that of Catharine Emmerich, with her detailed description clearly drawn from actual vision of the early life of our Lady, suggest to Miss Underhill the probability that the greater part of the fourth Gospel was received by its writer in the form of mystical visions and auditions. Certainly the striking parallel between the attestation of Julian of Norwich's vision of the blood streaming from under the crown of thorns with the personal and emphatic testimony of the Johannine writer to the water and blood from the pierced side must strike all readers of both books: but even here it is difficult to see why (if, as it appears, Miss Underhill believes in clairvoyance on the part of mystics) the hypothesis of 'seeing backwards' into actual history need be excluded, since there is far more evidence for such retrospective than for 'prophetic' clairvoyance; and this would equally explain St Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist if he intended to describe a revelation granted to himself.

But, apart from this, the thorough application of her theory is difficult : for instance, it is, for those who have not read so deeply in the Mystics, a hard task to conceive that all the little meaningless, unless historical, data of time and place should have been the result of any except historical experience, or be intended to convey, or form part of, any system of allegory. It is difficult also to suppose that such a detail as ἡδὴ ὄζει should have been inserted except as the result of a compelling reminiscence of fact. If, however, we are forced, again following Baron von Hügel (this time in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), to discard the possibility of history (and his own parallel of Battista Vernazza would only have to be extended from 13 years of age to 17 or so to make it possible), Miss Underhill's theory has the support of the Baron to some degree, and seems most attractive ; moreover it possesses considerably more evidence, drawn from comparative psychology, than any theory of composite authorship or construction on a (minimum) basis of history. But one wonders why such a supposition does not suggest that the Apocalypse was written by one with the same powers of vision and audition at an earlier stage of his mystic experience—but then, apocalyptic is essentially unmystical in character, since it comes rather of the prophetic school and rests on crude use of the Old Testament, and therefore is not amenable to Miss Underhill's treatment.

It is impossible here even to criticize the last two parts of the book, and, indeed, in Miss Underhill's plan they are clearly of the nature of an epilogue, and there is little in them which could deserve anything but praise. Gratitude is due to her especially for her description of Mystic life in the early Church, and for recalling to notice the almost forgotten Mystic chief Macarius of whom readers of the JOURNAL were reminded some years ago by Dr Gore (vol. viii pp. 85 ff). But there are certain underlying presuppositions which come out most clearly in this part of her work and seem at least to provoke enquiry.

Miss Underhill is deeply affected by the brilliant picture-thought of M. Bergson, and her treatment of the subject is so much an application of this to the study of mysticism that the reader is tempted to wonder whether anything can be left for M. Bergson to say in his forthcoming lectures on the Mystic psychology. But with the picturesqueness and clarity which this background gives to her work there go certain dangers which she hardly seems to succeed in escaping. Motion is so much at the heart of all things, that not only are they all advancing by 'saltatory ascents', but their maker, if such is postulated, must also be conceived as coming to further and fuller fruition. But the human mind is then bound to ask, what becomes of motion when everything is moving? So in the application to religion it would



seem as though Miss Underhill were entangled in the supposition that God Himself evolves creatively. But quite apart from this particular objection, the use of the spatial imagery of biological evolution ('sheaf-like growth', &c.) and the prevalence of such impersonal terms as 'reality' and 'the transcendent' (not to mention 'the Absolute') and *élan vital*, imply something very different from the 'Father' of Christian religion and theology, and the childlike relation to Him; while the attitude suggested in Miss Underhill's frequent employment of such terms as 'adventure', 'romantic', 'questing', is hardly typical of the Christian calling to Sonship. These, however, are comparatively small points, though not unimportant as indicating tendency.

But there are at least two points in which it appears really vital to join issue with Miss Underhill's implied and even expressed beliefs. In the first place as to the 'temperamentalism' of religion (a phrase she would not be guilty of using but a fact which she assumes). It is not possible to hold to the Christian faith in one Father unless on a basis of belief that *all* may be sons. But when Miss Underhill refers to those who are so 'gifted' as to be able to become 'adepts' one cannot but suspect (and, indeed, she explicitly states it in some passages) that she believes only some souls to be born capable of the highest in religion. Now it is perfectly true that not all are capable of the highest mysticism in the proper sense of the word, since this is no doubt dependent to a large extent on certain psychophysical peculiarities; but St Paul would have repudiated with anathema the doctrine that not all men could become in the full sense sons. One cannot believe that Miss Underhill really means so to identify two positions, as would follow if she maintains that mysticism is the core of real religion, and also approves of the definitely esoteric position, e.g. of Clement of Alexandria.

Secondly, the attitude towards the material in much of Miss Underhill's book is distinctly not the sacramental position which is implied in any belief in a real Incarnation. She tends to regard matter as 'clogging', in the familiar neoplatonic way; and her attitude towards the institutional sacraments can hardly be called more than symbolic in the modern sense of the word—they 'dramatize' truth. No doubt this hangs together with the exalted spirituality of her esoteric Christianity, but it is definitely not the religion where 'wayfaring men though fools cannot err'. It is for the sake of those whose religiosity is not temperamental, who find it hard to understand the meaning of 'pure spirit', that Catholic Christianity has always insisted on a 'presence' in the sacrament as objective as the presence of Christ to His disciples 'in the days of His flesh'—a permanent possibility of real contact, whether we recognize it or not—and this for Miss Underhill is 'magical'. But

surely the Christian attitude leads to the transvaluation of the material as a necessary means of the soul's immortal life, so that for true spirituality we shall need more and more of what Baron von Hügel calls the 'dipping and re-dipping in the thing-element' of matter, of practical life, of scientific research, of enforced suffering.

And lastly, and perhaps most important, the mystical position seems weak on the ethical side—and this in two respects. First, sin is hardly conceived of in the mystic scheme as anything but imperfection—a yielding to a sort of gravitation. This, of course, is in keeping with the lack of stress on the will-element in personality which involves the conclusion that choice is subordinate. It is, of course, true that for the Christian, as opposed to the Aristotelian, all good is the working of the Spirit of God in man; but the logical contrary to this, that all evil is the action of the Devil, never has been admitted, and, indeed, cannot without involving a full-blown determinism. Man's will is definitely capable of realizing objective ends, acting on principles of its own choice, and the choice is no less definite and the will no less active if the ends realized are bad. So that the Christian sense of sin is that of definitely personal rebellion against love, and not that of any mere failure to attain, as it tends to be for the mystic with the sanction of Miss Underhill. And secondly, the mystic's relation is primarily what Baron von Hügel calls 'vertical', and only secondarily, even if at all, 'horizontal', i.e. God and the Soul have the Brother's soul only as an appendix. The mystic, even when Christian, tends to regard the outgoing activity of charity, the practical life in general, as the result of the upward and downward connexion of God and man. But for the Christian it is only as a member of the family that he approaches the Father, and brotherly love is a necessary pre-condition of the filial relation. 'He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?' It is this specifically Christian attitude which finds expression, not only in the belief in 'the Firstborn of many brethren', but also in the faith in a Spirit who is essentially in the community and 'through whom we cry, Abba Father'. And it is disappointing to find that in this book Miss Underhill mentions frequently without any note of depreciation the violently anti-social mysticism of Angela of Foligno. In this respect she shews less sense of this side of Christianity than in her previous work.

But, when all has been said, it is impossible not to be really glad that Miss Underhill has published her book. Her position is one which needed definite statement in order that both its strength and its weakness might become apparent. And she has given it a form which could hardly have been improved in tone and general excellence of presenta-

tion. There can be no doubt that she has in many cases brought out the real meaning of much that the New Testament contains, in a way which is beyond all praise. And if in doing so, and more especially in formulating more general positions and results, she has tended to make Christianity a less rich and varied thing than it actually is, this can be gratefully accepted and discounted, since she has shewn a side of it which has until recently been largely ignored. But it is mainly as a presentation of a large part of religious truth to those who have not been touched by conventional forms of teaching that the book will probably have its greatest value. It is part of the general 'renaissance of faith' which takes so many forms in our day and will help on the movement, and, though it will need supplementing, such work is always to the good.

It is, however, probable that the greatest force of the evidential argument from Mysticism is to be found in rather a different shape from that which Miss Underhill gives to it. She tends to regard the mystic as one who experiences and reveals reality on a higher level than that accessible to the ordinary consciousness. It is, however, always possible to rebut this assertion by pointing to the aberrations of Mysticism and to the essentially subjective character of its apprehension. But it is *not* so easy to invalidate the argument if stated in another form. We may put it from the more distinctively psychological point of view, and maintain that in Mysticism the human mind finds its most characteristic and complete development. Regarding the mind as a mere mechanism, even so materialistic a psychologist as M. Ribot has maintained,<sup>1</sup> that it is in the great Christian mystics only that attention attains the maximum of which it is capable. In it alone the voluntary has become entirely spontaneous. He holds that the balance and productiveness of the mystic's mind in this sphere is the highest which that complicated machine can reach. It is this equipoise and fertility in the field of attention which marks for him the value of this type—but how he explains its apparent soundness, if the conscious suppositions on which such a growth is based are mere illusions, remains a mystery. For the ordinary man it will seem a compelling conclusion, that the mystic is on the whole right, if it can be proved that only in such types of mind does man come to his greatest activity and his fullest peace.

But this argument should rather be used to authenticate religion as a whole than mysticism in particular, since other sorts of religious soul than the purely mystic have the same experience of perfect stability along with enhanced energy drawn from what they regard as a supernatural source. And, indeed, it can only accredit the *Christian* mystic,

<sup>1</sup> *Psychologie de l'attention*, F. Alcan.

for whom the outgoing movement is as essential as the 'returning and rest', and not the mere quietist whether Eastern or Western. So that the value of Miss Underhill's work in this sphere is rather to convey a general impression of the attractiveness of Mysticism than to drive home the real argument which may be based on a study of religious psychology. But this is as far as it goes a great gain, and her work should receive a wide welcome.

J. L. JOHNSTON.

### CHRYSOSTOM ON 1 CORINTHIANS i 13.

IN view of the uncertainty as to St Paul's meaning, when he says to the Corinthians *Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός*, evidenced by our texts, versions, and commentaries in England, it may be worth while to ask for a re-examination of the treatment of the passage by Chrysostom. Our own readiness to consider the alternative interpretation mentioned by him, and our estimate of the importance which he himself attached to it, will both be influenced by a careful noting of the interpretation which he first gives, and of the tone, whether of confidence or of hesitation, in which he gives it. We may also gain something by observing what interpretations he wholly ignores.

The passage of his Third Homily with which we have to do runs as follows :—

'But that they were doing wrong in assigning themselves to this and that person is evident; and he had good right to address to them the rebuke, You do not well in saying "I belong to Paul, and I to Apollos, and I to Cephas": but what made him add, "and I to Christ"? For if those who assigned themselves to men were doing wrong, surely their wrongdoing was not shared by those who referred themselves to Christ. What he was finding fault with, however, was not their claiming Christ as their own Patron (*ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπεφήμυζον*), but their not all claiming Him alone. And I think that the words "And I to Christ" are an addition of the Apostle's own making (to what the Corinthians actually said), due to his desire to make the charge against them weightier, and to shew that according to this way of thinking (*οὕτω*) Christ too had been given merely as one part (*εἰς μέρος δοθέντα ἓν*), although they were not doing this in such wise (*οὕτως*, i.e. in this glaring and palpable manner). For that *this* was what he meant he made evident by the following words, "Has Christ been made a *part* (*μεμέρισται*)?" What he means (by putting this question) is something of this sort, "You have cut Christ to pieces, and broken up His body". Do you see his strong feeling, the vehemence of his rebuke, the indignation with which his language is filled? For whenever, instead of framing

a charge, he simply puts a question, he does so to mark his sense that the absurdity of the thing admits of no doubt.

Some, however, say that he would convey quite a different thought by saying, *Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός*; that by *μεμέρισται* he means "divided up and shared the Church with men, taking one part Himself and giving them another".

(Chrysostom proceeds to consider the next words *Μὴ Παῦλος ἔσται-ρώθη κτλ.*)

A careful perusal of this passage will shew that Chrysostom suggests two ways of taking the question *Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός*; (He apparently has no doubt at all that it *is* a question.)

(a) According to the first interpretation *μεμέρισται* is equivalent to *εἰς μέρος δέδοται ἔν*, to adapt his own way of putting it—'Has Christ been given as one part?' By saying 'I belong to Paul, I to Apollos, I to Cephas', you have been rending us, who are His members, away from His body, and leaving Him as a *mere part* of it. This would seem to be the meaning of the words *εἰς μέρος δοθέντα ἔν*. The Corinthians had 'assigned themselves' to this or that Christian teacher, to this or that member of the Body, as though he were (to them) the head: they had 'cut it up' *εἰς μέρη*, leaving Christ Himself to be but one *μέρος*. To make it clear to them that this is what they were doing St Paul has put in *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ*, though they had none of them put forward this claim. By the words *κατετέμετε τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ διείλετε αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα* he is not giving a second paraphrase of *μεμέρισται*. The *word* he has already explained by *εἰς μέρος δοθέντα ἔν*. He is telling them that they cannot claim to *belong to* (to 'be of') a member of Christ without virtually cutting off that member and making him into a *quasi*-head separate from the body. And by doing this they are regarding Christ Himself as having been given (by the Father) 'as one part' and not as the whole Salvation of all. They are denying that 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of the Glory . . . gave *Him* as Head over all things to the Church' (Eph. i 22). And the word *δοθέντα* shews that *μεμέρισται* is the (supposed) act of *God*. 'Do you mean to say that God has given His Son as *part* only of the world's salvation? that Paul and Apollos and Cephas are co-ordinate parts of the great gift?'

It is of importance, then, to observe that Chrysostom does not treat *μεμέρισται* as the act of the Corinthian Christians 'dividing' Christ; and that he does not take the second *ὁ Χριστός* as meaning the mystical Body of the Lord. Indeed, the rendering adopted by the A. V. and R. V. does not seem to have occurred to him, any more than the possibility of taking the words otherwise than interrogatively (with Westcott

and Hort's text and R. V. margin). Moreover, he evidently thinks that the question 'Does Christ constitute a part (of the Father's gift)?' would be pointless had there actually been a party at Corinth claiming to differ from the other parties in belonging to Christ. The existence of such a party, with the three others claiming other heads, would have been an open avowal that Christ was no more than a co-ordinate part of man's salvation.

The first interpretation of *μεμέρισται* put forward by Chrysostom is not materially different from that adopted from Evans in the latest utterance of an English scholar on the subject in the 'International Critical Commentary'. These scholars agree with Chrysostom, in avoiding the rendering of our Versions of 1611 and 1881.

Chrysostom, it will be noticed, says hardly anything in support of his own explanation of *μεμέρισται* and bases it upon a guess (*οἶμαι*) which will scarcely win general approval.

(*b*) Having thus briefly explained the question with *μεμέρισται* treated as a Passive, he proceeds to tell us that some maintained that the Apostle used the verb here not as a Passive but as a Middle. He at all events does not forbid us to ask what these scholars could urge in favour of their view.

1. Did the Greek language allow of it? The Middle Voice *μερίζομαι* is perfectly familiar in the sense of 'sharing with others' or 'receiving a share'. So, in 1 Sam. xxx 24, we read *κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ μεριοῦνται*, 'they shall share alike'; and in Proverbs xxix 24 *ὃς μερίζεται κλέπτῃ*, 'he who goes shares with a thief'.

2. Would such an idea be familiar to a Corinthian audience in the reign of Claudius? The Roman Empire was, indeed, fast making the world forget its past, but the career of Alexander must have bulked larger in the Greek world than that of Napoleon in Europe. And had Napoleon not been overthrown but left an Empire for his Marshals to share, the fact of being ruled by the descendants of these men would have burnt the idea into the different peoples. Men living in a world ruled so long by Antiochi, and Ptolemies and the rest, would be quick to catch a speaker's meaning when he asked 'Do you regard such an one as an Alexander or as a Ptolemy?' A Greek historian, who flourished in the time of Julius Caesar, writing of these Diadochi uses these words:—*τῶν μεμερισμένων τὰς σατραπείας Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ἀκινδύνως παρέλαβε τὴν Αἴγυπτον* (Diodorus xviii 14); and a little later: *ὁ Περδίκκας . . . παρέδωκε τὴν σατραπείαν Εὐμένει τῷ Καρδιανῷ, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν μεμερισμένος* (xviii 16). These examples shew, were it necessary, how little the Passive can lay claim to sole possession of *μεμέρισται*. Can we doubt that a Greek hearing the words *ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει Ἐγὼ μὲν*

εἰμι Παύλου, Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ. Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; might easily take the question to mean 'Is Christ One who has received *but a share* of an empire?' 'Are Paul and Apollos on a level with Him, as Ptolemy with Eumenes and Antigonos?'

3. The synonym used by Chrysostom for μερίζομαι, meaning 'I go shares with', suggests another division of empire familiar to Greeks. The famous Myth in the *Gorgias* begins διενείμαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ ὁ Πλούτων, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβον (523 A). Among writers who have come down to us, Plutarch, Eusebius, and Theodoret quote this Myth in whole or in part (see Thompson's note). May not an Athenian or a Corinthian audience have been almost as much at home with this Myth as with the fact that Greek generals had shared the Empire of Alexander?

4. If μεμέρισται be Middle, we escape the necessity of supposing, as the Passive obliges us to do, that, instead of Christians being spoken of as belonging to Christ, Christ is spoken of as belonging to them—as apportioned to them, instead of they to Him. After 'I belong to Paul . . . and I to Christ', it is surely far more fitting to ask 'Has Christ *shared* you?' than 'Has Christ been *apportioned* to you?' This latter question presupposes the claims 'Paul belongs to me . . . Christ to me'. This is a difficulty about the Passive which commentators as a rule ignore.

5. Nor is it otherwise with regard to the questions which follow. If Christ shared men with Paul, so that they can say 'I belong to Paul', then Paul must have somewhat to shew equivalent to the Cross, by the Blood of which Christ purchased us. If they are 'not their own' but 'Paul's', Paul must be able to point to the price which he paid for them. And their Baptism must testify before God and man that 'the fair Name called on them' was that of Paul. When like Paul himself they 'arose and were baptized and got their sins washed away', they cannot, like him, have 'called upon them the Name of the Lord Jesus' but they must have ascribed themselves to Paul.

6. The burden of the earlier part of 1 Corinthians is a renunciation by St Paul on his own and on Apollos's behalf of any position but one of *subordination* to God and Christ. He tells them that he and Apollos are 'God's team' (of oxen); that they are *God's* tilth, *God's* building: that '*servants* through whom ye believed', '*agents* of Christ', '*stewards* of mysteries of God' are the loftiest titles apostles can claim.

7. With the pronouns crowding before and after the question, there is no difficulty in supplying ἑμᾶς. But the pronoun could not have been inserted without detracting from the force of the indignant question: 'Has Christ taken part in a "partitioning"?''

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## THE EXAGGERATION OF ERRORS IN THE MASSORETIC.

IN this paper it is suggested that in the admittedly difficult passages of the Old Testament the consonantal text is not so corrupt as many interpreters assume, and that the following examples are sufficiently representative to shew that errors are generally due to the confusion of letters similar in sound or form, to the wrong division of consonants, wrong pointing, dittography, reminiscence, or dogmatic alteration. Then, there are a number of words now regarded as errors which are really only dialectic variations of spelling; these will be considered in a separate paragraph. I refer to the interchange of the letters  $\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\kappa$ : the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine Aramaic papyri shew that the interchange was more prevalent than we had hitherto believed, and that, even in one and the same document, e.g.  $\epsilon\zeta$  and  $\kappa\epsilon$  in the Senjirli, and  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  and  $\kappa\mu\epsilon$ , equal Hebrew  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ , in the Elephantine. That the several writers of the Old Testament should be free from these dialect influences is improbable from a historical point of view; and even assuming that the spelling was gradually unified, it is equally improbable that some instances were not overlooked. It is pointed out in Gesenius (*Gram.* Oxf. 1898, p. 27) that the sequence of certain letters in the Hebrew alphabet indicates an attempt at classification: I should give the same reason for the position of  $\epsilon$  after  $\phi$  in Lam. ii–iv, for the letters were closely related by their interchange; and this may also account for the LXX departure from the Mas. (Massoretic) in placing  $\epsilon$  before  $\zeta$  in Prov. xxxi 25. The question why Lam. i retains the usual order of the letters is literary and not textual, and therefore beyond the scope of this paper. On this dialectic point I should refer the reader to Dr Driver's lucid notes and foot-notes on 1 Sam. i 6 in *Notes Heb. T. B. S.* ed. 1913.

(a) In Isa. xli 21 the difficult  $\epsilon\zeta\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$  is explained by many as an error for  $\epsilon\zeta\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$  *your idols*, after Jerome *idola vestra*, by others as meaning *defences*, after the Arabic. Though the former view assumes a unique form and the latter a unique meaning in Biblical Hebrew, both are possible. It is, however, strange that the two other Versions should have been ignored, for G. (LXX)  $\alpha\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\mu\omega\omicron\nu$ , and P.  $\epsilon\zeta\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$  certainly imply the consonants transposed, viz.  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$ , which the latter Version represents by the same word in five out of the seven occurrences. The rendering of the Targum,  $\epsilon\zeta\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$  *visions, prognostics, prophecies*, is very strange, for this version is generally literal when not paraphrastic or Midrashic; and the simple way of explaining it is that it read the  $\epsilon$  as  $\kappa$ , i. e.  $\epsilon\zeta\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$ , which in Syr. and Targ. means *vaticinium*. This





natural sense. The correction לַצֶּרֶךְ כָּלִי for נִצְרָה בָּלו after G. (Kit. Bib. Hebr.) does not account for καθαρισθ.

Ps. xix 5. קִנִּים cannot mean *their circuit*, nor does it go with the parallel; hence, very many commentators regard it as an error for קָלָם. But this has serious difficulties: (a) it is improbable, though possible, that the same word would be used in two consecutive lines, (b) the error is also improbable, (c) is it conceivable that when the author has obviously tried to use as many different words as he could think of which express *utterance*, viz. סֵפֶר, נִנְיָ, נִבֵּעַ, חוּהוּ, אִמֶּר, דִּבֶּר, קוֹל, מִלֵּל, that he would leave out so well-known a word as צִנִּיָּה? It is quite clear that the ק is here the equivalent of the Hebrew צ, i. e. צִנִּים, though it is difficult to decide whether it is original or an error of an Aramaic-speaking copyist. If this view be correct, צִי and קִי in Isa. xxviii 10-13 look like a satire on the mixed peoples to whom the Prophet was speaking, some pronouncing the same word one way and others another. The words לַעֲנִי שֹׁפֵה and לִשְׁוֹן אַחֲרָה, and the Aramaism וְעִיר seem to support this explanation, though the exegesis of the section still remains obscure.

xxix 18. עָם קִנִּי אֲנִי. P. translates the line twice: **حاصل محصل** and **سأكون منكم**, the second implying קִנִּי with ק, the first עָנִי. The meaning of the first rendering is, 'I shall remove to a poor nation', implying עָם עֲנִי אֲנִי. Here also it is difficult to say whether the translator had two alternative readings before him or knew that the letters were often so used.

(b) 1 Sam. i 18. Taking the verb in the clause הָיָה לָהּ in the usual sense, it is admittedly difficult to make any sense of the line. Many, relying on G. συνέπεσεν, alter הָיָה into נָפַל. Such an error is improbable, and the Greek may represent the Arabic sense *to fall*, which is so used in Job xxxvii 6; it is no more strange that הָיָה should be used in the sense of נָפַל than it is for the latter to be used in the sense of the former in Ruth iii 18. The Vulg. translation of לֹא הָיוּ לָהּ עוֹד *non sunt amplius in diversa mutata* suggests that הָיָה was without the vowel letter in the translator's copy, and he read the two words הָיָה לָהּ from הָיָה, retaining the second radical as in בָּיָה, and giving the word the meaning which it has in Arab. حَالَ and in the Talmud חוּל. P. **نصب ح** implies the same root.

1 Kings xii 8. אֲשֶׁר הָעֲמִידִים is certainly improbable syntax, but it is rash to strike out אֲשֶׁר as Dr Burney does; the second word was meant to be read הָעֲמִידִים 'whom he had already made to attend' on him.

2 Kings vi 11. מִשְׁלָנִי, G. *προδίδωσίν με*; from which Klosterm. and others infer מִנִּלְנִי the equation of the correction with the Greek is improbable, and so is the error implied by the correction, and the Mas. consonants are original. It is quite natural to expect an Aramaean to use Aramaic, hence תַּחֲנִיתִי in v. 8 is a slip for the Aram. תַּחֲנִיתִי, and so is מִשְׁלָנִי for the Aram. שְׁלָמִי. Compare Syr. Hex. **معلم**.

Isa. ii 16. שְׂכִיּוֹת הַחֲמֹדָה. G. θεᾶν πλοίων κάλλους. It seems clear that the Greek represents two translations, θεᾶ. a form of שָׁכָה and πλοί., a word which means 'ship'; but as there is no such word in Hebrew with this meaning, many regard שְׂכִיּוֹת as an error for קְפִינוֹת. As far as I know, no one has explained how G. came to use θεᾶ. if כָּפִי were before the translator, so I presume we must assume that he had two MSS, one with the Mas. reading and one with כָּפִי, which view diminishes the trustworthiness of the Mas. I contend that G. had the Mas. form only, and πλ. represents the well-known Egyptian word, of which there are several variants, in Semitic consonants, שֶׁכַּח, שֶׁכַּחִי, שֶׁכַּח, שֶׁכַּח, meaning not only the sacred bark but also an ordinary ship, such as a tug (Brugsch *Hieroglyph.-demot. Wört.* p. 1327, Suppl. p. 1142). I have shewn elsewhere that the problematic פְּרוֹת Isa. xix. 7, as well as the second יָאֵר in this verse, are well-known Egyptian words, though of course the vowels of יָאֵר for the Nile and יָאֵר fruit are unknown at present (*Orient. Literaturz.* 1912, p. 496).

Isa. iii. 6. וְהִכְבִּישָׁהּ הוֹאֵת. G. καὶ τὸ βρῶμα τὸ ἐμόν is said to imply וְהִכְבִּישָׁהּ (Gray, *Int. Crit. Com.*), an improbable error on the part either of Mas. or of G., but the latter obviously gave a free rendering of וְהִכְבִּישָׁהּ הוֹ.

lvii 9. וְתִשָּׁרִי. The rendering, 'And thou wentest to the king with oil' (RV.), is somewhat difficult, for this can hardly be a crime; then, the next line implies that the oil was used in some way for personal adornment. So many recent commentators regard it as an error for וְתִסְכִּי, which is said to be implied by *ornasti unguento* (Sym. Vulg.). But why change the Mas. consonants? Pointing וְתִשָּׁרִי it means 'and thou art moist', or *saturated*, with oil to please the king. From the root שָׁרָה (see etymology in Oxf. Lex.) we have מִשְׁרָת Num. vi 3. The Prophet uses this word in satire; not the ordinary anointing, but a soaking in it.

Hos. viii 6. מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וְהוּא. The several interpretations and emendations do not as yet satisfy many sober critics, and nothing seems to suit the context better than the reading מִי שׁוֹר אֵל 'For who is the bull god, whom but a craftsman has made, but really he is not אֱלֹהִים?' It seems probable that in the extremely difficult verse, xiii 1, רַחַת is a dogmatic alteration of תִּרְחַת, which alludes to Jeroboam's plans and actions as recorded in 1 Kings xii 26-33, and a pious Jew would regard this term as an insult to God's law. Then reading מִי שׁוֹר אֵל the verse would mean, 'When Ephraim uttered religious injunctions he was beguiled by the bull god'.

xi 4. The last clause beginning with וְאֵם is admittedly obscure, and the unique form אוֹכִיל is suspicious. One of the several suggestions offered to make it intelligible is to read וְאֵם. I think the Mas. pointing

is right; it is meant for the adverb from אטט, and the reading of three Kenn. MSS אוכל for אוכל confirms this. The line means, 'and I am ever leading them gently': cf. 1 Kings xxi 27, Gen. xxxiii 14.

xiii 2. לָהֶם הֵם אֹמְרִים. A number of suggestions and emendations on this difficult clause are given in Harper's commentary (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*). He himself adds a fresh line. Duhm reads in the next clause וְבָחֻז for Mas. וְבָחֻז, and interprets the two clauses as meaning that the people cry out, 'Offer sacrifices to them, a man is to kiss a calf'. Such wording and syntax is not very creditable to a poet who, according to Duhm, could write in metre and different strophic schemes. The line in question is too prosy; then, one expects the speaker, who is supposed to appeal to the people, to be a person of authority, such as a priest or an elder; nor is it probable that the author would have used an imper. and jussive, referring to the same person, in one clause. The same subject in Isa. xli 6-7, where the rare word הָלַם is used, suggests that the repetition of the letters ה, ל, מ in the line beginning with בָּלָה, made the copyist write the ל of לָהֶם before the ה instead of after it, i. e. פָּלְתוּהוּ לָהֶם אֹמְרִים 'all they (craftsmen) that hammer them say', satirically, they who are so cruel as to sacrifice human beings have tenderness enough to kiss mere dumb animals. Compare Chézy's fine translation of the passage in Isaiah in Haupt's *SBOT*.

Amos iii 12. וְכִבְרֵי מִשְׁקַע עֵרֶשׁ. I venture to think that the generally accepted view that the ב of כִּבְרֵי follows כַּפֹּת is open to question. One expects עַל, and the first half of the verse makes it more natural that the ב should follow יִנְצְלוּ: 'so will they who dwell in Samaria be saved with only so much as the corner of a bedstead or the cross-piece (or pole) of the leg of a couch', reading 'עֵרֶשׁ' וְכִבְרֵי מִשְׁקַע. To what particular part of the couch כִּבְרֵי refers it is hard to say, but we know that poles were used for carrying it, and side-pieces were used to secure the legs and other parts. See Pollen *Furniture and Woodwork* i pp. 21, 24, and illustrations 1, 8, 10, 37, 38. A recently-discovered Egyptian couch of the twelfth Dynasty is described as having its two sides strutted apart by curved pieces of wood, and the head-board is secured by two bent wood angle-pieces (*British School of Archaeol. in Egypt*, 1912, p. 35 f).

Ps. ix 7, 8. The difficulties in v. 7 are obvious, and Buhl (*Kit. Bibl. Hebr.*) considers the whole verse to be corrupt; but as the next four verses begin with dittograms the scribe may have made a slip of transposition in this verse, and the original was עֵרֶמוֹ and הָאֵל בְּתִימֹל; עֵרֶמוֹ is wrongly divided, viz. הָאֵל בְּתִימֹל: הָאֵל בְּתִימֹל. This is just what one exulting over a crushed enemy would say, 'Lo, their homes are ruined for ever; thou hast overthrown their cities; the memory of them has perished. Ha, Jehovah', &c.

cxix 11. יִשְׁפָּןִי. It must be admitted that the verb does not go with שָׁן, but the correction יִשְׁפָּןִי, after Sym. Jerome and ἄλλος, is unnecessary: the Mas. means the same, if read correctly, viz. יִשְׁפָּןִי, from שָׁן, also שָׁן Deut. xxxiii 19. This reading is indirectly confirmed by the curious rendering of P. سَفِهَ, which is after the Arab. سَفَى, to be *thin, transparent, translucent*.

Job xiii 14. עַל כֵּן. As the verse states the very opposite of what is required by the context, many regard the words as a repetition of the end of v. 13; so Driver in his *Book of Job in the Rev. Vers.* Their absence in G. is by itself no evidence, for the translator may have omitted them by dittography. I think it is but just to the Mas. that we should first understand the meaning of these antique figures of speech. The first occurs only here; the second three times elsewhere (Judges xii 3, 1 Sam. xix 5, xxviii 21), but if we once know the exact sense of the latter we shall also know that of the former. In a paper on *Egyptian Words and Idioms in the Book of Job, Orient. Literaturz.*, Aug. 1913, p. 343, I have pointed out that a passage in a fourteenth-century B. C. papyrus shews that the meaning is, 'I am going to face a great danger; I must therefore take extra care of my soul, and keep it in my hand'; and, by inference, the first simile means the same, the figure, no doubt, having its origin in the habit of animals to carry off their prey in their teeth for fear of another animal taking it from them. Thus the verse means simply, Why should I take extra care of my body and soul; I do not mind risking them; 'Behold, let Him kill me, I am not terrified' (v. 15 reading לֹא אֶתֵּירָא). Duhm, in his commentary, explains the first simile as having its origin in the fact that when an animal cannot save itself by flight it defends itself with the teeth, but this does not account for the use of אֶתֵּירָא. He strikes out מִיָּד.

xv 11. The *consolations* are said to mean the comforting revelation spoken of in iv 12 f, and the gentle manner in which Eliphaz speaks in that chapter. Is this convincing? Job protests against the unjust afflictions; can those commonplace words be regarded as comforts? If its original had been the Mas. it is not likely that G. would have made the translation ἀλίγα ὧν ἡμάρτηκας μεμαστίγῳσαι, μεγάλως ὑπερβαλλόντως λελάληκας. V. is paraphrastic, and gives no clue to shew what the original was. It is obviously guessing; and the same may be said of P., except that it clearly reads הִמְעָן, the imper. As it is clear that G. read some form of נִבְּהָ, G. and P. suggest that in the first line the consonants are wrongly divided, viz. הִמְעָן מִכֶּבֶת נְהִמוֹת אֵל 'Deduct from the afflictions God's comforting-deeds'. G. Bickell, in his earlier work, strikes out אֵל; in his later work he alters מִכֶּבֶת into לֵךְ. Duhm transposes the verse to produce some sense and the desired tetrastich. If my reading of the first line be correct, עַם must have fallen out by

dittography before עֵמֶךְ, viz. וְדָבָר לֹא טָעַם עֵמֶךְ. The whole verse means, 'Deduct from the scourges God's comforts (good things of life), and thy pleading is without discernment'. תְּנַחֲמוֹת occurs only here and xxi 2, in which latter passage there is also an error in the division of the consonants.

In xxi 16 בְּיָדָם טוֹבִים has rightly caused much perplexity, as being the opposite of what the context suggests, and has given rise to transposition of verses and theories of glosses. It is merely a dogmatic alteration of the irreverent utterance which Job puts into the mouth of the wicked: 'Behold, He does not give the good things with His own hands', i. e. בְּיָדוֹמְטֵיכֶם. The same may be said of the unique בְּרִיּוֹ, the meaning of which is uncertain. The required word is בְּרִיּוֹ: 'His own eyes "gaze on his affluence": what does he care what will happen to his children when he is dead'? With this agrees וַיִּמְחַמֵּת, i. e. וַיִּמְחַמֵּתָא (cf. xxix 6) for the Mas. וַיִּמְחַמֵּת.

Dan. iv 5. וְעַד אַחֲרָיו. As the verb אָחַר does not occur in Biblical Aramaic, nor, as far as I know, in Aramaic inscriptions and papyri, the punctators probably thought only of the adverbs and adjectives; hence the alternative spelling and the strange punctuation. But it is obvious that as the preceding verse speaks of many astrologers and soothsayers, the phrase naturally means, 'and while they—those spoken of in v. 4—were tarrying', for the king had not yet dismissed them, 'Daniel entered'. The pointing is אַחֲרָיו, partic.

Though Ecclus. is uncanonical and copyists would be less careful with the text than with that of the inspired Word of God, the errors in it may also be exaggerated, though, it is true, I have not studied it long enough to speak with confidence. Yet one passage, the emendation of which seems to be accepted by the most competent, may shew that the text deserves reconsideration. I may suggest in passing that an epigrammatic writing like this is more difficult to interpret than a historical or poetic work, and is therefore exposed to the additions of a glossator. In l 18 הָעֵרִיבוּ נָרוֹ, which is very obscure, has been emended הָעֵרִיבוּ רָנָה by Schechter with a note of interrogation after it, conjectured from G. ἡγλυνάνθη μέλος, though G. never renders the Heb. רָנָה so. As it is quite clear that the Version is giving merely the sense of the whole verse and not a literal translation, it is not legitimate to impute an error to the scribe, especially as רָנָה does not occur in Biblical Hebrew. I take it that G. gives a free rendering of the MS consonants divided thus: הָעֵרִיבָה נָרוֹ; as שִׁיר in the first line is a collective, meaning the choir, and the verb is singular, so it would also be here; cf. Ps. lvii 9, cviii 3. The error is due to reminiscence of the technical phrase in Exod. xxvii 21, Lev. xxiv 3, 4.

N. HERZ.

## REVIEWS

## THE SIXTINE BIBLE.

*Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 : eine quellenmässige Darstellung ihrer Geschichte, mit neuem Quellenmaterial aus dem Venezianischen Staatsarchiv.* Von Dr FRIDOLIN AMANN, geistlicher Lehrer und Lehramtspraktikant am Bertholdsgymnasium zu Freiburg im Breisgau. Freiburg i. B., 1912: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung (B. Herder, 68 Great Russell Street, W.C.)

THE controversy over the Bull 'Aeternus ille' has not been closed by the monograph of Dr Baumgarten, to which attention was drawn in the JOURNAL of April last.<sup>1</sup> In *Études*<sup>2</sup> for October 5, 1912, M. Le Bachelet returns to the charge, and persists that the Bull was never formally promulgated. Much that he adduces is only hearsay evidence—several cardinals told Bellarmine that it had not been really published, other people made the same assertion publicly, &c.; against which it must always be remembered that it was to the interest of many to prove that the Bull was not a valid document, of none to shew that it was. But M. Le Bachelet is on stronger ground when he shews that there is a difference between the printing and even the public exhibition of a Papal Bull, and its 'publication' in the strict canonical sense; certainly it is a suspicious fact that the 'Aeternus ille' was not inserted in the Bullarium. M. Le Bachelet suggests that its own closing sentences interfered with its complete 'publication'; for after ordering due exhibition at Rome the Bull provided that its clauses were to affect 'intra quatuor menses eos qui citra montes sunt; qui vero ultra montes, intra octo menses a die publicationis huiusmodi numerandos'. The Bull was dated March 1, 1590, and so would not come into effect outside Italy till November 1; but Sixtus died on August 27, and it was withdrawn very soon after his death: and so in a sense it was never fully promulgated. M. Le Bachelet, however, thus concedes that in Italy the Bull must have been in force since July 1.

A different explanation is offered by Dr Fr. Amann, who has given us a detailed history of the rise and fall of the Sixtine Bible, founded not merely on the materials furnished by Le Bachelet and Baumgarten, but also on a large amount of correspondence between the Doge of Venice and Alberto Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, which is now published for the first time. Dr Amann's book is no dry collection of data; it is a vivid and interesting history. We are shewn the Revision

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xiv p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Études*, tom. 133 p. 63.

Commission at work, honestly trying to settle the true Hieronymian text by the aid of the most ancient MSS; and the masterful old Pope getting anxious, and then angry, at the lengths to which the revision was going. Stormy scenes followed, and on one occasion he even threatened Cardinal Carafa with the Inquisition; at length, in November 1588, he decided to relieve the Commission of their task and undertake it all himself, notwithstanding the weight of official business that was pressing on him. Spite of his other labours he worked at the revision with feverish energy, and so overtaxed his secretary, Angelo Rocca, that he grew ill and nearly died—was, in fact, four times given over by the doctors. Within a year Sixtus had revised the whole Bible, though, as the printers in the Vatican Press could not keep pace with him, it was not till the following spring, May 1590, that the book was ready for publication. Critically, it was a compromise between the ordinary current text and that of the Commission, though here and there the Pope introduced readings that agreed with neither.

There is no sign that he felt any doubts as to his ability and fitness for the work; for some time the belief in papal Infallibility had been gaining ground at Rome, and Sixtus himself espoused the doctrine eagerly, and was vehemently opposed to the more moderate theologians who would assign to the Pope only a 'potestas indirecta'. Yet no sooner was the Bible published than opposition shewed itself. Naturally the members of the Revision Commission viewed with disfavour an edition which ignored so much of their own careful work. Spain again used all her diplomatic power against the book: Philip II and Sixtus V were already violently opposed to each other, and the new Bible with its accompanying Bull formed an excellent excuse for further quarrelling. And Venice viewed with alarm the injury to her printers and booksellers which would result from the prohibition to print the Bible for the next ten years elsewhere than at the Vatican Press. Badoer, the Venetian ambassador, begged the Pope to issue a new Bull. But this the Pope absolutely refused to do; he said he would die rather than withdraw the 'Aeternus ille'; the utmost concession he would make was to promise that he would delay its execution for a while so as not to injure the Venetian tradesmen.

Then, on August 27, 1590, Pope Sixtus died; on September 5 the Congregation of Cardinals stopped all further sales of the Bible, and the other measures prescribed in the Bull were suspended. At the end of the year Bellarmine's advice was followed; though the Sixtine Bible was not officially prohibited—a proceeding which he considered as derogatory to Papal authority and the interests of the Church—as many copies as possible were bought up and destroyed; and it was decided to revise the text rapidly, issue a new edition under Sixtus's name, and



state in the preface that the previous edition had been found to contain a number of misprints ; and that it had been Sixtus's own intention to bring out a revised Bible such as this now offered to the faithful. The rest of the history is well known.

Against Le Bachelet, Dr Amann maintains that there can be no reasonable doubt of the due publication and promulgation of the Bull ; he is convinced that the publishing of separate printed copies is sufficient to prove this. But he allows that the Venetian correspondence shews that Sixtus, within a few days of his death, was consenting to delay the practical working of the Bull ; he promised that the Venetian book-sellers should not be bound by it ; and, no doubt, there were many people in Papal circles who imagined that this step would lead to others, and that he would materially alter the Bull, if not ultimately withdraw it.

We are afraid that Bellarmine even now cannot be acquitted of false statement and suggestion in his famous preface to the Clementine edition ; yet it is possible that he may have been partly misled by others on his arrival in Rome a few months after Pope Sixtus's death.

H. J. WHITE.

## MYSTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN.

*Jewish Mysticism.* By J. ABELSON, M.A., D.Litt. (G. Bell, 1913.)

THE Principal of Aria College has made a valuable addition to 'The Quest' Series, which is being edited by Mr G. R. S. Mead. Dr Abelson, in lucid style and with competent method, introduces the theologian to certain elements in Judaism which are liable to be neglected. The author has dealt with part of his subject before. His treatise *The Immanence of God in Rabbinic Literature* (Macmillan, 1912) has established his claim to a high place among Jewish theologians. His new book is much smaller, but it covers a far wider ground. In it he describes mystical tendencies in Judaism from the age of the Essenes in ancient Palestine to the epoch of Neo-Hassidism in eighteenth-century Poland. Dr Abelson refuses to accept the view that mysticism was an aberration, something alien to the genuine spirit of Judaism. After mentioning the foreign influences which went to the making of the Zohar—among them Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, and Sufism—Dr Abelson remarks (p. 119):—

'Be this as it may, we must be on our guard against following the mistaken opinion of a certain set of Jewish theologians who would have us regard the whole of the mediaeval Kabbalah (of which the

*Zohar* is a conspicuous and representative part) as a sudden and strange importation from without. It is really a continuation of the old stream of Talmudic and Midrashic thought with the admixture of extraneous elements picked up, as was inevitable, by the stream's course through many lands—elements the commingling of which must have, in many ways, transformed the original colour and nature of the stream.'

This is a reasonable view, which ought to prevail against the attempt of Graetz to identify Judaism with rationalism. In order, however, to assert this mystical continuity in the history of Jewish thought, Dr Abelson employs the term 'mysticism' vaguely; nor does he adequately consider the fact that underlying mysticism there was a metaphysic just as much as was the case with scholasticism. He does not attempt to grapple with the metaphysical problem, and to that extent it cannot be held that he has proved his case. When, however, we accept his use of the word as identical with inwardness and intuition, an 'immediate and first-hand experience of God', then his main contention is demonstrated. Indeed, even on the philosophical side, Dr Abelson is perfectly justified in regarding mediaeval Jewish mysticism as a check on scholasticism, on the deteriorating effects of the tyranny of Aristotle over Jewish thought, a tyranny, by the way, which was broken by Maimonides, the most anti-mystical of mediaeval Jews. If Thomas Aquinas was able to weld Aristotelianism on to his own system, it was largely because Maimonides had led the way in refusing to accept Aristotle's theory of Creation. Mysticism was one philosophy set up against another. But, with this proviso, there is much force in what Dr Abelson says (p. 15):—

'The check came in the shape of mysticism. It corrected the balance. It showed that Judaism was a religion of the *feelings* as well as of the intellect. It showed that the Jew's eternal quest was not to be right with Aristotle, but to be right with God. It showed that Judaism has a place not only for Reason but for Love too. It showed that the ideal life of the Jew was, not a life of outward harmony with rules and prescriptions, but a life of inward attachment to a Divine Life which is immanent everywhere, and that the crown and consummation of all effort consists in finding a direct way to the actual presence of God.'

It will be observed that in this passage, as in many other parts of his book, Dr Abelson uses his terms without precision. But for this very reason his work will prove the more serviceable. He presents some of the least known, yet not the least characteristic, features of Judaism. He not only analyses with care the contents of the Chariot Mysticism (Ezek. i), the Cosmological Mysticism as formulated in the Book *Yeşirah* (Creation) and other works, the Ten Sefiroth, but above all the *Zohar*, the Mystical Commentary on the Pentateuch, which

took its present form at the end of the thirteenth century. In his account of the Zohar, Dr Abelson perhaps underrates the erotic element as much as Mr A. E. Waite in his *Secret Doctrine in Israel* overrates it. But besides his useful analysis of the mystical documents and forms just enumerated, the author discusses such supremely important conceptions as the Kingdom of Heaven, the Personification of Wisdom, the beautiful idea of the Over-Soul. Fine quotations, finely rendered, abound. To sum up, Dr Abelson has given us an excellent introduction to his subject, and has included within the covers of a small volume a large mass of material, as attractive in itself as in the style of presentation.

I. ABRAHAMS.

*Mysticism in Christianity.* By W. K. FLEMING, M.A., B.D. (Robert Scott, 1913.)

*Mysticism in English Literature.* By CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON. (Cambridge University Press, 1913.)

THESE books are further evidence of the increased interest taken nowadays in the mystical tradition of religious thought and life. Both writers have what is most needed in any discussion of this subject, viz. a spiritual sympathy with their subject. Both believe that the 'truth' of Mysticism (to use a handy Hegelian phrase) is best conserved by Christianity. It is almost a pity that Mr Fleming has not used his great gifts in a discussion of Christianity and Mysticism as systems of thought. The historical data have been already set out for us by the Dean of St Paul's. What we now need is the synthetic power to shew us how Christianity has had a distinctive effect on the world-wide mystical tradition as a way of life, and how mystical tendencies have had or should have had, now a good effect, now a bad effect, on Christian tradition. But Mr Fleming's book is in a 'Library of Historical Theology' and we cannot complain.

The perspective of the historical *résumé* has clearly been influenced by the fact that the book is meant for English readers, e.g. Why is not Dante mentioned? and why are English writers alone taken as representative of Modern Mysticism? Be that how it may, Mr Fleming has given us a sound book, which is likely to be very useful to those who find that Dr Inge's book presupposes a not inconsiderable acquaintance with philosophy. The points which seem to the reviewer to need systematic discussion are the following:—

1. If mysticism is the essence of all religion, then is it to be acquiesced in that 'there is an absence of mystical feeling in some Christians' (p. 27).

2. Just how is it that New Testament mysticism (e.g. St Paul's Christology) saved Absolutism from becoming bare absorption? What function did the Christian historical facts have in preventing this disaster? (p. 33).

3. Whence is it that Christian mysticism, alone of all mysticism, gives a real value to history and process and insists that its quietism should be the other side of moral and intellectual activity instead of the easily attained rest of mere forgetfulness? (p. 247).

4. What specific light does mysticism throw on the doctrine of the Son? Is the Son to be thought of with Clement and Origen as the 'Idea idearum'? what effect would this have on the theory of knowledge? (pp. 99 and 241).

5. What help has mysticism to give us towards a doctrine of the Absolute which is trinitarian? (pp. 121, 237, and 149).

6. What is the truth and what is the error in the mystical treatment of the doctrine of Evil? (p. 92).

7. How shall we relate the common mystical doctrine of the *Funklein*, or spark of divinity at the apex of the soul, to modern psychology? and to the process of Redemption? (p. 110).

8. Can Intuition be institutionalized? What laws can be gathered from Church History on this point? What is the right relation between practical, intellectual, and ritual symbolism in the production of the Christian experience? (pp. 246, 249, 218, 160, and 204).

There are misprints on pp. 6, 13, 66, and 179.

Miss Spurgeon is naturally more interested in the literary than in the theological aspects of mysticism. The book is written in a delightful style, and lures one on with its charms. Bare mention is made of great themes in a most suggestive way. The two main points which Miss Spurgeon looks for are (1) the feeling for Unity behind all diversity, and (2) the belief that as all things are manifestations of one divine life, everything can come to be sacramental. The subject is divided into—Love and Beauty mystics, Nature mystics, Philosophical mystics, Devotional and Religious mystics. The words about Coventry Patmore should win readers for that writer. His treatment of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation give his writing more than literary value. It would be an interesting subject to discuss the relative importance of nineteenth-century English literature in the maintenance of the flame of real religion during this period.

H. K. ARCHDALL.

## THE RULE OF ST BASIL.

*St Basil and his Rule.* By E. F. MORISON, B.D. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1912.)

*St Basil the Great.* By the Rev. W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1913.)

It is remarkable that within a space of a few months, the two first works on St Basil in English should proceed from the two University Presses. Both are concerned almost entirely with St Basil's monastic ideals, and, in both, these are well summarized and clearly arranged. The two writers disagree in critical questions only upon the unimportant *Ἀσκητικὴ Προδιατύπωσις*, which Mr Morison rejects on the ground that it is unworthy of such an author, and Mr Clarke accepts as an example of a preacher not at his best.

We are badly in need of good works on monasticism: few English studies of it go beyond descriptive antiquarianism. The popular prejudice against monks has blinded even historians to the beauty, the influence, and the intrinsic worth of their ideal. It is at this point that the two books fall apart. Mr Morison is too conscious of being on the defence; he is making out a case for monasticism: and while he displays its worth in the fourth century, he hardly touches seriously on Basil's influence on future ages, and he fails to convey a sense of the beauty of the great striving. Monasticism is a poem of aspiration and sacrifice running through Christian history, as vivid as the characters it produces. A dull book about it were a sin. Mr Morison has not quite committed it; but his book is so little pictorial that it leaves us even without a notice of what Basil himself was like.

The influence of the Basilian ideal is quite inadequately treated: and it is here perhaps that the greatest chance has been missed. The author rightly regards his subject as decisive for Christian monachism; it is a pity therefore that he mainly confines himself to uttering Basil's own words in English. The best chapter of the book is where he goes beyond these limits, and shews how Basil's conception of obedience, reproduced by all orders since, was related to the loss of respect for authority in his own days. Of St Basil's influence on St Benedict, obviously powerful and prevailing, we have but a mention; of the relations of the Asian communities to the Church—a matter of immense importance at such a genesis—we hear nothing.

Perhaps this criticism is not altogether fair. The writer has defined his object frankly as an examination of the *Ascetica*; and that he has done well. But Mr Clarke has done it no less well, and has put them

into a worthier setting. Most of the above review was written before the second book came to hand, and it is surprising to find how exactly Mr Clarke has supplied what one felt was missing in the first. Two chapters on 'Asceticism in the Early Church' and on 'Egyptian Monachism' introduce the problems of Basil's day, and pour strong light on to his decisive originality. The last three chapters, on his influence in East and West, do the same for his sure wisdom. The whole is a monograph of real excellence, vivid of style and sane of judgement. Nor do copious references and scrupulous acknowledgement of help from many quarters disguise the skill with which the author has gathered his facts together and seized on the issues that matter.

It is good to see that Mr Clarke disposes of the common misstatement that the Eastern monks to-day constitute, even in a vague sense, a Basilian Order. They are neither Basilians nor an Order. Actually it is the characteristically Basilian features of monasticism which have not appealed to the later mind of the Greek Church. The view of coenobitism, for instance, as the highest form of ascetic life, has governed the history of Western monasticism; in the East it is but one of three possible systems, and even then the eremitic ideal intrudes, as the higher, into the coenobitic houses. St Basil's actual rules are little studied, and form little part of the distinctive tradition which is the ruling power in an Eastern monastery; their spirit, mediated through St Benedict, has been continuously practised in the West. The Cappadocian has been a splendid builder of civilization through his insistence on works of charity and the giving of education; but only in the West. In no way can his greatness be better tested than by a comparison of his influence, and the fruits of it, in Eastern and Western monasticism.

E. MILNER-WHITE.

## THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION.

*The Continental Reformation in Germany, France, and Switzerland, from the birth of Luther to the death of Calvin.* By the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D. (Robert Scott, London, 1912.)

DR PLUMMER'S volume on the Continental Reformation deserves a cordial welcome. As a text-book of the period, lecturers on Church History will find it most useful. The character sketches of the Reformers are excellent, while the account given of their religious views, considering the limited space at the author's disposal, is wonderfully

clear and satisfactory. The only Reformer to whom Dr Plummer does less than justice is Erasmus, a not uncommon occurrence, for Erasmus belonged to no party. He repeats the old story that Erasmus expressed a disinclination for martyrdom ; but he does not add that Erasmus said at the time, or afterwards, that if God gave him grace he hoped to face martyrdom for the truth, but not for Luther's paradoxes. There is no reason for believing that Erasmus was actuated by cowardice in the part he took in the Reformation movement. He disapproved of Luther's violence, and he honestly believed that it was his duty to remain in the old Church and to continue his own reforming work of education and gentle persuasion. Dr Plummer's closing remarks on the Reformation are well worthy of attention for their truth and sanity.

After speaking of its disappointing fruits, he writes : ' The good fruits were neither small nor few. First among them we may place the freeing of men's minds and consciences from the debasing thralldom and terror in which the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Middle Ages had long held them. Strict obedience to the hierarchy had been made the first requisite of salvation. Church law had been held to be supreme, and disobedience was punished with exclusion from the sacraments here, which was believed to involve exclusion from Heaven hereafter. A man's eternal welfare was supposed to depend upon his satisfying the requirements of an official class, whose supernatural powers were quite independent of personal character, and might be acquired and exercised for the basest of motives by the basest of men. From this miserable dread the Reformation set men free, and brought each individual soul into immediate relation with God, without the necessary intervention of priest or Pope. It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of this emancipation. It was very imperfectly worked out at the time, just as the right of every one to religious toleration was very imperfectly worked out. But in both cases the general principle was from time to time seen and declared ; and it was left to later generations to develope and realize them.'

*Luther.* By HARTMANN GRISAR, S. T. Professor at the University of Innsbruck. Authorized translation from the German by E. M. LAMOND. Edited by Luigi Cappadelta. Vol. I. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London, 1913.)

PROFESSOR GRISAR, of the University of Innsbruck, is favourably known to English readers as a learned and painstaking historian through the translation of his work on 'Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages'. In the present work, the first volume of which lies before us in an English version, he has essayed a task less suited to one of his posi-

tion and his opinions ; for it is hardly possible for a Roman Catholic Professor and a member of the Society of Jesus to write of Luther in an impartial historical spirit, if he is to remain true to the principles of his Church and his Order. In the introduction Professor Grisar does not admit this disability, alleging that as the sole business of a historian is to record facts, his religious opinions will not affect his work. A historian, however, has not only to record facts, but to interpret them, and on a biographer, if he is to give a true reading of character, the duty rests in an especial manner of understanding the motives by which the subject of his biography was animated during his career.

Now Luther, according to Grisar, was an 'apostate', the 'deluder of many souls', and he was guilty of sacrilege when he married a nun. These are not facts, admitted by all, but inferences from facts, due mainly to the writer's ecclesiastical position and his religious opinions. They naturally colour the entire presentation of Luther ; for if the Reformer was the enemy of truth and of the spiritual welfare of mankind, it would be in contradiction to all we know of human nature to admit that he was influenced by pure and lofty purposes.

Professor Grisar's book is therefore to be read not as an impartial historical biography, but as a speech for the prosecution ; let me add, however, as a speech for the prosecution of the better sort. He does not, so far as I have observed, indulge in misstatements about matters of fact. The malignant fables regarding Luther's moral life, at one time current in Roman Catholic circles, find no place in his pages, or are rejected as resting on insufficient evidence. But a prosecuting counsel regards it as no part of his duty to introduce matter fitted to throw a favourable light on the character of the accused. Professor Grisar, by following this example, fails in his duty as a biographer. A reader having no guide save his book would be unable to understand how an ill instructed, blundering, arrogant monk could have become in his lifetime the greatest religious leader that Germany had ever known, and after his death the object of veneration and love to millions of his fellow-countrymen. Not only is he held in honour by his humble co-religionists, but men of letters such as Goethe and Heine, historians such as Ranke and Döllinger, hailed him as the most complete representative of the great race to which he belongs. His grand courage, his sincere search after truth, his broad humanity and saving humour, are the qualities which have gained him this place of honour, but one hardly gets a glimpse of them in Grisar's acrid pages. I do not, however, wish to part with Professor Grisar without some words of recognition. A student, forewarned of the writer's prejudices, may learn something from him, for he has examined Luther's voluminous works with great care ; and he brings to the surface some things not generally



known, in England at least. His account of the recently published Lectures by Luther on the Epistle to the Romans will be welcomed, notwithstanding the grudging annotations which accompany it. In the chapter on Luther's relation to scholasticism he scores; for he is able to prove that Luther's knowledge of scholasticism was neither profound nor accurate; and that of the greatest of the Schoolmen, Thomas Aquinas, he was altogether ignorant.

In his chapter on the state of religion and morals in the German Church before Luther began his work, he becomes the unconscious apologist of the reformer. The picture is, in my judgement, too darkly coloured, for there was more religious life in Germany than he is disposed to allow; had there not been longings for something better, Luther's message would not have found such ready acceptance. But if even the half of what Grisar says is true, was there not need for drastic and even revolutionary reform, if the Church was not to cease to be a moral and religious force in the life of the German people?

Luther's faults, on which Professor Grisar dwells—his lack of self-control, his rashness, and his coarseness—are writ large in his controversial writings, in his letters, and in his table talk. He owed these failures to his temperament, which was also one source of his power, and to the circumstance that he was engaged in controversy all his days, and a life spent in controversy seldom fails to blunt the more delicate virtues of the Christian character.

JOHN GIBB.

*The Sources of Luke's Peraean Section.* (Historical and Linguistic Studies related to the New Testament, 2nd Series, Vol. ii, Part 2.)  
By ROCKWELL WICKES, Ph.D. (University of Chicago Press, 1913.)

THIS book is an attempt to determine the sources from which St Luke drew the material for the great section dealing with our Lord's last journey through Peraea up to Jerusalem (ix 51–xviii 14, and xix 1–28), which he has interpolated into the framework of the Marcan narrative. The argument may be briefly summarized as follows: Comparison of the section with the parallel passages in Matthew (which are scattered up and down his Gospel) shews that its contents fall naturally into four groups, viz. (1) Passages which are verbally identical with their Matthaean parallels. (2) Passages more or less identical in content with passages in Matthew, but divergent in

form of expression (it is not necessary to specify the contents of these two groups, as they can be detected by a glance at Huck's *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*). (3) Passages which are not found in Matthew, but which he might well have omitted, supposing them to have stood in one of his sources, in accordance with the principles apparently employed by him in re-editing Mark, e. g. that of suppressing incidents which seemed to derogate from our Lord's power or Divinity, or from the characters of the Apostles (this group includes, amongst a large number of small scraps, the 'Boanerges' incident, the story of Martha, Mary, and the 'good part', and the parables of the Importunate Friend, the Unjust Steward, and the Importunate Widow). (4) Passages which are not found in Matthew, but which he would probably *not* have omitted had he been acquainted with them, because of the support which they would have lent to some of his characteristic ideas (this group contains the Parable of the Good Samaritan, of the Rich Fool, the call to repentance of xii 54–xiii 9, the parables of the Lost Piece of Silver, the Prodigal Son, and Dives and Lazarus—and the Healing of the Ten Lepers).

The result of this analysis is to suggest the presence of two sources, one known to and used by Matthew and including groups (1) (2) and (3), and another not known to Matthew, from which the material of group (4) has been drawn. The hypothesis of two sources, designated by our author as the 'First' and 'Second' documents, is confirmed by further observations shewing that each of the documents provisionally postulated displays unmistakeable evidence of internal coherence and homogeneity, both in style and in theological interest. Dr Wickes enumerates 105 words as characteristic of Document 1, 76 of Document 2. Some of these instances do not, however, appear very convincing: e. g. it is difficult to believe that the frequency with which the word *αὖ* is used can be due to any causes other than the irrelevant determinants generally summed up under the convenient, if unphilosophical, term of 'chance'. A certain weight must, nevertheless, be allowed to the argument based upon the use of different words to express the same or similar ideas—e. g. for the idea of 'sending', Document 1 seems to prefer *ἀποστέλλειν*, Document 2 *πέμπειν*; for 'seeing', 1 prefers *βλέπειν*, 2 *ιδεῖν* or *ὄραν*; for 'thus' 1 mainly employs *οὕτως*, 2 *ὁμοίως*. Other indications of stylistic or conceptual homogeneity may be briefly mentioned: Document 1 has a fondness for parallelistic modes of expression, suggestive of Hebrew poetry (e. g. 'Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I liken it?')—which are absent from Document 2: Document 1 contains short similes, Document 2 long narrative parables: Document 1 has no definite local interest, whilst in 2 there are several direct or indirect

references to Jerusalem or places in its vicinity: this observation suggests a Judaeen or Jerusalemic origin for the 'Second' Document.

Finally, our author believes that he can detect a difference in the conceptions of our Lord and His work and functions formed by the unknown compilers of the two sources. In the 'First Document', Jesus is above all the Prophet of the End, who speaks with the authority of God, and who is destined to be revealed as the radiant Son of Man at the Last Day: He is Messiah-designate rather than Messiah *in praesenti*; and His Redemption is conceived of under the forms of catastrophic eschatology. In the 'Second', or 'Judaeen' Document, on the other hand, the idea is rather that of a present Redeemer, who heals here and now: the eschatological scheme of values, which projects the centre of gravity of Christian interests into an unearthly future, is absent: Jesus is presented as Saviour rather than as Judge; hence the name of Jesus (= 'Saviour') occurs with comparative frequency. There are, indeed, passages which deal with heaven and hell and the conditions of the next life, but there is no allusion to the cosmic cataclysm which, in the thought of Document 1, is to inaugurate it.

The above is a very rough and general sketch of our author's theory. A detailed review of such minute and laborious investigations would require another book of equal or greater size; but it may not be out of place to indicate the points where he has, in my opinion, made out his case, and those in which the argument appears inconclusive. Taking the literary analysis from which he starts, we may say that, of the four groups into which he separates the material, (1) and (2) undeniably represent a tradition common to Matthew and Luke, and (4) with rather less certainty may be assigned to a source unknown to Matthew. But with regard to group (3) the only possible verdict, at present, seems to be a *non liquet*. The author has shewn, with great ingenuity, that *if* Matthew had known these sections he *might* have omitted them, for theological reasons—but he has nowhere given any satisfactory grounds for supposing that Matthew *did* in point of fact know them. Consequently, he is not really entitled to group (3) along with (1) and (2) as forming part of a single source. The most he can do is to separate off (3) and to put a note of interrogation opposite it in the margin. And in any case (1) and (2) must surely be taken to represent distinct sources, (1) being drawn from a single written source used both by Matthew and Luke, whilst in the case of (2) it is clear that Matthew and Luke were using different versions of the same tradition—versions whose point of bifurcation must lie some years further back than the compilation of either of these Gospels. This inference is apparently admitted by Dr Wickes on p. 8, though in his Appendix, where the

two 'documents' are printed at length, passages from (2) are given side by side with passages from (1) without any hint that they may come from different sources. We should thus arrive at the hypothesis of *three* sources, viz. (a) a single written source used by Matthew and Luke, (b) a tradition used in two different versions by Matthew and Luke respectively, (c) the Judaeae document postulated by our author. (In assenting thus far, however, to the conclusions reached by Dr Wickes, I must not be taken as endorsing all his arguments, some of which seem highly subjective and precarious.) Dr Wickes expressly rules out of the scope of his enquiry any attempt to correlate the sources thus discovered in the Peraean section with those which are manifest outside it; it is not unfair, however, to surmise that he would regard the common source or sources used by Luke in this section and by Matthew in other parts of his Gospel as identical with those already established as explaining other correspondences of Matthew and Luke outside the framework which both have borrowed from Mark. In other words, source (a) = 'Q', source (b) may be a *Spruchquelle*, or collection of disconnected sayings handed down orally in various versions (I believe that Dr von Dobschütz has suggested the symbol 'S' to denote this tradition), and source (c) may = the 'Judaeae document' posited by Dr Wickes. There still remains a considerable quantity of matter which cannot be assigned with certainty to any one source (Group 3 in Dr Wickes's scheme, together with a few passages considered by him to be editorial additions of St Luke's own composition); and, in view of the deficiency of objective criteria, it may not be unduly pessimistic to express a doubt as to whether any more detailed solution of this problem than that provided by the bare outlines of the 'Two-Document' hypothesis will ever command universal acceptance, though the occupation of unearthing fissiparous 'documents' in unassigned material will always remain open to the adventurous speculator.

N. P. WILLIAMS.

*The People of God: An Inquiry into Christian Origins.* By H. F. HAMILTON, D.D. (Two volumes, Oxford University Press, 1912.)

THIS book, by one who was formerly Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, is a remarkable illustration of the great value that critical studies have for the advancement of a credible and believing theology. At the same time its place

of origin as much as its method of treatment indicates the extent to which the area of theological study is becoming increasingly one. The book is in essence a fresh and thought-out discussion of what is involved in the idea of the Church as a thing divinely inspired, and claiming to reveal the One True God. The author's interests are practical, the necessary pre-requisite of fruitful theological thought, and are derived from a whole-hearted belief in the living and actual Church, which finds itself under the necessity of making good its claim, when faced on the one hand by an entire rejection of its authority, and by a divided Christendom on the other. The note of the book is its combination of an unshrinking and distinct faith with a calm judgement, and a determination to get to the bottom of things. The result is a certain restrained passion, which carries the reader along and forces his interest in the sustained argument.

Many discussions of the meaning of the Church are vitiated either by an undue attention to consequences, such as Orders, or by the domination of *a priori* conceptions of what the Church must be, derived at one time from constitutional law, at another from metaphysics. Dr Hamilton has followed the more hopeful path of 'Origines', and in doing so finds the main fact to be that pointed out by Sohm and Hort and Harnack, that the Church means the People of God. What then is the New Israel? To discover this we have to ask what we mean by the expression 'Chosen People' as applied to the Old Israel. This is the proper though strangely neglected starting-point, if we are to gain a trustworthy conception of the Church. The Church claims to be of divine appointment. Both defender and foe have regarded this claim too much as a unique phenomenon, forgetting that it is really only part of an older problem. How many essays have been written on the permanent value of the Old Testament, which have at the best regarded it simply as a book of teaching which prepared the way for the Supreme Teacher on whose authority it is accepted, or else as a literature which in its more valuable parts adumbrated a universal religion, forgetting that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, i.e. the supreme authority of a distinct body of men, which for long had alone enjoyed the favour of God. The first importance of the Old Testament is that it bears witness throughout all its parts to a people who claimed to be God's Elect.

It is the particularity of the Christian Church which is always under discussion. It is this, there can be little doubt, which has been the main cause of its survival, a fact which has perhaps never been better shewn than by Thomas Hancock in his now rare essay on 'The Peculium'. It is incumbent upon those who believe in this Peculium to study first that out of which it grew, the claim of the Jews to be the

Chosen People, and to make up their minds as to their attitude towards that claim. It is Dr Hamilton's great merit that he has in an original and courageous way grappled with this problem. He sees that to any one who views things historically the two claims, those of Israel, Old and New, are interdependent.

His first volume is entitled 'Israel', and is on the whole the more important of the two. He traces the developement from Polytheism to Monotheism among the Greeks and the Hebrews, and contrasts the two processes. The former was the replacement of religion by philosophy. 'Monotheism triumphed by the extermination of the old gods.' In Israel something different happened. Yahweh was at the outset a characteristic Semitic deity, standing to Israel in a 'god-people' relation. This relation was distinguished from those existing among other Semitic peoples by the fact that it was founded upon a Covenant, not upon physical generation. Dr Hamilton lays perhaps rather over much stress on this point. He, however, rightly emphasizes the similarity in all other respects between the religion of Israel and that of Moab. It was henotheism. What caused the particular henotheism of Israel to survive when all the others disappeared? Dr Hamilton's answer is that it was the work of the prophets. Their function thus corresponded in appearance to that of the philosophers in Greece. But there were profound differences. In the first place, they did not teach monotheism strictly speaking, but rather what may be called 'Mono-Yahwism'. 'The very same God who was proclaimed by the prophets to be the only God was at the same time being worshipped by the great mass of Israel as one among many others.' Secondly, though He was the one and only God, He was always the God of Israel, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And thirdly, they did not discover this new truth by a process of ratiocination.

Thus the prophetic view of God is as far as possible removed from that of Pope in the famous verse:—

‘ Father of all ! in every age,  
In every clime adored  
By saint, by savage, and by sage,  
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.’

Nor is the Deity whose ways they wish to vindicate to man the Great First Cause or Universal Spirit, as we should say now, of Comparative Religion. It is bad science not to recognize this.

The faith of the prophets was the cause of Israel's survival. But they were a tiny handful. Why did they wield so great an influence? Precisely because they believed in the same God as did those they taught. Their view of Him was higher, but had all the particularity and

definiteness of the common faith. Where did they get their belief from, if not from logic? From religious experience, a personal consciousness of the living God.

The value of this experience and of the work that sprang out of it is another problem, and one that cannot be determined on scientific grounds. Dr Hamilton in a thoughtful chapter gives reasons for holding that the prophets were the recipients of a divine revelation, and for believing that Israel really was what it claimed to be, God's People. To produce this result an important consequence of the Jewish religion, namely Christianity, has to be taken into consideration.

Not the least valuable part of the book is that which deals with the attitude of Jesus to the religious system of the Jews, in which He is shewn to be in line with the prophets of old in believing in the religious traditions of His people. The God whom He proclaims is the national God of Israel, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. There is a good criticism of Bousset's idea that Jesus freed the belief in the future life, and, with this belief, piety, from any thought of the Jewish nation. Dr Hamilton's reply is, 'If Jesus meant that when the kingdom came, the religion of Israel would not be distinguished from any other, . . . it is difficult to see how He could have shared the Messianic hope at all, or how He could ever have thought of Himself as the Messiah'. If He was not the Messiah, what was He?

The way is thus prepared for considering the transition from Jewish particularism to the universalism of Christianity, and the nature of that universalism, bearing in mind that the Founder shared the particularist view. The apostles differed from other Jews in the single point that they believed that the Messiah had come. Their attitude is summed up in the words of Harnack: 'We are the community of the Messiah, and therefore the true Israelites.' But the true Israel is also a new Israel the followers of Jesus begin to perceive, for it is founded on a new Covenant inaugurated by the sacrificial death of the Messiah, which was the determining fact in the new community. 'The basis of salvation is shifted from the observance of the law to a personal trust in Jesus, and in the saving efficacy of His death on the Cross.'

This opened the door to Gentiles, for all men could make this surrender. Those who made it became the 'brethren' or 'the elect'. The use of the word 'Church' expresses at once the growth out of the old Israel, and the distinct character of the new body. 'It is the successor to all the rights and privileges of ancient Israel, and as such it is the sole repository of the self-revelation of the one true God. And more than that. Through Jesus the Messiah it has received yet greater blessings, the priceless gifts of the forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation.'

The universalism of Christianity was an equality of opportunity of sharing in this salvation. But those who took the opportunity entered *ipso facto* into a new relation with God, which was as much a covenant-relation involving a community as that of the older Israel. God and His people were inseparable still. It is as, primarily, an organization of this covenant-relation that the Christian ministry is to be studied. It was not consciously devised as a good means of government. It grew up out of the apostles, who were the original Church, as a way of ensuring the incorporation of new members into the true Israel, and their edification therein. Need occasioned development, and the greatest need was not management of finances nor administration of justice, nor preaching, nor a leader of prayer meetings even, but the conduct of that which was the very bond of their common worship, the Eucharist. For this something like authority from the whole body would be required. This could only be got from the apostles, who were originally the whole body, and thus the trustees of the Messianic salvation.

The evolution of the ministry, then, was in all probability, as Dr Hamilton suggests, more determined by the existence of the Eucharist than by any other one thing. It was a primitive instinct, however changed the language, that made a later age say, 'Ad presbyterum pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altari Dei conficere'.

The purpose of the ministry is to keep alive the Covenant between God and His people, a Covenant made with sacrifice. The world of the apostles seems different from that of the elder prophets. Much more does that of the second century seem a strange age to the apostles. But the former gap is really the larger. For between the Old Israel and the New there stands the great inauguration of the world that is to be, of which the New Israel is the anticipation. But there is an underlying unity throughout the whole process, which looks to an end which is not yet, to be consummated by the God of whose people that process is the unfinished history.

Apart from details, there are two points in Dr Hamilton's argument which might be thought to demand further development. His contrast between the Greek philosopher and the Hebrew prophet is intentionally pointed. But it seems almost too much under the influence of a period of Bergson and Mystery Religions. The prophets were not distinguished from the philosophers by not using reason. They used their intelligence. But the subject-matter on which it was engaged was different. The one had in view a living God, the other a theory of the universe.

Again, his view of the Church seems too much conditioned by a backward gaze. The Covenant was inaugurated, the first Christians felt, by the death of the Messiah on the Cross, and they were thankful to be within that Covenant. But the Messianic meal did not only look



back to Calvary. It was a memorial service, but it was a memorial service needed only 'till He come', and of that fact they never ceased to be aware.

Our view of the Church gains vastly from the new-old orientation which Dr Hamilton has worked out more thoroughly than anybody else has yet done. These two volumes form an admirable introduction, indeed much the best book about the Church that could be put into the hands of a thoughtful student. And more than that, they will undoubtedly provide a good basis for further enquiry into the meaning of God's people. But that enquiry will have to have a somewhat more 'Futurist' theology. It could not have a more catching faith, or a greater sense of realities, than Dr Hamilton shews himself possessed of.

One question may be ventured in conclusion : Why was the Oxford Press so cruel as to charge 18s. for a book which ought to be in the possession of every student ?

*The Rule of Life and Love : An Exposition of the Ten Commandments.*

By R. L. OTTLEY, Canon of Christ Church. (Robert Scott, 1913.)

Books upon Christian Ethics are apt to be dull, even when not particularly solid. This seems especially to be the case when they form part of a series, or a volume, dealing with Christianity as a whole. The dogmatic and critical discussions have a way of using up all the salt.

The work before us is no exception to the rule. There is an even flow in the writing, gliding gently along in a form of composition which is partly essay, partly sermon, neatly interspersed with appropriate quotations. If the reader has the patience to push on, he will find it all sensible and wise, the product of a cultivated and religious mind. The most useful part to the teacher, for whom it is presumably intended, will be found in the discussion of modern practical problems, e.g. use of property, labour, marriage, and Sunday observance.

It is a question whether a commentary on the Ten Commandments is the best form in which to cast a treatise on Christian morals. The fine old rugged prohibitions have about them a vigour suitable to the wild people on whom they were imposed. But this vigour becomes strangely evacuated when they are tricked out with the subtleties of modern ethical thought. This is perhaps the reason why this book will not compare with Dr Ottley's earlier work, *Christian Ideas and Ideals*.

It is interesting to find that the author apparently believes in the Law of Nature, of which the Decalogue is the 'solemn republication.' This

has quite a ring of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about it. Perhaps, when the anthropologists have done, we can begin to discuss once more the truth that underlies a conception which has played so large a part in the world's history. A new Hooker may base it on a wider induction, or a new Rousseau rehabilitate the General Will.

A. S. DUNCAN-JONES.

*Job and the Problem of Suffering.* By T. F. ROYDS, M.A., B.D., Curate of the Priory Church, Malvern. (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911.)

MOST of this book is taken up with running Commentary and Notes. There is just sufficient allusion to general problems and to modern attitudes of mind to make critical discussions on text, authenticity, &c., more than ordinarily interesting. There goes a breeze through the book, which shews us that the author has lived through all and more than he writes. To him Job's questioning is chiefly the necessary work of a destructive critic, when faced with the platitudinous orthodoxy of secure self-opinionatedness. 'It is the passing of an old orthodoxy and the birth of a new theology.' Though the reformation is not carried through by the merely intellectual discussion—for Job remains till the last within the general theological outlook of the Three Friends—Job does find a new religious point of view in the Vision of God. In his vision of the vastness of the natural order, Job concludes that to know God is better than to know the answers to questions. Job's intellectual outlook is limited by the idea that everything which happens in the world is equally the act of God, and by the fact that he had no explicit doctrine of Immortality to put the problem in a wider setting. Popular theology saddled him with the former notion, and though he insists that the wisdom of the past must be tested and not swallowed without examination, he never won his way through expostulation to loyalty to the God of his conscience. And this despite his perception that greatness does not necessarily imply goodness. It is well to be reminded of the limitation of the Old Testament idea of the righteous man, and that the Christian doctrine of sin is as it were the coping-stone of the New Testament. The author well points out that the meaning of the book as a whole is that Job's answer, which was a real answer, came not from argument or even from self-examination, but from entering through contemplation of Nature into a state of humility and freedom of life which brought its own conviction. In an appendix on the problem in the light of Christianity and modern thought, Mr Royds

insists that suffering is a necessary incident in finite lives lived 'under general law'. This is so, but it is rash to affirm that the theological counterpart of that fact is this immanence of God. Modern logic has shown us that it is a necessity of thought to look on reality as being for us on different levels of being. The Uniformity of Nature as a dogma does not exclude Miracle. It should be clear that this dogma is not demonstrable by any cumulative evidence. But this point is a detail in the main argument, which ends with the important remarks: (1) that the question is not what suffering actually does, but what we can make it do; (2) that the problem of pain is no more pressing for a moral being than the problem of pleasure. Moral good and evil are the only things that matter, and the mark of rank in nature is capacity for pain. It is to be hoped that this excellent book will find many readers.

H. K. ARCHDALL.

*A Jerusalem Canonarium* (Иерусалимский Канонарь) of the seventh century in the Georgian version. Edited by DR CORNELIUS S. KEKELIDZE (Кекелидзе). (Tiflis, 1912.)

THIS volume consists of an Introduction in which the editor relates how in 1910 he read in a Tiflis newspaper a note by Th. D. Jordania, inspector of parish schools in the province of Imereti, to the effect that in a village of the district was preserved an ancient MS of the seventh or eighth century. His account of the Suaneti district deserves to be reproduced. It is as follows:—

'In the north-west angle of the Kutais Government on the slopes of the main ridge of the Caucasus, lives the small hill tribe of the Suans, speaking their own tongue and forming for purposes of administration a division of the Letchkhium district of the Government of Kutais. This tribe received Christianity fairly early, at the latest in the sixth century, and they have adhered to the communion of the Georgian Church, at all times remaining within the sphere of its religious and cultural influences. In evidence of this we have on the one side the large number of little ancient churches adorned with fresco painting in Georgian style and covered with Georgian inscriptions, on the other hand the Georgian manuscripts preserved in the said churches.'

With the aid of a neighbouring vicar, Bessarion Nijaradze, a native of the Suaneti district, Dr Kekelidze was able to find the codex, which turned out to be a lectionary written about the year 982 by

a scribe who called himself John the Sinner, who also wrote out a similar codex, now in the Sinai library, No. 30, catalogued some years ago by Prof. Tzagareli of St Petersburg. The latter codex is dated 982. The newly found MS is written in double columns of 32 lines each, on vellum, measures 35 × 27 centim., and consists of 322 leaves. The hand is an uncial of the kind known as *Khoutsuri*, or priest's writing. In the rest of his introduction the editor supplies much information about old Georgian rituals, and concludes that this particular book was drawn up in the original Greek soon after the death of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 634-744, and was translated into Georgian in the ninth century.

We have in it then a fairly faithful representation of the feasts, lections, and troparia of Jerusalem about the year 700.

The text is printed in Georgian with a Russian version opposite from pp. 43-156; it is to be regretted that to save space the lections, psalms, and troparia are only indicated by their first lines. The editor adds copious notes explaining phrases and names, and clearing up points of ritual practice. These fill pp. 159-294.

Next, pp. 297-310, comes a Russian translation of a fragment of an abridged or summary Synaxary of St Euthymius of Athos, from Codex 648 of the Tiflis Museum. This codex is of vellum, 27 × 21 centim. in size, and was written in 1030.

A very useful glossary of Georgian liturgical terms, explained in Russian, fills the last twenty pages of the volume.

This lectionary bears in Georgian the title of 'The statutes and ordinances of orthodox prelates as observed in Jerusalem', but the exact character of the volume is best conveyed by a translation of its opening words:—

December 24. At the sixth hour they assemble in the Shepherd's hut and recite the ektenia and prayer, and utter the Response (*ὑπακοή*), tone eight: On high glory, on earth Peace. Stichos (i.e. canticle): Let earth bring forth her fruits . . . (as far as) . . . ends of the earth. A second Response (*ὑπακοή*), Troparion: 'Isaiah thus prophesies, Behold a Virgin.' They recite the ektenia and prayer and utter the *προκείμενον*, tone six: The Lord is my Shepherd, and nothing shall I want, in the spot . . . Alleluia; tone two: Thou that shepherdest Israel, hear me . . . (as far as) . . . Joseph. Gospel of Luke: And there were shepherds in the same country . . . even as it was spoken unto them (ii 8-20).

After that they go up to Bethlehem, they enter the cave and celebrate the hour, &c.

We have then in this codex a later form of the old Jerusalem Lectionary which I have translated from a ninth-century Paris codex *Fonds*

*Arménien* 20 in my *Rituale Armenorum* p. 517 foll. This order begins thus :—

The feast of holy Epiphany is kept in January on the sixth day of the same. And on the fifth they assemble in the Shepherd's hut at the ninth hour, and this canon is performed : Ps. 23<sup>1</sup> : Alleluiah, Ps. 80. Luke 2<sup>8-20</sup> . . .

The Georgian order reflects a later age when the old Christmas of Jan. 6 had been transferred to Dec. 25. The Armenian order must go back at least to the age of Jerome. In the Georgian the next day, Dec. 26, is the festival of David and James, which in the older order was set on Dec. 25. The Feast of Stephen follows on Dec. 27, in the older order it was on Dec. 26. In the Georgian there follows, on Dec. 29, the feast of John and James ; Jan. 1 of St Basil (as in many Armenian calendars) ; Jan. 5, Vigil of Epiphany (through loss of leaves most of this rite is lost) ; Jan. 18, at Khuzib (between Jerusalem and Jericho), at the monastery of the Theotokos, the Feast of Renovation (or Encaenia), Lections : Hebrews vii 11-17 and Luke ii 42-50.

Jan. 19, Feast of Theodosius the Great ;

Jan. 20, of St Euthymius ;

Jan. 21, of St Peter, Renovation (or Encaenia) ;

Jan. 22, St Stephen, and of all martyrs from the time of St Stephen until now ;

Jan. 25, St Gregory Nazianzen, bishop and divine ;

Jan. 27, in the Anastasis, of St John Chrysostom ;

Jan. 28, of all the Spiritual (i. e. of the desert) Fathers ;

Jan. 30, of Ignatius, archbp. of Antioch ;

Jan. 31, of the blessed Zachariah, archbp. of Jerusalem, taken captive by King Chosrow and carried to Persia.

Feb. 2, Hypapante, Reception in the hands of Simeon, Ps. 98, Lections, Isaiah xix 1-4 ; Gal. iii 24 ; Luke ii 22-40.

The above will give the liturgical student an idea of the contents of the book. It is very instructive to compare it with the old Armenian order, of which it is a development. As we should expect, the lections of that older order reappear constantly in it. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, is perhaps the latest saint commemorated in its pages, and that is a reason for fixing its date, as Kekelidze does, in the last half of the eighth century. We have not a great wealth of documents exhibiting the order of the Christian year as then kept at Jerusalem. For a knowledge of the sacred sites, monasteries, and shrines which existed in and about the holy city in that age the book is also indispensable. Needless to say, the editor has done his work with the same accuracy and intimate knowledge of his national rites which his earlier

liturgical publications reveal, and the book is a masterpiece of typography.

It is opportune that this work was published last year. As it went through the press at Moscow, the Greek monks, who for two hundred years have held possession of the Iveron or Iberian Convent on Mount Athos, were engaged in destroying or anyhow making away with all the precious Georgian codices which lay in the library of that convent. Not a trace of them remains. The official account given by the librarian of the monastery is that an earthquake destroyed them; but it must have been a very eclectic one, not to damage either the fabric of the convent or the Greek codices on the contiguous shelves. Such vandalism is an indelible stain on the fair fame of modern Greece. A catalogue of these MSS, which were mostly of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, was published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1911, by Mr Oliver Wardrop.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

*The Book of Protection.* By HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Litt. (Henry Frowde, London, 1912.)

THIS book, as a sub-title indicates, is a collection of charms edited and translated from Syriac MSS. It contains the full texts of three MSS, shewing different recensions and varying considerably in scope. Two of these MSS (A and B) are in the possession of Dr Gollancz, the third (C) is in the Cambridge University Library. Of the three recensions A contains much the largest collection, having fifty-four items; the MS was written in 1802-1803. B is the smallest and also the oldest; it has only twelve pieces. The MS of C is of the eighteenth century, and contains twenty-eight pieces. All three MSS are Nestorian, and the collections appear to be of Nestorian making.

The formulae vary in character from the Lord's Prayer to downright magical charms containing gibberish; but most of them, though framed as prayers against sickness and other evil occurrences, by the form of their composition assume the character of spells, and usually their efficacy is bound up with the wearing certain 'writs' containing either the charm formula itself or some special magic words. Collections A and B open with the Lord's Prayer, followed by 'the prayer of Adam'. The latter is a title I have not seen before for the liturgical anthem 'Thee, Lord, we confess', referred to by Nestorian commentators by its first words *lākhū Mārā* ('Thee, Lord'). Then come the Trisagion and the opening verses of St John's Gospel (which latter it is interesting to find thus used so far East).

The interest of these collections goes beyond the light they throw on the religion of an isolated body of Christians. Though perhaps inspired to some extent by the magic practices of neighbouring peoples, and in part modelled on their forms, the charms are clearly the composition of the Syrian Christians themselves. Several of them contain allusions to very ancient traditions, some of which seem to be derived ultimately from Jewish sources. Collection A has several references to the ring of Solomon, the virtues of which were known to Josephus. One formula speaks of 'the garment with which Alexander, the son of Philip, was clothed, with which he subdued the whole earth'. This is evidently the scarlet robe which, according to St Ephraim and other Syrian writers after him (Isho'dad and Bar Šalibi), was given to Jonathan Maccabaeus by the kings of the Greeks, and finally put upon our Lord by the Roman soldiers. The seal of Solomon figures of course in 'The Arabian Nights'; we also find it among the Malabar Nestorians in the sixteenth century: 'Also the Book of *Lots*, into which they put that they call the *Ring* of Solomon, with a great many more Superstitions, for the choice of good Days to Marry upon, and for several other uses; wherein are contained many Blasphemies, and Heathenish Observances; as also all other Books of *Lots*, and for chusing of Days, the Synod prohibits under the same Censure' (Acts of the Synod of Diamper, 1599, translated from the Portuguese by Michael Geddes in his *History of the Malabar Church*, 1694, p. 164). The Christians of St Thomas had other magic books also, similar in character to our documents, but with more objectionable features: 'Also the Book called *Parisman*, or the *Persian Medicine*, which is full of Sorceries, teaching certain Methods whereby one may do mischief to their enemies, and may gain Women, and for a great many other lewd and prohibited purposes; there are likewise in it strange Names of Devils; of whom they affirm that whosoever shall carry the names of seven of them about with him writ in a Paper, shall be in danger of no Evil: It contains also Superstitious Exorcisms for the casting out of Devils; mixing some Godly words with others that are not Intelligible . . . all which is very common in this Diocess; most Curates having this Book, and making use of it to this very day', &c. (*ibid.* pp. 166-167). The connexion between the superstitions of the Christian Malabarese and those of their heathen neighbours is illustrated by a curious little book (*An Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the People of Malabar*) published by J. T. Phillips in 1717, and containing a translation of a number of letters written to the Dutch missionaries by a heathen native of Malabar. Chapters xxxix and xl, in which the writer deals with demoniacal possession and witchcraft, are especially in point. On p. 145 there is a curious coincidence with the passage from Josephus quoted by

Dr Gollancz in his Introduction : in both cases the Devil, on being exorcized, overturns a vessel of water in proof of his departure from the possessed person. It is quite possible that some of the features in our charms are Indian, and derived from Malabar.

Dr Gollancz is to be cordially thanked for making public these interesting texts, which are quite a new feature in our Syriac literature. Besides the texts there are a number of quaint illustrations well reproduced from the MSS A and B.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

*Sion College and Library.* By E. H. PEARCE, M.A., Canon of Westminster, Trustee of Sion Hospital, and formerly President of Sion College. (University Press, Cambridge, 1913.)

In his preface to this careful study of the annals of a notable and ancient institution, the utility of which has been somewhat vaguely apprehended even by those to whom the Library itself has been best known, Mr Pearce tells us that he has found his subject 'far fuller of interest' than either he himself, or perhaps any of his fellow-clergy, had realized. Founded by Thomas White, an Oxford divine, and vicar of St Dunstan's in Fleet Street, by his will, dated October 1623, and incorporated by royal charter in 1626, Sion College was designed to promote a spirit of unity and co-operation among the London clergy themselves and at the same time to be a 'beacon of sound doctrine and exemplary life' to the surrounding population of the great capital. White himself, however, bequeathed no endowment for a Library; and it was consequently not until the reign of Charles I that, by virtue of the charter granted by that monarch, the College began to give effect to its design as at once a shelter for the poor, an armoury for the student, and a centre to which the clergy could resort for 'converse grave and sociable'. It became, in short, a kind of clerical club, and was provided with what was, for that time, an excellent library; but owing to there being no endowment for the librarian, while the books had to be stowed away in 'the upper story of the Almsrooms', the collection was exposed to various perils, and when in 1666 the Great Fire broke out, although 'its course was such as to give Sion due notice of its approach', a third of the books were destroyed, along with the fabric of the College itself. Some months elapsed before John Spencer, the conscientious but miserably underpaid librarian, was able to carry out his enjoined and melancholy task of compiling 'two careful Catalogues of the saved books and the lost'. He found but scant



sympathy in his toil, for he seems to have been regarded with something like contempt, as a layman and not a member of either University. He was, in fact, a self-taught scholar, and Thomas Fuller, the historian, who in 1657 had been resident in the College, bore testimony that he had known him to have been conversant 'from his childhood, with books and bookmen'. He had also compiled the 'Book of Benefactors', while his work on the Catalogue gave evidence that he had succeeded in making himself a fair Latinist. There is no evidence, however, that he had ever acquired a knowledge of either Greek or Latin versification, and when, accordingly, he ventured to compile a folio volume, dedicated 'to the Clergy and People of England'—the contents of which Mr Pearce describes as 'an Anthology of the Christian writers of all ages, as well Puritan as Patristic' (p. 241)—he was decried as the presumptuous shoemaker, who would have done better to stick to his last. 'For myself', says our author, 'I would rather read his elegant extracts than consume as many pages of William Reading's parochial sermons'—William Reading being one of Spencer's successors, who filled his post from 1724 to 1745. It certainly would not be satisfactory if we were led to conclude that, in the mere question of faithful discharge of official duties, a layman should have been considered entitled to less consideration; but as it was, certain goods belonging to Torporley, the mathematician, having been left at the College, and having subsequently disappeared, John Spencer, as the most responsible person, was called upon by the Lord Privy Seal to give 'satisfaction' for the same, and was ultimately, in default, ordered to be 'dismissed and discharged', one Thomas Leech, the son of one of the Governors, being appointed in his place. Leech distinguished himself during his brief *régime* by highly drastic measures, such as keeping the Library 'doore locked and shutt for dayes together', and not allowing 'any student or other person to goe into the same'; and, on being called to account by the Governors, 'peremptorily refusing' to give up the keys. He, in turn, was consequently 'dismissed and discharged'. His father, however, was the incumbent of St Mary-le-Bow, and the bishop of London was his friend, and Leech, accordingly, was reinstated. But in the meantime it had been discovered that certain volumes were missing, and on June 10, 1639, order was given that 'the books should be viewed and examined':—

'In December the Governors resolved "to call Mr Leech to accompt for the bookes wanting". In January he was ordered to make the losses good before Lady Day; in February it was suggested that it might be better to restore Spencer to his keepership again and to let the "pension" due to Leech "paie for the Bookes". It was a generous proposal, but the leisurely habits of our Governors had infected Leech

and he "desyred tyme to consider of it". However, his tenure of office, though not the effects of it, came utterly to an end on March 30, 1640. John Spencer was then admitted in his place, with a warning based on their experience of Leech's neglect, that he must not, without permission, "absent himself from the said Colledge and Library above the space of two daies together at any one tyme or above the space of twelve daies in the whole yeare (Sundaies and holy daies only excepted)", or immediate dismissal will be the result' (p. 237).

The process of further growth and developement was, for some time, chiefly represented by a series of small legacies; but in 1679 the forfeited library of a Jesuit priest, 'seized in his study at Holbeck', was placed on view in the Library, so that works already on the shelves might be purchased as duplicates by the London clergy, 'the product' being applied 'to defray the charge of bringing them in and to buy other books' (pp. 250-251). Readers, at this time, appear to have been admitted on giving their 'names and academic qualifications' and paying half a crown.

In the eighteenth century a succession of valuable collections were presented or bequeathed by their respective owners. Among the most noteworthy was that formed by Sir Robert Coke, the son and heir of the great Chief Justice, and expressly collected by him 'for the use of the London Clergy in the troublous times'. It was presented by George, first earl of Berkeley, whose aunt Sir Robert had married. Bishop Beveridge, on whom, as President, it devolved to acknowledge the gift, describes it as 'a noble addition to the public Library of Sion College'. Next came the collection formed by Edmund Castell when engaged on the compilation of his Polyglot Lexicon. He had himself bequeathed one hundred lexicons to Bishop Compton, together with 'all his Bibles and other oriental parts of Holy Scripture'; and these were in turn presented to the College by the legatee. Three thousand volumes were presented in 1711 by Mrs James, the widow of the grandson of the first Bodleian Librarian. But the most noteworthy of all external sources was that perennial and constantly increasing supply created by an Order of the House of Commons which appeared on March 11, 1707, to the effect that the Committee to whom 'the Booksellers Bill had been entrusted for consideration' should embody 'a clause that a copy of every Booke printed in London should be given to Sion College Library'. Our author evidently regards it as a piece of especial good fortune, that the College succeeded in retaining this privilege when, two years later, the Bill in the House of Lords re-enacted the clause and extended it so as to include copies of all Printed Books within the realm, the College thenceforth taking its place as a privileged Library, 'along with the Royal Library, those of Oxford

and Cambridge and the four Scottish Universities, and the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh'. Whether this was mainly due to the good offices of Archbishop Tenison himself, or to those of Henry Compton, afterwards bishop of London, is not quite clear, but the fact in itself probably accounts in no small degree for the hold both on the regard of the clerical profession and on public notice which the College has ever since continued to command, until, in the twentieth century, with a Library now numbering 100,000 volumes it has found itself in a position to purchase a site and erect a building which attracts the attention of almost every visitor to London as he passes along the Thames Embankment.

In completing his volume, which is one that all who are interested in the history of the institutions of our great capital will welcome, Mr Pearce takes occasion to note that, out of his 256 predecessors in the office of President, '73 have been held to deserve a notice in the *Dictionary of Biography*'. The last to discharge the duties of the Librarianship, as a paid office, was William Henry Milman (a son of the eminent Dean of St Paul's), whose tenure extended over forty years, during which time the books were removed to the Pantechnicon in Knightsbridge, where they remained from August 1884 until July 1886, and the opportunity was taken to reconsider the whole question of classification. 'On Milman's decease, the Court, to whom all such matters were definitely adjudged by a decision of Bishop Blomfield (July 20, 1855), decided to make the Librarianship an honorary office, in order that an increase of the junior staff might meet the larger daily needs of students. They were fortunate in obtaining the services as Librarian of Mr Charles O. Becker, of St Botolph's, Aldersgate'.

J. BASS MULLINGER.

*Within our Limits*: Essays on questions moral, religious, and historical  
By ALICE GARDNER. (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1913.)

THIS book is made up of collected papers and addresses which were read at different times and places, but retain all their freshness in the form of essays. Whatever be the subject treated of—and the range is varied—it is approached with grasp and penetration; and the discussion, always scholarly, is never abstruse. Miss Gardner well succeeds in carrying others with her in her own high ideals, and there is an easy flow of diction in which quip and jest are blended with shrewd remarks, while the smile invited by a flash of quiet humour is dispelled the next

moment by depth of feeling which points to vital issues. Among the subjects discussed are Free Thought and its limitations, Miracles, Ritual in its historical and psychological aspects, old and new ideas of Sin, Theodoret as a precursor of Matthew Arnold, the Greek spirit and the mediaeval Church, and the functions and limits of Christian apologetics ; and on many of these subjects Miss Gardner is able to bring to bear the results of historical research at once minute and wide. While it is certain to be prized by past and present generations of Newnham students, I hope that Miss Gardner's collection of essays may reach an even larger circle.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

## CHRONICLE

### NEW TESTAMENT.

THOUGH nearly twenty years have elapsed since the *International Critical Commentary* began to appear, the series is not yet complete, and several volumes in the New Testament section have still to be waited for, such as Professor E. D. Burton on Galatians, Professor Lock on the Pastoral Epistles, and Canon Charles on the Revelation of St John. Meanwhile, the student has good reason to be grateful for two recent additions to the series—Mr A. E. Brooke's Commentary on the Johannine Epistles,<sup>1</sup> and Professor Frame's Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians.<sup>2</sup>

The first of these volumes is described by the writer as a *πάρρηγον* of several years, prepared in such intervals as could be spared from Septuagint and College work, but no one can use it without realizing that, notwithstanding all that has already been written on the subject, he has in Mr Brooke a fresh and invaluable guide towards the understanding of these all-important Epistles. The notes on the text are admirable examples of the assistance required in such a case, not overloaded with details, or conflicting views, but summing up pointedly the conclusions the writer himself has reached, while the Introduction displays throughout a full presentation of all the main points at issue with a careful and balanced judgement on the problems they have raised. It is true that one would gladly have learned what views Mr Brooke holds regarding the person of the writer, but these, no doubt wisely, he declines to state on the ground that they cannot be adequately discussed apart from the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel. On the other hand, he shews ample cause for accepting the traditional position, that the First Epistle and the Gospel must at least have come from the same hand, though he differs from Bishop Lightfoot as to the probable order of their appearance. For instead of regarding the Epistle as earlier than, or as a kind of covering-letter to,

<sup>1</sup> *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*, by the Rev. A. E. Brooke, B.D., Fellow, Dean, and Divinity Lecturer, King's College. Cambridge. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians*, by James Everett Frame, Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

the Gospel, Mr Brooke prefers to think of it as written later in order to help and warn those for whom the Gospel had not accomplished all that its writer had hoped. 'The whole aim of the Epistle is to recall to mind and to supplement what has long ago been fully given, but not adequately grasped. It is not the earnest of things to come. It owes its existence to the failure to make the most of the abundance that has been given. It is the aftermath, not the first-fruits, of the writer's message to the Church' (p. xxvii).

In arguing thus, Mr Brooke also makes it clear that by 'the Church' we must not understand vaguely the whole body of Christians scattered throughout the world, but a definite community of believers, who are probably to be sought in Asia and in Ephesus. The special danger to which they were exposed can be gathered from the Epistle—a form of Cerinthianism which combined both Gnostic and Judaistic tendencies. But while clearly recognizing the polemical form which consequently the Epistle addressed to them assumed, Mr Brooke is careful to point out that this by no means exhausts its full significance. Its writer 'is a pastor first, an orthodox theologian only afterwards. He cannot separate doctrine from Ethics. But it is the life which he cares about . . . His first object in writing is to help his fellow-Christians to lead this life of fellowship, that his joy and theirs may be fulfilled. And no interpretation of the Epistle is likely to elucidate his meaning satisfactorily if it fails to realize where the writer's interest really lies' (p. xxx).

On the problems surrounding the Second and Third Epistles Mr Brooke has much of interest to say. Notwithstanding the ingenious arguments of Professor Rendel Harris pointing to an individual 'lady' as the recipient of the Second Epistle, I cannot help thinking, in view of the general character of its contents, that Mr Brooke is right in preferring an address to a Church, perhaps the Church of which the Gaius of the Third Epistle (3 John 9) was a member. While, as regards the historical background of the two Epistles, Mr Brooke, though in the main agreeing with Harnack, who finds in them traces of the earlier stages of the development of the monarchical Episcopate, again shews his independence in arguing that the 'Elder' is not really opposed to the new movement, but rather sympathizes with it as the best means of meeting the dangers which the old system could no longer control.

In view of Mr Brooke's praise of Rothe's Commentary *Der Erste Johannis-Brief praktisch erklärt* (1878) as 'by far the most illuminating book which has been written on the subject' (p. viii), it may be noted that an English translation appeared in *The Expository Times* i-vi.

Of Professor Frame's Commentary on the Thessalonian Epistles

I have already had an opportunity of speaking at length in the *American Journal of Theology*, July 1913, and it will be sufficient here to extend in this JOURNAL a hearty welcome to what I believe is the author's first important contribution to Biblical literature. The Commentary, from whatever point of view it is regarded, is certainly a most 'satisfying' piece of work, and, along with von Dobschütz's contribution to the latest edition of Meyer, will do much to further the study of Epistles, which many regard as the earliest of all our New Testament documents. All the ordinary questions are fully discussed by Professor Frame in his admirable Introduction; but it is perhaps on its lexical side that his Commentary has most independent value. The Septuagint and the recently recovered Papyri have been carefully searched for the light they have to throw upon the Pauline vocabulary, and one is glad to notice the weight attached to the 'personal equation', which is of such importance in estimating the finer shades of the Apostle's meaning.

Another Pauline Commentary, which may be mentioned here, is Mr C. W. Emmet's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians in the Reader's Commentary.<sup>1</sup> Although, in accordance with the general aim of the Series to which it belongs, this Commentary is intended for the general reader, rather than for the professional student, the latter will find in it a clear and succinct statement of the main conclusions reached by modern scholarship. The Introduction is mainly concerned with the questions of destination and date, the writer shewing himself a vigorous supporter of the South Galatian theory, and maintaining, in agreement with Professor Kirsopp Lake in his *Earlier Epistles of St Paul*, that the Epistle must be dated *before* the Council of Acts xv, mainly on the ground that it is impossible otherwise to explain the absence of any reference to the decisions reached at the Council.

The teaching embodied in the Epistle is found to centre in the emphasis laid by its writer on the possession of the human personality by the Spirit of the Redeemer, and in this connexion, with special reference to Gal. ii 20, the words of the late Dr Moberly are quoted with approval: 'Christ is crucified first and risen before our eyes; that Christ crucified may be the secret love and power of our hearts. Calvary without Pentecost would not be an atonement for *us*. But Pentecost could not be without Calvary. Calvary is the possibility of Pentecost; and Pentecost is the realization, in human spirits, of Calvary' (*Atonement and Personality* p. 152).

The Notes, which are based on the Revised Version, bear evidence of a close study of the original, and contain frequent references to the views of recent commentators such as Lightfoot, Ramsay, Zahn, and

<sup>1</sup> *S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, by the Rev. Cyril W. Emmet, M.A., vicar of West Hendred. Robert Scott, London, 1912.

Lukyn Williams, while others deal with St Paul's Rabbinic methods of exegesis, and the influence exerted on him by the Greek Mystery Religions. Throughout, indeed, the writer shews himself fully alive to the importance of the principle laid down in his Preface: 'Only when we realize what St Paul's words meant to himself and his contemporaries can we understand what is their message for us to-day.'

With this same attitude Archdeacon Westcott is in full sympathy in his important study on *St Paul and Justification*,<sup>1</sup> where a careful exposition is given of the principal passages bearing on the doctrine in the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans. Written originally apparently for the use of schoolboys, these expositions are marked occasionally by unconventionalities of style, which, so far from detracting, rather add to their freshness and vigour. And all are distinguished, it is hardly necessary to say, by an exactness of Greek scholarship and a depth of theological insight, which makes them a most useful and valuable lesson in the true methods of New Testament Exegesis. The discussion on 'words' with which they are introduced is by no means their least important part, while the translations and paraphrases are often very suggestive. Many of the questions, too, which the writer introduces almost incidentally are bound to provoke further thought and enquiry. Thus with reference to the purely technical sense of *δίκαιος* and of *δικαιοσύνη*, in which he finds as the leading idea 'right-with-God', Archdeacon Westcott remarks: 'It plainly lies with the Deity to dictate the terms and conditions on which He will admit a man within His Covenant. At least it appears to me so' (p. 38). In connexion again with St Paul's use of the LXX he asks whether we, as Christian students, have 'sufficiently realized yet what it means *for us*, that the Christian "O. T." is the version of Alexandria, and not the Hebrew at all', and then, after pointing out that it is the Scripture, interpreted in the light of the 'guided' LXX translators, 'that solely meets the facts of the Christian revelation', he draws the, at first sight, somewhat startling conclusion that 'in so far the LXX becomes, not only the "Christian" version, but actually the "better" version, as containing the latest light vouchsafed to Israel' (p. 47 f). Or, once more, how many discussions on Pauline Dogmatic would we have been spared, if all commentators had kept steadily before them the position adopted by our writer: '"Paulinism" is not a system; it is rather an attitude. You cannot "formulate" it—at least I hold so strongly—but you can "feel" it. Only if you are to "feel" it, you have first to master the

<sup>1</sup> *St Paul and Justification. Being an Exposition of the Teaching in the Epistles to Rome and Galatia.* By Frederick Brooke Westcott, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan & Co, London, 1913.



structure of the shrine that houses the spirit ; and that shrine is the text itself' (p. 396). In the study of the Galatian Epistle, it is interesting to learn incidentally from his son that Bishop Westcott, shortly before he died, was a convert to the 'South Galatian' theory (p. 18).

We wish that we could commend with equal heartiness the new Commentary on the Apocalypse by Lieutenant-Colonel James J. L. Ratton.<sup>1</sup> The subject has evidently for long engaged the writer's thoughts to judge from the titles of previous publications dealing with it that appear on the title-page, but we cannot help feeling that the arduous task of a Commentary on the Greek version has proved too much for him. Certainly the numerous misprints of Greek accents and breathings are in themselves apt to estrange the reviewer, and his doubts are increased when he comes to examine the bibliography attached to the volume. Bossuet *L'Apocalypse*, 1689, is included, but there is no mention of Bousset in the Meyer-Weiss series, by whom our foremost English commentator on the Apocalypse, Dr Swete, remarks that he was 'helped' more than by any other modern commentator, profoundly though he might differ from his general attitude and not a few of his interpretations. Indeed, Colonel Ratton's list does not contain the name of a single German book dealing with the subject, nor is there any discussion, so far as I have observed, of the source-theories which, however they may finally be settled, cannot at least be ignored. The book has received the *imprimatur* of the Diocese of Westminster, but the author is careful to point out that this does not imply that it sets forth 'the Roman view' of the Apocalypse, even if such a view existed, but only that the book is free from heresy. Elsewhere (p. 83) he supplies an interesting quotation from a letter addressed by the present Pope to Bishop Le Camus in 1906: 'As we must condemn the temerity of those who, having more regard for novelty than for the teaching authority of the Church, do not hesitate to adopt a method of criticism altogether too free, so we should not approve the attitude of those who in no way dare to depart from the usual exegesis of Scripture, even when, faith not being at stake, the real advancement of learning requires such departure. You follow a wise course, and shew by your example that there is nothing to be feared for the sacred books from the true progress of the art of criticism ; nay, that a beneficial light can be derived from it, provided its use be coupled with a wise and prudent discernment.'

The foregoing reference to the 'sources' of the Apocalypse may serve as an excuse for at least drawing attention to the title of the elaborate work which the veteran Professor D. Bernhard Weiss recently

<sup>1</sup> *The Apocalypse of St John. A Commentary on the Greek Version*, by James J. L. Ratton, M.D., M.Ch., Q.U.I. R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., London, 1912.

published in support of the unity of the Fourth Gospel—*Das Johannes-evangelium als einheitliches Werk geschichtlich erklärt*.<sup>1</sup>

Though intended specially for younger students and for schoolboys, the volumes of the *Cambridge Greek Testament* offer an excellent introduction to the more moderate critical position on the books of the New Testament. And few are more likely to be useful from this point of view than the two latest additions to the series. In his introduction to *The Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude*<sup>2</sup> Dr M. R. James states succinctly and clearly the problems that have been raised regarding the relationship of the two Epistles, and, as against Spitta, Zahn, and Bigg, concludes for the priority of Jude. 2 Peter he regards as a pseudonymous work embodying 'a crystallizing of oral apostolic teaching put forward to meet a particular difficulty' (p. xxxiv), but instead of dating it with Mayor in the second quarter of the second century, or carrying it forward with its latest German commentator Knopf to the third quarter, Dr James thinks that the Epistle may very possibly be as early as A.D. 100–125, in view of its resemblances to the other apocryphal writings connected with Peter's name. With reference to these, Dr James's weighty support is extended to the view that the Greek fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is 'really a portion of the *Gospel of Peter*, which had incorporated, with some changes, a large section of the *Apocalypse*; the latter having been already current for some time as a separate book' (p. lviii). On the style and vocabulary of 2 Peter, references may be made not only to Professor Mayor's exhaustive work, but to the useful summary by the Rev. R. H. Strachan in *The Expositor's Greek Testament* v p. 110ff.

The volume on *The Epistle to the Romans*<sup>3</sup> is the work of the General Editor of the series, the Rev. R. St John Parry, B.D., who has taken over at the request of the Syndics of the Press the task originally assigned to Dr Bebb of Lampeter. It is perhaps sufficient to say that Mr St John Parry has proved himself as capable as a commentator as he has already done as an editor. Every page bears witness to the care and thoroughness of his work, and all the most modern aids, as well as the great editions of Sanday and Headlam and others, have been called in for the interpretation of St Paul's most important Epistle. Nägeli's important study on *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus* (1905)—still unfortunately a fragment—is laid under frequent contribution, and the constant usefulness of Dr Moulton's *Prolegomena* is specially acknowledged. There are also valuable Additional Notes on words such as *συνείδησις* and *νόμος*, and on the difficult textual problems of cc. xv, xvi.

<sup>1</sup> Trowitzsch und Sohn, Berlin, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge, 1912.

Along with these Commentaries may be mentioned a small book for the same class of readers, *A Short Syntax of New Testament Greek* by Mr H. P. V. Nunn.<sup>1</sup> The demand for such a book, and the excellent manner in which the work has been done, are proved by the fact that a second edition has already been called for. In view of future editions, the writer might perhaps consider whether the opening section on English Grammar is really necessary, or whether the space gained by its omission might not be better utilized by expanding some of the later sections.

G. MILLIGAN.

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, 1912.

## *RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*

### (1) ENGLISH.

*The Church Quarterly Review*, October 1913 (Vol. lxxvii, No. 153 : Spottiswoode & Co.). VISCOUNT WOLMER The Church and Parliament—BISHOP OF BLOEMFONTEIN Saint Teresa—F. W. PULLER The grace of orders and Apostolic succession—E. WORDSWORTH Jane Austen—M. F. JONES The language of the New Testament—J. G. SIMPSON Presbyterian reunion in Scotland—G. C. BOSANQUET Christianity as a Gospel—H. F. HAMILTON The Canadian Unity proposals—Short Notices.

*The Hibbert Journal*, October 1913 (Vol. xii, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). T. ROOSEVELT The Progressive Party—F. YOUNGHUSBAND Some laymen's needs—F. POLLOCK The relation of mystic experience to philosophy—A. S. PRINGLE-PATTISON 'The free man's worship'—E. HAMILTON Immortality and competition—C. E. OZANNE The significance of 'non-evidential material' in psychical research—C. REDDIE 'The public schools and the Empire'—F. W. L. ROSS International morality—E. H. JONES The evolution of the social conscience towards crime and industrialism—H. H. WENDT The historical trustworthiness of the book of Acts—G. W. WADE Miracles and Christianity—J. ERSKINE The moral obligation to be intelligent—Discussions—Surveys—Reviews.

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# *The Journal of Theological Studies*

APRIL, 1914

BARON HERMANN VON SODEN.

A SHOCK of mingled pain and sympathy ran through the world of scholarship and learning at the news of the sudden death by an accident on the Underground Railway of Berlin of Baron Hermann von Soden. It is not for us to intrude upon private sorrow; but we would fain be allowed to offer our deeply respectful sympathy to the family that has thus in a moment suffered the loss of its head, at the height of his powers and of his fame, and in circumstances so distressing (Baron von Soden was born in the year 1852, and was thus in his sixty-second year). The eldest son, Baron Hans von Soden, has already won for himself an honoured name in theology by two elaborate and important monographs on the Letters of St Cyprian and on the African Text of the Latin New Testament. It should be remembered that his father was by no means only a textual critic. He was an excellent exegete, and contributed commentaries on the later Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, 1 and 2 St Peter, St James, and St Jude to the *Hand-Commentar*. He travelled, and wrote two small books on Palestine. Special mention is due to two other small works, *Urchristliche Literaturgeschichte* (translated into English in Williams and Norgate's Crown Theological Library), and *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu* (both published in 1904). This latter work especially was marked by much insight and beauty of expression. Together they shew the author as a Liberal-Conservative or Conservative-Liberal who made it his task to mediate between old and new, and he was one of those who have perhaps hit the happiest mean in this respect. In addition to these works of scholarship he has held for many years the charge of Jerusalem Church, one of the leading churches in Berlin, where his pastoral work has been highly valued,

especially in preparing for Confirmation the sons and daughters of the German aristocracy.

As to the great work on the Text of the Greek Testament (two large volumes, 1902-1913), by which his name will chiefly go down to posterity, I have some hesitation in speaking. I ought by this time to have a fuller and more closely tested knowledge of it than I have. In any case it represents a vast constructive undertaking, very parallel to the work of Tischendorf. It has evidently been a work of enormous labour, which must have put the severest strain upon the nerves and clearness of head, not to speak of accuracy of hand and eye. My own chief interest would be in the principles on which the text is reconstructed. It is understood that such reconstruction of the text must be based upon a previous reconstruction of the history of the text. Synthesis must be based upon preceding analysis. Von Soden has taken especial pains in mapping out the later stages of the history of the text (Nicene and Post-Nicene), but the chief question in my mind is whether he has been equally successful in mapping out the Ante-Nicene stage. It will be obvious that a great deal turns on this.

I cannot close this brief and inadequate tribute to a scholar of great eminence without a word, which must be also one of sympathy, for the author of a criticism which appears later in this number. Mr. Hoskier is well known as one of the most independent and most incisive of our writers, with a passion for precise detail. It has fallen to his lot to review the great book, and he has done so in a sense that is adverse, and even hostile. I know that he regrets the unhappy coincidence which brings out his criticism at this particular juncture. It is one thing to throw down a gage of battle before a champion who is in possession of the lists and in the fullest vigour to defend his own cause, and another thing to issue a like challenge over a newly closed grave. All who are connected with *The Journal of Theological Studies* would have wished to avoid such a coincidence; but the article was already paged for the January number of the JOURNAL, and on the eve of being printed off at the time of Baron von Soden's death, and the publication of it could only be deferred for the moment.

W. SANDAY.



## NOTES AND STUDIES

## VON SODEN'S TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.\*

I HAD looked for great things from Dr von Soden's final volume of the Text. The earlier volumes were very heavy reading, but I expected that his Text and critical notes would fill a gap in our studies.

Alas, he has but complicated our problems, and instead of writing a eulogy on his work I regret to have to condemn it strongly. The only redeeming feature of the whole work consists in the collations of codices at Sinai, Jerusalem, and Athos, not forgetting <sup>060</sup> at Tiflis.†

As to the presentment of the combined critical material, after making every allowance for the division of work among forty people, it can only be said that the apparatus is positively honeycombed with errors, and many documents which should have been recollated have not been touched, others only partially, and others again have been incorrectly handled.

Dr von Soden frequently opposes Schmidtke's edition of Paris<sup>97</sup>, and doubtless it is von Soden who is wrong every time. He misquotes my 604/700 (his <sup>133</sup>) and has not correctly handled 28 (his <sup>168</sup>) or 157 (his <sup>207</sup>). He does not tell us if he had Ψ recollated. If he only used Lake's *edition of Mark and Collation of the other Gospels*, then he has done a great wrong by printing endless false readings. If he has had it recollated then Lake's work was rather careless. I leave them to settle this matter between them.

It has been my duty to go over von Soden's text and apparatus throughout the Gospels in all passages concerning a difference between  $\aleph$  and B (in connexion with a work which is in the press), and very soon after beginning the investigation it became clear to me that von Soden's work was a *step backward*. I have striven myself to keep textual matters on as clear a basis as possible, and here we have an editor, who, not content with throwing overboard all our previous nomenclature in an excess of pride in his forthcoming enterprise, has brought this enterprise to fruition in such a way as to befog the issue at every step.

Without further preliminaries I proceed to indict him on the most serious count of all; upon a count on which none of his predecessors have been found guilty,‡ for they handled these matters with infinite care.

\* See *supra* p. 306.

† Now published by Beermann and Gregory as the 'Koridethi' Gospels.

‡ I think Tischendorf is unwittingly guilty on one occasion only.

As regards Hort, his method had the merit of simplicity, whatever we may think of the result. When he was confronted with five or six varieties of order or three or four different readings, he chose upon occasion to follow B, even if alone, by preference. Not so von Soden. His method is that of eclecticism, carried to such a point that he *invents scripture* by conflation or combination, and instead of *reducing* our many various readings, he has actually *increased* them!

Here is the proof.

(I) *Invention of Scripture.*

He prints—

(1) Mark iii 3 καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὴν ἐξηραμμένην χεῖρα ἔχοντι.

There are varieties of reading here, but no MSS that I know of read as von Soden's text.

Tisch. has τῷ τὴν ξηρὰν χεῖρα ἔχοντι

W-H „ τῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντι ξηρὰν

Text. rec. „ τῷ ἐξηραμμένην ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα

D „ τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα ἐξηραμμένην

28 „ τῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντι ἐξηραμμένην

[Matt. xii 13 τότε λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ *tantum*

Luke vi 8 εἶπεν δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ ξηρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα with variations (and some τῷ τὴν ἐξηραμμένην ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα)]

(2) Luke xxiv 27. Von Soden prints διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς [τί ἦν] τὰ περὶ ἐαυτοῦ.

In his margin he has 'ομ τι ἦν Ta K gg H<sup>δ2</sup> δ<sup>48</sup> f bo Ia<sup>060</sup> η<sup>a</sup> b<sup>258</sup> pa'.

Now δ<sup>2</sup> = N and δ<sup>48</sup> = 33, plus L (= f after δ<sup>48</sup>), have τι ἦν but in quite a different position, viz. before ἐν. So does 1 [non fam 118-209-131] represented by von Soden as η<sup>a</sup>; so that unless Sod<sup>060</sup>, or Sod<sup>258</sup> (= Evan. 22) has his order he has grossly erred and *invented* a new order with the addition, just as other MSS did when incorporating something from the margin.

As regards 22 Mr Sanders informs me that + τι ἦν occurs there before ἐν, so that the matter narrows down to Sod<sup>060</sup>, but the edition just published shews τι ἦν before ἐν there also.

(3) Luke i 42. Another case of composite handling, without brackets. Von Soden prints: καὶ ἀνεφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.

Now ἀνεφώνησεν is the reading of B *plur* against N C F Soden<sup>060</sup> 28 892 minn<sup>10</sup> or <sup>60</sup> for ἀνεβοησεν, but φωνῇ on the other hand is the reading of N *plur* against the κρανγῇ of B L Ξ and W 2<sup>pe</sup> Paris<sup>97</sup> Orig<sup>ter</sup> boh<sup>duo</sup>, so that von Soden follows B for one thing and deserts him as to the very next word. He thus tacitly accuses N in one word and B in the other contiguous one of bearing false testimony. Does this justify him in *ever* following N B alone elsewhere, as at Matt. xviii 24, Mark viii 32 &c.? Or does it justify him in following N B L alone

at Mark xvi 4? Or in following L alone at Luke xvii 12? Or B 892 alone at Mark ii 22? Or B T 892 alone at Luke xxii 30? If κραυγή of B L Ξ W 2<sup>pe</sup> Paris<sup>97</sup> *Orig<sup>ter</sup>* conjoined be wrong here in Luke i 42, how can he be convinced that the other singular or semi-singular readings of B referred to above are correct when he adopts them elsewhere?

(4) John xiii 26. Von Soden prints βαψω το ψωμιον και επιδωσω αυτω, instead of βαψας το ψωμιον επιδωσω αυτω.

But those MSS which change βαψας to βαψω . . . και, all have δωσω afterwards and not επιδωσω.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, von Soden's βαψω το ψωμιον και επιδωσω αυτω is invented, whereas βαψω το ψωμιον και δωσω αυτω is read by B C L (δω) 213 Sod<sup>851 1110 8371</sup> *boh (sah) arm aeth.*

(5) Mark x 1. I considered until I came across this passage that von Soden had simply committed *errors* in his text, but here he shews us something, for he prints '[και] [δια του] περαν', which, in its entirety, is *only exhibited by one MS*, Laura<sup>A104</sup>. His apparatus is so constructed that you could not tell it from that, for Laura<sup>A104</sup> (= his<sup>1279</sup>) is not cited thus.

He inserts the bracketed και because Ν B C\* L Ψ 892 read και περαν against the simple περαν of D G W Δ C<sup>2</sup> *min aliq lat syr goth arm.* He follows it with [δια του] because A N Φ *unc*<sup>11</sup> and *aeth* have this, but the general summary result is the product of conflation, in which process I arraign him as guilty with Laura<sup>A104</sup>.

(6) Luke v 2. Von Soden prints πλοιαρια δυο. This has, as far as I know, no *Greek* authority whatever, the witness for it being only *a* of the *Latins*. Von Soden's notes are so arranged that it is impossible to observe whether any of his new Greek witnesses so read. He has conflated the *order* of B W 892 Paris<sup>97</sup> *e copt syr W-H<sup>txt</sup>*: πλοια δυο, with the δυο πλοιαρια of A C L Q R Ψ &c. (W-H<sup>mg</sup>), while D *unc*<sup>13</sup> *minn*<sup>p1</sup> read δυο πλοια. It is in this same verse that he holds απεπλυναν against W-H, with επλυνον B D W 91 892, επλυναν Ν C\* L Q X 239 299 372 Paris<sup>97</sup> Sod<sup>1416</sup>, and the simple *lavabant* of the *Latins*!

(7) Luke xxiii 8. Out of a good many varieties † von Soden chooses εξ ικανου θελων (- χρονου or χρονων). No editor had done this before because there was no uncial authority for it. There happens to be *one* uncial MS for it now, viz. Ψ (Lake *teste*), but von Soden *does not recognize it*, because he quotes δ6 (= Ψ) in his notes (and on

† Txt. rec. θελων εξ ικανου as most, or θελων εξ ικανου χρονου W al. But εξ ικανων χρονων θελων Ν B T X *aliq. c.* θελων εξ ικανων χρονων 157, εξ ικανου χρονου θελων *fam* 13, εξ ικανων χρονων L (-θελων), erat enim cupiens videre illum a (-εξ ικ. χρ.) cf. *ug<sup>sp</sup>*. *Ord. ita*: θελων ειδειν αυτον εξ ικανων χρονων D d cf. *sah syr*, cf. e, εξ ικανου θελων Ψ et Soden *txt soli vid cum* 241 *et evangelistariis sex.*

page 946 of Band I, Abt. II) as reading *χρονον post ικανου* of his text, thus:—

‘Add *χρονον* p *ικανου* (Ac 27<sub>9</sub>) *H*<sup>014</sup> δ<sup>6</sup> *I*η’ &c.

Thus (unless Lake is wrong, and I do not think he is) von Soden stands alone again, as far as the evidence recognized by him was concerned.

(8) Mark xv 34. Von Soden shews us how a polyglot mind among the scribes of old led to trouble, for, *without any Greek authority*, he prints in his text *και τη ωρα ενατη*. What he *means* to print (judging from his note) is *και τη ενατη ωρα* with *κ B D<sup>87</sup> F L Ψ* &c. The majority of Greeks have *και τη ωρα τη ενατη*, but *none* *και τη ωρα ενατη*, nor does he give any MS in his notes which omits *τη ante ενατη*.

(9) Luke x 42 where *D d a b c e f f i l r (syr sin) Amb Clem* omit the clause altogether, and where Hort got into difficulties and followed *C<sup>2</sup> L 1 [non fam]* 33 (add now Paris<sup>97</sup>) against *B*, while *C\* A unc<sup>4</sup>* and *W Ψ 892 minn<sup>pl</sup>* give another version, von Soden elects to follow *one* Greek MS, viz. 38† (about which we hear but little generally) for *ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια*.† I am justified in placing this here, for I do not recollect him ever to have quoted Evan. 38 in his apparatus (*N*<sup>o</sup> δ 355). So he adopted this reading in all probability *without knowing of this solitary MS authority* because (see p. xxiv) of his rule: ‘Für die Darstellung der Lesart war die Aufgabe denkbarste *Knappheit*, leichte Übersichtlichkeit, *unmissverständliche Klarheit*.’ So, at the expense of documentary evidence, he prints *out of his head*: which incidentally is a wonderful commentary on the previous action of Evan. 38 *syr hier* and *boh<sup>duo</sup>*.

The passage involved is the famous one conveying our Lord’s remarks to Martha about Mary:—

‘*ἐνὸς δέ ἐστι χρεία*. *Μαρία δὲ τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο ἥτις οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἀπ’ αὐτῆς*.’

The early sentence is found

in *B* as *ολιγων δε χρεια εστιν η ενος*

in *κ\** as *ολιγων δε εστιν η ενος*

in *C<sup>2</sup> L 1.33 Paris<sup>97</sup>* as *ολιγων δε εστι χρεια η ενος*.

*Clem* with *D d a b c e f f i l r Ambr (syr sin)* omit it altogether, but von Soden with 38 and *syr hier boh<sup>N<sup>1</sup></sup> J<sup>1</sup>* elects:—

‘*ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια*’

for ‘*Knappheit*’ and ‘*unmissverständliche Klarheit*’.

(10) John vii 12. Who would suppose from von Soden’s text ‘*και γογγυσμος ην περι αυτου πολυς*’ (agreeing with Tischendorf’s text) and from his apparently simple note

† The famous one (of four cursives only) which joins in omitting the first word from the cross. There at Luke xxiii 34 von Soden does not quote it, so he was evidently not familiar with it.

‡ *Syr hier* and *arm* are the only others to agree (partially).

‘ ~ πολυς p γογγυσμος Ta K gg H<sup>δ 1 014 δ 48 f 5 δ 371 I φ b 410 o 129 1246</sup>  
<sup>δ 469 K<sup>i</sup> A<sup>3</sup> C<sup>13</sup> b q Xρ, om πολυς I a δ 5 f af a ff<sup>2</sup> l | ~ περι αυτου ην</sup>  
 K gg H<sup>δ 2 δ 6 δ 48 1016 I a δ 5 337 i<sup>a</sup> φ a 1454 c 190 f o 1279 π σ 361 pa C N</sup>  
 af sy<sup>8c</sup> Xρ, om περι αυτου I φ a δ 30<sup>1</sup>,

that he and Tischendorf (quite unwittingly I suppose) had very nearly invented scripture here also, for 33 appears to be the only witness for their case? It will be observed that δ<sup>48</sup> (= 33) is the only MS (with an exception to be mentioned immediately) which occurs in both lists. It so happened that the differing orders which caused them so to act also misled another very ancient authority who preceded them by a thousand and half a thousand years. A close inspection will shew ‘Xρ’ also appearing twice, and a reference to Matthaei’s edition, p. 127, of St John exhibits :—

πολὺς—ἦν] ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ πολὺς μ ε γ δ λ θ

that is to say, practically all his codices of St Chrysostom!

So Chrys. and 33<sup>vid</sup> Tisch. and von Soden invite us to read : και γογγυσμος ην περι αυτου πολυς, because of trouble at that place very early.

The common text of most is και γογγυσμος πολυς περι αυτου ην, but  $\aleph$  reads και γογγυσμος πολυς ην περι αυτου, whereas B L T (X) W and a few cursives have και γογγυσμος περι αυτου ην πολυς which Hort prints.

πολυς is omitted outright by D Sod<sup>060</sup> a c d e ff l aur foss arm, and is probably basic. The order of B L T X W is opposed by syr and pers which place πολυς in the text in an early position. Περι αυτου is omitted by goth. Von Soden now adds δ<sup>30</sup> (= 2) but does not mention goth. (127 reads και γογγυσμος ην πολυς περι αυτου.)

This muddle has misled both Tisch. and von Soden, unless they have *purposely* made a composition of the readings of  $\aleph$  and B L T X W.

At any rate their authority is Chrys. and 33 only. On p. 957 Band I, Abt. II, von Soden does not include this reading of 33 with Chrys.

Von Soden ends with εν τοις οχλοις against εν τω οχλω of 33. His clause in its entirety is absolutely alone with Chrys.

(11) Luke xii 18. Von Soden prints παντα τα γεννηματα και τα αγαθα μου, omitting μου after γεννηματα. *I know of no Greek MSS which do this.* He has apparently mixed the testimony of B L T minn aliq and the versions which substitute τον σιτον without μου for τα γεννηματα μου, but this does not justify his action in the least. It is impossible for a student, not versed in these matters, to gather anything from his notes, for he states the two matters differently. Thus :—

‘ add μου p γεννημ. Ta K gg H<sup>δ 1 0 66 1016 ff I η φ a 1444 σ 207 τ δ 398 arm</sup>  
 | τον σιτον l τα γεννηματα Ta H<sup>ex c δ 2 \* δ 6 δ 48 76 I η ι σ 207 A<sup>3</sup> sy<sup>p</sup>.</sup>

Possibly Sod<sup>144</sup> has τα γεννηματα without μου, but he surely did not

follow this one MS intentionally here. He has either made another mistake (from making up his text as a 'desk-student' from the apparatus gathered and put together by others and which he did not understand himself) or has gratuitously invented scripture once more, preferring *τα γενήματα και τα αγαθα μου* to the double use of *μου*. Another instance of how 'pairs' have caused various readings in the MSS themselves.

(12) Luke xxii 64. It is a question whether among the great and heavy variations in the Greek and Latin many, or any, can be found to support von Soden's text:—

‘καὶ περικαλύψαντες αὐτὸν ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες’

for those which omit *ετυπτον αὐτου το προσωπον* also omit the *αυτον* before *λεγοντες*.

(13) John xiii 18. *ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄρτον (pro μετ εμου τον αρτον)* is an invention. The codices which suppress *μετ* read *μου*, not *εμου*. See von Soden's own note below on the subject ‘*μετ εμου λ μου . . .*’.

(14) John i 50 (49 with von Soden). Here he surely does not mean to neglect all the Greeks and go alone with the Latins *ff l gat vg* as he does by printing *ἀπεκριθὴ αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ [καὶ λέγει]*.

This is how it looks set out in all its aspects:—

*Ναθαναήλ tantum* (— *ἀπεκριθὴ αὐτῷ*) + *æ*: *sah<sup>unus</sup> grandiloquus*.

*Απεκριθὴ αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ* B L W 33 249 Paris<sup>97</sup> *b aur W-H txt*.

*Και εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ aeth*

*Ναθαναήλ ἀπεκριθὴ αὐτῷ sah (variant plurimum boh<sup>cod.1</sup>)*

*Et Natanahel respondit e*

*Απεκριθὴ Ναθαναήλ και εἶπεν* N X<sup>b</sup> ? } *syr hier arm?*

*Respondit Nathanael et ait* c vg<sup>E</sup> }

*Απεκριθὴ Ναθαναήλ και λέγει αὐτῷ* A Λ Π unc<sup>o</sup> al. r (δ) Chr Cyr

*Απεκριθὴ Ναθαναήλ και αὐτῷ εἶπεν* pers [hiant D d syr cu sin]

*Απεκριθὴ Ναθαναήλ και εἶπεν αὐτῷ* Γ Δ Ψ<sup>vid</sup> 28 245 435 Sod<sup>190 551 1443</sup>

*Eust* 19 ? 26 ? 49 60 ? (δ dixit vel ait) q syr pesh

*Και ἀπεκριθὴ Ναθ. και εἶπεν αὐτῷ* 254

*Απεκριθὴ αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ και εἶπεν* X 124 *a f arm? Epiph*

*Απεκριθὴ αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ και λέγει αὐτῷ* Sod<sup>370 1091</sup> *vid.*

{ *Respondit ei Nathanael et ait* ff<sub>2</sub> l gat vg  
*Απεκριθὴ αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ [καὶ λέγει]* Soden txt sol inter Gr. }

Von Soden's reading is therefore grotesque. And then immediately afterwards he proceeds to omit altogether from his notes the graphic + *fili* at the end of John ii 3 by his favourite 'af', and *b ff l* (which he follows at i 49) and *Ambrose*<sup>bis</sup> [hiant D d syr cu sin].

In view of the lacunae in D d syr cu sin, we should certainly have our attention called to this pretty addition, even if it is quite unauthorized beyond *e ff l*, for Buchanan has added *b* for it.

(15) John viii 41. Von Soden prints οὐ γεγενήθημεν without MS authority. The textus receptus, with the majority and *Orig Chr Cyr*, has οὐ γεγενήμεθα as Tischendorf and Hort<sup>ms</sup>. Hort<sup>txt</sup> has οὐκ ἐγεννήθημεν with B D\* 409, while οὐκ ἐγεννήμεθα is read by  $\aleph$  L T *Sod*<sup>78017</sup>.

(16) Lastly, von Soden's reading in John xxi 18 in its entirety:—

καὶ ἄλλοι ζώσουσί σε καὶ ἀποίοσιν οὐ θέλεις

is a complete invention.

For the first part καὶ ἄλλοι ζώσουσί σε von Soden is following  $\aleph$  alone; for the second part καὶ ἀποίοσιν he follows  $\Pi$  alone, and οὐ θέλεις agrees with B and the majority (against  $\aleph$ ), but for von Soden's sentence as a whole there is no MS authority. The matter will be found set out fully in vol. ii of my 'Codex B and its allies' (in the press).

### (II) Von Soden's quotations of 'af'.

Having satisfied himself that his son has correctly 'restored' the African text, the elder von Soden makes a practice of quoting 'af' instead of *e* or *k* or *Cypr*, or *e k*, or *e k Cypr*, or *e Cypr*, or *k Cypr*. The viciousness of this system is obvious. I will give one illustration.

At Mark xii 4 where *e* and *k* are both extant, von Soden has in his notes 'om καὶ I<sup>a</sup> 168 af c'. He means 'om 28 *ce*' for *k* says *Et Iterum* against *Iterum* of *e*.

(He neglects the fact that *sah arm* and *pers* also omit the initial καὶ. It is important here, for they replace *syr sin* which omits the whole verse.)

### (III) System.

As to *system* there is none. Sometimes  $\aleph$  B are followed alone, as at Matt. xiii 36 διασαφισον (*pro φρασον*) (+ *Sod*<sup>650</sup> φ<sup>a</sup>; these witnesses are deserted by Soden on countless other occasions); whereas at John iv 15 διερχομαι (*pro ερχομαι*)  $\aleph$  B, adopted by W-H and John x 18 ηρεν (*pro αιρει*)  $\aleph$  B, adopted by W-H, are put aside by von Soden.

In the former case von Soden does not even place φρασον in his upper notes or margin.

In the latter case he condemns ηρεν by placing it in his third or bottom series of notes, but takes pains to add after 'ηρεν loco αιρει H<sup>δ</sup> 1-2\*': 'gg Ωρ Διδ Ευσ' that is to say  $\aleph$  B but *against* Origen, Didymus, and Eusebius.

Why then at Luke vi 28 did he suppress the great Patristic testimony for υπερ (as against περι  $\aleph$  B L W  $\Xi$  604 Paris<sup>97</sup>) by *Justin Dial Clem*<sup>bis</sup> *Orig Eus*<sup>bis</sup>?

Here is his note in Luke: υπερ l περι (Mt. 5 44) K gg H<sup>δ</sup> 1-2 014 56 376f I<sup>a</sup> 133 A<sup>1</sup>.

Not one word about the Fathers. Not one single new cursive added

for *περι*, because 376=Paris<sup>97</sup> we knew already from Schmidtke's publication. 376 belongs in von Soden's limited group: *H* δ 1.2.014. δ 3 δ 6 26 δ 48 56 76 1016 376 δ 371, that is to say *κ B W C Ψ Z 33 L Δ 892 Paris*<sup>97</sup>, 1241 (Sinai 260). The *f* then (as 1016=892 does *not* read thus) can only refer to δ 371. Does this Sinai MS read *περι*? If so, it should have been mentioned by name.

It may be said as regards John x 18 that *ἦρεν* there is so palpably wrong that von Soden properly rejects it, and that it is merely a change of tense. But at Matt. xviii 24, where a change of order from *προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ εἰς ὀφειλέτης* to *προσην. εἰς αὐτῷ ὀφειλέτης* does not appreciably affect the sense, yet von Soden follows the latter order in his text on the sole authority of *κ B*.

The order is awkward. *εἰς* was probably introduced into the text of *κ B* from the margin and put in the wrong place, for *syr sin* and *e* with 245 and Sod<sup>1333</sup> omit *εἰς* altogether. *Syr cu* holds the usual order, against *κ B* 'before him one of them'.

Similarly at Mark viii 32, instead of *καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ*, von Soden, on the sole authority of *κ B (sah boh syr)*, adopts the order *καὶ προσλαβ. ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν κτλ.* But *αὐτόν* is omitted by D Sod<sup>1349 1403</sup> and *pers*, and very likely here too *αὐτόν* was introduced into the *κ B* text from the margin and put in the wrong place.

Luke xxii 30. Order *τας δωδεκα φυλας κρινοντες* of Sod<sup>txt</sup> is only supported by B T 892 *i*.

I urge that there is no system in von Soden's text. Consider among many other passages his adoption in Luke xx 27 of *αντιλεγοντες* against the *λεγοντες* of *κ B C D L N 892 Paris*<sup>97</sup> &c. *d e goth copt syr*. Observe *λεγοντες* supported by *four* of his families *H* (represented by *κ B C 892 Paris*<sup>97</sup>), *I* (by D *d* &c.), *π* (by N), 'af' (by *e*), besides *goth copt syr*, making *seven* groups in all. Von Soden goes against this.

But just above he follows similar, although less powerful, grouping at xx 22 *κ A B L*, xx 23 *κ B L*, xx 25 *κ B L*, xx 26 *κ B L*.

Similarly at Mark xv 1 he follows *κ C L 892* for *ετοιμασαντες*, although B reads *ποιησαντες* with the majority and *εποιησαν* D Sod<sup>cs0</sup> 2<sup>pe</sup> *al*.

And even at Mark xvi 4 he follows *κ B L* absolutely alone (not adding a single new witness) for *ανακεκλυσται* instead of *αποκεκλυσται* (roundly condemned by Merx).

But, as a matter of fact, *κ* does not read with B L. While B L read *οτι ανακεκλυσται ο λιθος*, *κ* has, without *οτι*, 'ανακεκλυσμενον τον λιθον'. Tischendorf's edition of *κ* is correct but his N.T. note completely wrong, and von Soden has accepted this without checking it. The error has been with us for over forty years, and he has perpetuated it. It must be corrected. *κ* really reads with the Latins *revolutum lapidem*. Only



*n* has *amotum*. Therefore, while abandoning the Greek construction of the others, *Σ* yet retains the *ανα-* of B L (these three still remaining alone for this) as against *απο-* of the other Greeks for D *Sod*<sup>1050</sup> and 2<sup>pe</sup>, while changing somewhat the verse, write *ερχονται και ευρισκουσιν αποκεκλισμενον τον λιθον*, and not *ανακεκυλισμενον τον λιθον* as *Σ*. The form of D *Sod*<sup>1050</sup> 2<sup>pe</sup> is found in *cdffn* of the Latins:

et veniunt et inveniunt revolutum (*amotum n*) lapidem *cd n*.

et venerunt et invenerunt revolutum lapidem *ff*. 'Revolutus' of the Latins being *anceps* as to *ανα-* or *απο-* we are still left to argue this out on other lines (see Merx, p. 510 sq., and plates on Luke xxiii 52-54, but we must get the textual matters properly aligned before we can discuss it properly.

At Matt. xi 19 he has *εργων* for *τεκνων* [although his countryman Merx (p. 194) had warned him against this] with only *Σ*\* B 124 *Sod*<sup>1222</sup> *boh sah*<sup>uno</sup> *syr pesh* (*arm*). He seems to err by quoting *I*<sup>th</sup> as a whole = *fam* 69, whereas only 124 reads thus. His sub-family *I*<sup>th</sup> is composed of 69-124, 174 (his <sup>100</sup>), and his <sup>1053</sup>, an Athens codex. Do <sup>109</sup> <sup>1053</sup> read *εργων*?

At Mark ii 22 *και ο οινος απολλυται και οι ασκοι* of *Sod*<sup>txt</sup> has its only support from B 892 and *boh*.

At Luke xvii 12 he omits *αυτω* after *υπηνητησαν* with only B L. He misquotes D 157. 157 is wrong, and D has *οπου ησαν* so of course *αυτω* fell away. As a matter of fact

L only reads *υπηνητησαν* (—*αυτω*)

for B reads *απηνητησαν* (—*αυτω*),

so that von Soden is here following *one* MS L against all others. This is pretty extensive editing! Of what use then all this examination of documents?

At John iv 21 he reads *πιστευσον* against *πιστευε* of no less than *Σ* B C\* D L W 1 *fam* 13 22 Laura<sup>A104</sup> *Sod*<sup>1100 1110</sup> 2<sup>pe</sup> *Orig Ath* and *Cyr*.

At Mark v 25 he retains *τις* against *Σ* A B C L W Δ *lat*<sup>pl</sup> which omit, thus following D *rell d a f syr* against his usual preferred combination.

At Mark v 40, again, he prints *ο δε* against *αυτος δε* of *Σ* B C D L Δ 33 Paris<sup>97</sup> *Eust* 48 *it vg*, and this where the two families *Σ* B and D are conjoined with the Latin. If there is *one* Gospel where this conjunction should be followed it is in Mark! (*Hiat syr sin*).

On the other hand, at Mark vi 12 he goes over to and follows *Σ* B C L D *gr* Δ *gr* for *εκηρυξαν* against *εκηρυσσον d d it*<sup>omn</sup> *vg W Σ Φ unc*<sup>11</sup> *minn*<sup>c<sup>mn</sup></sup> *et Paris*<sup>97</sup>. So that he follows for a tense change the very group whose reading he had outraged above by contradicting.

Then at vii 17 he opposes *την παραβολην* of *Σ* B D L Δ 33 Paris<sup>97</sup> + *it vg* by printing *περι της παραβολης* of A *rell*.

But at vii 31 he accepts *ἦλθεν δια σιδωνος* of the same  $\aleph$  B D L  $\Delta$  33 2<sup>pe</sup> 604 *latt*, against *καὶ σιδωνος ἦλθεν* of A *rell*.

On p. xxviii he says, 'Stehen die Lesarten der Recensionen fest, so ist in der Regel die *von zwei Recensionen* vertretene Lesart in den Text aufgenommen'.

But how often does he break this rule! Consult, for a change of mood, Luke vii 7. Instead of *ἀλλ' εἰπὲ λόγῳ καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου* he prints the sentence with *ἰαθήτω*. This is the reading favoured by B L only against their allies  $\aleph$   $\Delta$   $\Psi$  and D, and against the rest of von Soden's *H* family including 892 and Paris<sup>97</sup>, and against all the other families. He produces one new witness  $\delta$  371 (a MS at *Sinai*) of the *H* family. His only other witness is 'bo?'. Horner indicates but *two* boh MSS for this, but *all* the *sah* codices, which von Soden omits. And behold the reading favoured by Tisch., Hort, and von Soden proves once more to be purely 'Egyptian' and of an 'improving' order.

So von Soden's text appears to be an inadequate guide in these complicated matters, and the art of navigation has not been mastered by the compilers of it; in fact their compasses were not adjusted before leaving port.

This is severe criticism, but is supported by the charges in the following section.

#### (IV) *Grave Errors.*

There are many grave errors. Observe particularly an error, from lack of referring to original sources, at Matt. xxvii 53. Von Soden says 'om *καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς* *H* <sup>$\delta$ 2</sup> *I*<sup>371</sup>'. This is an important place, and the citation of *H* <sup>$\delta$ 2</sup> (=  $\aleph$ ) is quite wrong. And it is only wrong because von Soden misread Tischendorf's note and did not trouble to look up the edition of  $\aleph$  itself. Tischendorf in ed. viii N. T. says:—

'*εἰσηλθον* (et Or<sup>4.208</sup> et int<sup>927</sup>; D it [exc f q] *vg ἦλθον*:  $\aleph$  om una cum *καὶ sq*'

by which he means that  $\aleph$  omits *εἰσηλθον* and the subsequent *καὶ* (following *πολιν* and before *ἐνεφανίσθησαν*). Von Soden neglects to record this — *εἰσηλθον* and — *καὶ*, gives quite the wrong omission, and misunderstands that  $\aleph$  deliberately cut out *εἰσηλθον*, as the omission of *καὶ seq.* shews. Here is the verse:—

Καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσηλθον [*om.*  $\aleph$ ]  
εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ [*om.*  $\aleph$ ] ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς.

Thus  $\aleph$  wishes to read 'And going out from the graves after his rising into the Holy city, they appeared to many', which is quite different from the reading of *I*<sup>371</sup> which would have: 'And going out from the graves after his rising they came into the Holy city'; stopping there and eliminating 'and they appeared to many'.

Luke xxii 35. Tischendorf says as to  $\aleph$  'τινος ( $\aleph^c$ ):  $\aleph^*$  τι exeunte versu'. Von Soden (without referring to the original) has interpreted this to mean τινος omitted after μη and added *at the end of the verse* after ουθενος. So he gives in his notes [instead of τι ι τινος] 'om τινος  $H^{\delta 2*}$  / . . . add τι p ουθενος  $H^{\delta 2*}$ '.

This is not only wrong, but by missing  $\aleph$ 's reading of μη τι υστερησατε von Soden overlooks the Latin connexion of *aliquid* by a *c f f f*<sub>2</sub> l vgg, against *alicuius* by b d e, so that  $\aleph$  alone among Greeks is again exhibiting its polyglot mind and text.

John xvii 12. In von Soden's notes we read εφυλασσον (*pro* εφυλαξα)  $H^{\delta 2*}$  d r. But d r does nothing of the kind. The verse is:—

οτε ημην μετ αυτων (εν τω κοσμω) εγω ετηρουν αυτους εν τω ονοματι σου  
ους (ω, δ αλ.) δεδωκας μοι (και) εφυλαξα . . .

d r both have *custodivi* for εφυλαξα as all the rest. They merely substitute *custodiebam* for *servabam* as an interpretation of ετηρουν. Did von Soden really suppose that Tischendorf had missed the reading of d? If he had taken the trouble to quote d against  $D^{\text{Bt}}$  here instead of simply d r his attention would have been called to the matter, and he would have seen that his collator had made a mistake.

John xx 17. In the important short speech of our Lord after the resurrection '*Noli me tangere*', in Greek Μη μου απτου, where B alone varies with Μη απτου μου (*Tert* 'ne, inquit, contigeris me'), *Eust* 47 is found to omit μου, but only this MS (and possibly *Orig* 1/2).

Now von Soden tells us that  $\aleph$  and D, W and 348, 'af' and *Orig* all omit this μου. 'Om μου<sup>1</sup>  $H^{\delta 2*}$  014  $I^{\alpha \delta 5}$  β α<sup>121</sup> af  $\Omega^p$ <sup>1:5</sup>' is what he says. He means — μου *secund.* post πατερα *prim.* but this is lacking in his text, so that the note should read quite differently: 'add μου p πατερα *K gg H'* &c. as we find in the middle notes. This is a serious error. He neglects the real omission by *Eust* 47, because he hardly ever quotes the testimony of the Lectionaries. Had he done so he would have avoided this mistake in a peculiarly important passage.

Luke xviii 16. Von Soden says — τα B instead of — αυτα *prim.* His remark makes B omit τα ante παιδια.

Luke xxii 67. Von Soden quotes a b q r for the omission of υμιν in the phrase εαν υμιν ειπω. Not one of them omits. All have '*Si vobis dixero*'.

Shortly afterwards, as if to accentuate this error, he misquotes  $r_2$ . Abbott had said 'xxiii 8 enim: *autem*', meaning that for 'erat enim cupiens'  $r_2$  reads '*erat autem cupiens*'.

Von Soden turns this into 'γαρ ι δε  $r^2$ ', meaning that we should read at the beginning of the verse ο γαρ Ηρωδης instead of ο δε Ηρωδης or *Herodes autem*.

Again, at John xiii 12 von Soden reproduces an error of Tischendorf. In his N.T. notes Tischendorf begins verse 12 thus: 'αυτων (N<sup>c</sup>; N\* αυτου): 13. 69. 124. 346. ante τους ποδας pon . . .' Accordingly in von Soden's lower notes to his N.T. p. 456 we read: 12. αυτου l αυτων H<sup>δ2\*</sup>, that is to say, he would with Tischendorf make N read 'ὅτε οὖν ἔνυψεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ', referring to the washing of Peter's feet and not to that of them all. But N *does not do this*. N in reality substitutes inversely and later in the verse αυτων for αυτου after ιματια, making the sentence read ἔλαβεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν instead of ἔλαβεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. Von Soden at this place records εαυτου for W and the omission of αυτου by D b e, but does not insert the true variation of N\* there as he should have done if he had really tried to bring our apparatus up to date.

Lastly at John xviii 16 von Soden quotes the variation εισηγγεκεν for εισηγαγεν as read by H<sup>014 376</sup> = W and Paris<sup>97</sup>, but N also reads thus with W, and Paris<sup>97</sup> *does not* (according to Schmidtke's edition it has εισηγαγεν with the rest). Von Soden does not report N because Tischendorf omitted to do so, but the reading is to be found duly recorded in the late Dr Scrivener's very careful collation of N published at Cambridge in small and handy form by Deighton, Bell & Co. in 1864,

This leads up to another grave indictment. Von Soden depends entirely upon Tischendorf's notes in his eighth edition of the N. T. concerning N. He has evidently not had N collated for his use, and has ignored Dr Scrivener's exceedingly accurate collation.

In order to be brief I will prove the matter in one Gospel alone. I will take St John's Gospel. Tischendorf neglects to record some *fifty-five* readings of N. In every case but one von Soden follows suit, and neglects these readings also. And it is not as if the matters were of scant importance, for observe—

vi 47 + οτι recorded for Sod<sup>050 06</sup> sy, and read also by 124 (not mentioned), is read by N after the Coptic manner.

vi 53 > το αιμα αυτου recorded for Ia<sup>δ5</sup> a Hil (and read also by *Cypr Jul Firm Gelas*) is the order also of N.

xiii 34 — ινα sec. recorded for <sup>329</sup> is also omitted by N.

xix 8 > τον λογον τουτον recorded for <sup>329 1386</sup> N (and read also by 249 and b1<sup>scr</sup>) is the order of N.

But, far more important than the above omissions of Tischendorf and von Soden are the following readings of N, not only neglected by Tischendorf and von Soden, but also by Mrs Lewis, Horner, Merx, and the rest of the critics, readings of great import as to the matter of the versions, and an 'underlying Greek text':—

As to *syr sin*:

xvi 2 αποσυναγωγους + γαρ N and *syr<sup>dis</sup>*, and these only.

xx 17 + ἰδου *ante* αναβαινω **ℵ** and *syr sin syr hier*<sup>ABC</sup> only.

This conjunction of **ℵ** and *syr* stands apart from all other authorities and has hitherto been unrecognized. Mrs Lewis recognizes the first (p. 256 ed. 1910 of *syr sin*) but not the second. Merx neglects **ℵ** in both places, although referring to the reading of *l* and *q* among the Old Latins at xvi 2 of + οτι. 'Quia eicient vos de sinagogis' *l*, 'qūm in synagoga vos eicient' *q*, which is the only other variation there among authorities (neglected by von Soden) except that the *bohairic* joins verses 1 and 2 . . . 'if they should put you out of the synagogue'.

As to Coptic:

vi 58. The order > οι πατερες εφαγον by **ℵ** alone is the order of *sah* and of *boh*<sup>dis</sup>.

vi 52. **ℵ** adds ουν after πως (alone with 56-58-61). In *bohairic* we read πως οχον ωροα.

x 27. For καγω **ℵ** substitutes και with only *e vgg*<sup>CT</sup> *Aug Chr* <sup>μ. τ.</sup> and the *sahidic* (against its usual emphatic method).

As to Latin:

xix 5. πορφυρονν (-το) **ℵ** alone.

As to Aethiopic:

xix 6. + και *ante* λεγει **ℵ** alone with *aeth*.

As to *Chrysostom*:

iii 22. > εις την Ιουδαιαν γην και οι μαθηται αυτου κακει διετριβεν **ℵ** *cum Chr*<sup>solo</sup> (instead of και οι μαθηται αυτου εις την Ιουδαιαν γην και εκει διετριβεν of all the rest of the Greeks and of the versions).

This is quite important as there are other traces of **ℵ** and *Chr*<sup>codd π. λ. μ.</sup> at i 15 ερχομενος + os, iv 45 -εδεξαντο αυτον οι γαλιλαιοι, and St Chrysostom's copy of St John was a very ancient recension. We find *Chrysostom* and *syr sin* absolutely alone together at:

vii 32. γογγυζοντος *tantum* (- περι αυτου and -ταυτα).

viii 16. και εαν κρινω (-δε and -εγω),

besides being often in sympathy elsewhere.

I mention the above matters as to **ℵ** in justice to our late lamented countryman, Dr Scrivener, whose faithful work ill deserved to be put aside by those claiming to say the last word on these subjects. Mrs Lewis seems to be the only living critic who shews an acquaintance with Scrivener's collation of **ℵ**.

#### (V) *Errors of Omission.*

Errors of omission abound, as at Matt. x 16 ἰδου εγω αποστελλω υμας εις μεσον λυκων for εν μεσω λυκων where B is quoted alone. To B<sup>87</sup> should be added *f*<sub>1</sub> *h vgg*<sup>B</sup> and *Lucifer*. (Cf. the parallel at Luke x 3 where D<sup>87</sup> substitutes μεσον for εν μεσω [against *d*] and the *vgg* and

*Ambr* have <sup>lib</sup> *inter lupos* which von Soden does not mention, merely stating D and not even D<sup>sr</sup> for *μεσον*.)

Matt. ix 35. — *και ante κηρυσσων*, by *ℵ boh*<sup>ES</sup>, is not mentioned by von Soden at all, not even as to *ℵ*. It is interesting because it is rather in the Coptic manner, and actually two *boh* MSS omit with *ℵ* (*teste* Horner in *vol. sah.*).

Besides omitting the *επισπαρκεν* of *ℵ* in Matt. xiii 25, he neglects to record B\* [see photographic edition] for *ελαλησεν* (*pro παρεθηκεν*) in xiii 24. I suppose because in the latter case Tischendorf is silent. But when *k* alone is to be coupled with B<sup>sr</sup> for this *locutus est* for *proposuit* or *posuit* it becomes quite important.

*k* is quite clear with *locutus est illis dicens*, and apparently B before being inked over read in similar fashion *ελαλησεν αυτοις λεγων*, instead of *παρεθηκεν αυτοις λεγων*.

Matt. xxi 17. — *εξω της πολεως* *ℵ* is given as being alone. But 28 also omits, as duly recorded by Scholz.

Matt. xxi 33. — *εν αυτω* *ℵ\** Chr. So von Soden. But *ℵ* only omits *εν*. Von Soden is misled by the form of Tischendorf's note and did not refer to the original.

Matt. xxii 16. Evan. 604 (700), i.e. von Soden's <sup>133</sup>, is given for *λεγοντας*. This is wrong. Apparently von Soden took the evidence from Scrivener's *Adv. Crit.* instead of from my edition, and mistook d for b, for d<sup>sr</sup> there = Evan. 66 so reads, which von Soden does not report.

Luke xi 48. *μαρτυρειτε* *ℵ B L 892* and Sod<sup>δ 371</sup> *Orig*, he omits to add 604 also.

Matt. xxiv 34. Von Soden's note (foot of p. 94) says: 'add *οτι ante ου H*<sup>1016</sup>', = 892. But B D F L *al*<sup>8</sup> *it vg syr Ps-Ath Orig*<sup>int</sup>, as well as *cop*<sup>t</sup>, all add as well; see his upper notes.

Matt. xxv 24. Von Soden quotes 209 (his <sup>δ 457</sup>) for *αυστηρος* instead of *σκληρος*, but Lake definitely says not.

Matt. xxvi 50. — *ιησους* *ℵ* <sup>28cr</sup>. Von Soden neglects this altogether.

Matt. xxvi 65. *και λεγει* (*pro λεγων*). Von Soden records *ℵ* but fails to add *syrr*.

Matt. xxvii 3. *μετεμεληθη και* (*pro μεταμεληθεις*). Von Soden records *ℵ* but fails to add *syr sin arm aeth pers*.

Mark vi 55. He cites *ℵ* only for *εν* instead of *επι*, that is to say *και ηρξαντο εν τοις κραβαττοις*, but this is the way the Latins have it 'in grabattis', and he should have added *latt*. It is important here as to *ℵ*.

Mark vii 37. Von Soden's note reads 'add *ως ante και*<sup>3</sup> *H*<sup>δ</sup> *bo*', but whereas *sah* adds *ρωετε*, only a few *boh* add *αφρη*<sup>†</sup>, and von Soden neglects *sah*.

Mark viii 18. 'om καί<sup>1</sup>  $H^{\delta 2*} \tau_2$ '. He should add *boh*<sup>pl</sup>, for this is the Coptic method here being illustrated by  $\aleph$ , to which attention should be called.

Luke xxiii 50. Here, where he omits altogether to record – καί *tert ante δικαιος* for B, he should have quoted with *sah*, thus forming another link between B and *sah* in the Coptic manner, as above for  $\aleph$ .

Mark x 21 'add ετι post εν (Lk 18<sub>22</sub>)  $H^{\delta 2}$ '. But von Soden forgets that *minn*<sup>10</sup> and *sah boh* do so also.

Luke v 2. The order  $\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$  δυο credited to some few and *boh* should also indicate *sah*, for this is the usual Coptic order.

Luke x 35 '∼ εδωκεν ante δυο  $H^{\delta 1}$ '. To B add *sah*.

x 38 'om εις τον οικον αυτης  $H^{\delta 1}$ '. To B add *sah*.

xi 36 'add εν ante τη Τα?  $H^{\delta 1 376}$ '. To these, B and Paris<sup>97</sup>, add both *sah* and *boh*.

xvi 17 '∼ κεραιαν μιαν  $H^{\delta 1}$ '. To B add *sah syr*.

xii 32 '∼ υμων ο πατηρ  $H^{\delta 2}$ ', but to  $\aleph$  add *sah boh* as usual, the possessive before the noun.

Luke xxiv 38. εις την καρδιαν von Soden quotes only Aδ (= *Dial.*), but *cde* read thus *in cor vestrum*, and so does *sah* practically and *syr sin* (Lewis, ed. 1910).

Luke v 17. εκ πασης κωμης. He says 'add της ante κωμης  $H^{\delta 371} bo$ ', but he forgets B and should include  $\delta^1$ . It is clearly indicated in Tischendorf.

Luke ix 12. 'ηδη loco δε (Mk 6<sub>35</sub>)  $H^{\delta 1}$  af'. The testimony of Paris<sup>97</sup> should be added to B af.

Luke xiii 7. To B's unique τον τοπον *pro την γην* the testimony of 80 should be added. Von Soden neglects 80 throughout.

Luke xiii 34. την εαυτου νοσσιαν. He cites  $\aleph$  16 Laura<sup>A104</sup> only. But *sah boh* make the gender of the bird *masculine*, and he omits to add their testimony. This is a clear Coptic reflexion in  $\aleph$  16 and Laura<sup>A104</sup> and may not be overlooked.

Luke xxii 27. + ο ante μειζων  $\aleph$ . To  $\aleph$  should be added *sah boh*.

John viii 55. + οτι παρ αυτον ειμει (*post* αλλ οίδα αυτον). So T<sup>1</sup> (= Sod<sup>H78</sup>). Von Soden does not mention this, but he should have done so. Every new fragment which comes from Egypt [see again immediately below] confirms editorial changes. Here is another instance of the new fragment T<sup>1</sup> improvising. Von Soden has recorded it at Luke xxiii 53 for + και θεντος αυτου επεθηκαν τω μημημει λιθον μεγαν ον μογεις εικοσι ανδρας εκυλιον (cf. D *d c sah al.*), but does not do so here in John.

Luke vii 47. Here again (see Amélineau *Notices des mss coptes* p. 52) the fragment of a Greek Coptic Lectionary, whose mark I do not know in von Soden or in Gregory, reports + και before ολιγον αγαπα *fin.*

with only B 892 and Paris<sup>97</sup>, who read:  $\omega$  δε ολιγον αφιεται και ολιγον αγαπα. Von Soden does not report this. Observe that this further support for B comes from the same source as the other T support. This fragment differs by reading:  $\sigma$  δε ολιγον αγαπα αφιεται και ολιγον αγαπα, as if aware of the variation of F  $\Xi$ ? 28 *aeth*:  $\omega$  δε ολιγον αγαπα ολιγον αφιεται, but erring in the process of conflation.

Mark xiv 3. του ιησου (*pro* αυτου *pr.*) D *it sah bohtres*. Neglected by von Soden. (Beermann and Gregory report *Sod*<sup>7050</sup> for αυτου.)

Mark xvi 2. ανατειλαντος του ηλιου. Omitted by *k*. Not noted by von Soden.

Hans von Soden has condemned me in a recent number of the *Literaturzeitung* for bringing as it were iron to Essen, and has said that I had nothing new to shew him; and that everybody knew of the matters to which I had called attention.

I submit respectfully that much has yet to be learned by the school of von Soden in matters of textual criticism if it would make the path smoother and not harder for students of the coming generation.

#### (VI) *Unnecessary difficulties presented to Students.*

Mark i 26. In von Soden's note we find ' $\tau\omicron^1 \wedge \tau\omicron^2 H^{\delta 1}$ '. This means that B omits  $\tau\omicron$  πνεῦμα reading καὶ σπαράξαν αὐτὸν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον (that unclean one) instead of καὶ σπ. αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον (the unclean spirit).

By this note he seems to wish to suggest that it is an error from  $\tau\omicron$  following  $\tau\omicron$ . But this is rather fanciful here. Why inject further trouble into these troublesome matters, and force the student to waste time in seeking out what  $\tau\omicron^1 \wedge \tau\omicron^2$  means?

Luke xxii 6. Similarly, for the omission of καὶ ἐξωμολογησεν by BCN *lat syr sin*, all we find in the apparatus is ' $\kappa\alpha\iota^1 \wedge^2 H^{\delta 2* \delta 3} I^{\pi} \text{sy}^s \text{Eus}$ '. This is not very illuminating, and involves a great waste of time to the student.

Again, Luke viii 25, the important omission of καὶ υπακουουσιν αὐτῷ by B *Sod*<sup>050</sup> 604 *aeth Tert*<sup>mate</sup>? is only noticed in the third set of notes as ' $\kappa\alpha\iota \wedge^3 \kappa\alpha\iota_{26} H^{\delta 1} I^a$  050 \* f', f meaning 604. The arrangement of the apparatus is most misleading.

Luke xvii 6. For the omission of ταῦτα after τη συκαμινῷ von Soden adds *syr cu* to ' $H^{\delta 2 56 376} I^a \delta^5 \sigma^{129} A^3$ ', but *syr cu* (as against *syr sin* 'to this mulberry tree') says 'to a hill'. Why divorce the important variation from its context to explain that *syr cu* does not read 'to THIS hill'. This kind of thing is done again and again. As a matter of fact there is no need to add *syr cu* for —ταῦτα above, for below von Soden has: 'add post  $\alpha\nu^1$ :  $\tau\omega$  ορει τουτω μεταβα εντευθεν εκει και μετεβαινειν και (cf. Mk I 12, Mt I 7<sub>20</sub> 21<sub>21</sub>) I<sup>a</sup>  $\delta^5$  *sy*<sup>c</sup> (om τουτω und εκει).'



Again, Luke xxiv 31,  $\aleph$  omits *καὶ ἐπεγνώσαν αὐτον*. Von Soden once more dignifies this by citing '*καὶ*<sup>1</sup>*ᾠ*<sup>2</sup>*Η*<sup>δ2\*</sup>'. It is placed in so insignificant a position that one hardly sees it, and then has to worry to find out what it means.

(VII) *Carelessness as to the application of f following a Codex.*

As regards 157, at the important place Luke xxii 43-44, he has gravely misrepresented my manuscript and probably some of his own.

[He has placed 157 in his family *I* σ<sup>207</sup> 35<sup>8</sup> 1132 1226 377.]

At Luke xxii 43-44, in his upper notes (which constitute his 'margin') he records for omission of these verses 207<sup>cf</sup> which means the corrector of 157 plus the family or one of them.

Now in 157 there is no sign of omission by any corrector. I examined the place carefully. As to f no doubt it indicates<sup>351</sup> (= 713), but why not say so here? If the other members of the family do not omit (and it is questionable whether they all belong together as a family) we should be quite sure of the fact. An f is quite insufficient here. His<sup>377</sup> (= 291) would be the more likely MS to omit.

The worst feature as to this is outside of St Mark's Gospel. Because if f follows *I* α<sup>δ5</sup> it does not refer to *I* α<sup>014</sup> next in order on his list.

(VIII) *Neglect of the Aethiopic.*

Von Soden's neglect of the Aethiopic is really serious, especially as in a work up to date on the N. T. it is absolutely essential to take into consideration the readings of *aeth* and *pers*.

A case occurs at Matt. xxvii 50 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, where he cites 'παρεδωκεν ἡ ἀφηκεν (Io 19<sub>30</sub>) Τα I<sup>1386</sup>, ανεβῆ syr<sup>8</sup> [c]' and stops there. He should have added *aeth* exivit.

Merx (p. 16), referring to this, says: 'Und damit wieder hängt die Erzählung Matt. xxvii 50 in Syrsin zusammen, wo es nicht heisst ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα = *er sandte den Geist fort, gab ihn auf, hauchte ihn aus*, sondern **ἦναι ἔλθω** d. h. *sein Geist stieg hinauf*. Diese Lesart steht bis jetzt ganz allein; dass hier aber nicht nach äusserer Bezeugung, sondern nach dem dogmatischen Zusammenhange zu urtheilen ist, das sollte einleuchten.'

Thus, von Soden could have supplemented Merx here by quoting *aeth* for *exiuit*, ἐξῆλθε, as does Horner, but he does not. Nor does he use *aeth* in other places where its readings are both certain and most instructive.

So, again, at Luke ix 20, where von Soden quotes 604 for - με λεγεσθαι, he neglects not only *aeth* but also *Dial* for this omission.

Again, at Luke xvi 3, we miss *aeth* which supports *sah boh syrr* as to B's very important and unique addition among the Greeks of *καὶ* before *παλαίειν*.

At Luke vi 17, where he quotes δ 398 for *κατεβη* alone among Greeks with Marcion, he omits to record Marcion (*Epiph<sup>bis</sup> diserite*), and forgets to add to the Latins quoted the other versions *copl syr pers* and *aeth*.

(IX) *Style of note.*

Luke vi 26. Can one imagine a more inadequate note than this: 'om πάντες Ta M<sup>p</sup> K<sup>g</sup> H<sup>exo</sup> 014 56 ff bo Ia 050 f η i φα b 287 f 1216 C 1091 f 1098 r 72 f o s 351 f 377 κ r 1341 | 4 22 33 178 fff 1353 f 1386-1443 1493 A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>3</sup> K<sup>1</sup> 179 K<sup>i</sup> 55 58<sup>lat</sup>, ~ οι ανθρωποι πάντες H<sup>δ2</sup> bo Ir, ~ οι ανθρωποι α επι. Iβa 1178.'

The phrase is: οὐαὶ ὅταν καλῶς εἰπωσιν ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι (or οἱ ἄνθρ. πάντες, or οἱ ἄνθρωποι *tantum*).

The inversion of order by *sah boh* and *Iren<sup>int</sup>* is stated nearly correctly, *sah* only being omitted. This inversion, however, points probably to the omission of *πάντες* being basic. It is therefore essential that the evidence for omission should be carefully stated. What do we find?

'Om πάντες Ta M<sup>p</sup> K', that is *Tatian Marcion* and *Kouή*. But *syr sin* and *syr pesh* also omit as does *pers* confirming it. So does *aeth* ('populus') and also *arm (teste Rieu)* and *Macarius*, all to be found distinctly stated in Tischendorf, except as to *syr sin* since discovered. Whereas as to the *Kouή*, the *textus receptus* and most cursives have it and do *not* omit. On the other hand, to the MSS cited against omission should be added 100 cursives examined by von Soden's predecessors. The uncials which omit: D F<sup>w</sup> L S V Γ Δ Λ are not stated in von Soden's list, but include D.

Could any one tell from von Soden's grouping that D omitted? D can hardly be included in *K* (*Kouή*), and they have to be sought by a ridiculous process of elimination, or enquired after in Tischendorf.

The news which von Soden really gives us is that W (014) and the Tiflis MS (050) do not omit.

Tischendorf's note is quite clear. The important part is Irenaeus's interpreter's opposition to the Latin. Under the circumstances *d δ* should be quoted against the Latin, for *d δ* omit with D<sup>8</sup> Δ<sup>gr</sup>, so that to von Soden's note add '(*praeter d δ μ vg<sup>DN</sup> cod caraf., cor. vat vg<sup>cl</sup>*)' after 'lat'. Supply also *d δ μ vg<sup>ed</sup>* in Wordsworth and White's apparatus. Supply *syr sin* in Horner's apparatus.

(X) *Error or ambiguity in quoting fam π, and some of the most important cursives.*

π is a family of the purple uncials covering N Σ Φ and π. Very loose use is made of this. We will read π exc 17 [= Φ], whereas Σ may be only one extant at this place, N and π not being available.

At Luke xx 4 and elsewhere von Soden quotes π as a family, whereas N only is extant.

As to 2<sup>pe</sup> (Sod<sup>93</sup>), at Mark ix 28 2<sup>pe</sup> reads *ελθοντος αυτου* and thus *alone*. Von Soden adds *iscr* (his <sup>350</sup>) and fam 'π exc. 17'. Both are wrong. N Σ and *iscr* read *ελθοντα αυτον*. As to 'exc 17', it is right to the extent that Φ reads *εισελθοντα αυτον*.

Many errors and omissions as to 157 occur. This is the more reprehensible as I notice that von Soden had at least two Gospels recollated (Matthew and Luke, see his card). At Luke vi 40 he quotes 157 (his <sup>207</sup>) for - *pas*, the exceptional omission by N Sod<sup>448</sup> *δ υg<sup>d</sup>* only. I did not note this, and I think I should have seen it. He does not quote 157 for *εστω in the same verse* which my eyes observed.

Note at Matt. xxiv 45 *επι τη οικεσια* 157 alone, for *επι της θεραπειας* (or *οικειας*, or *οικιας*). Von Soden quotes 157 for *επι τη οικια*, so that his collator was not accurate there.

And at Luke xx 46 he quotes: 'add *τους* ante *ασπασμους* Iσ<sup>207</sup>'. This is 157. To it add *sah boh*.

But to this reading should also be added that of 157 *in the same verse* for + *τας* ante *πρωτοκαθεδριας* as well as *sah boh* again, which von Soden neglects. Why quote one and not the other?

Similarly, Luke xxii 7 'ην loco *ηλθεν* (cf. Mk. 14.) Iσ<sup>207</sup>'. To 157 for this exceptional reading should be added *pers*.

Evan. 604/700 (his <sup>133</sup>) is often misquoted by von Soden. At Luke xi 47 it is added by mistake to the very small group N C *Eph<sup>h</sup>marc* for *και οι πατερες*, whereas it should be added on the next line and in the next verse to the small group for *μαρτυρες εστε* where von Soden omits it.

Sod<sup>1226</sup> (Matthaei's o and our 245) is frequently quoted wrongly, e.g. Luke ii 21, xix 43.

Sod<sup>1016</sup> (Greg. and Scr. 892) collated by Harris. Although sometimes employed is often omitted by von Soden, as at Mark xiv 46. He says: 'om *αυτω dff<sup>2</sup>*'; but add W 892 as well as *aeth* and *pers*, which omit *επ αυτον* of textus receptus, which in Soden's text is *αυτω*.

Sod<sup>376</sup> (Greg. 579 Scr. 743, Paris<sup>97</sup>). Often omitted, as at the important place Luke xvi 30 *αναστη προς αυτους (pro πορευθη προς αυτους)* where von Soden only quotes N. Again, Luke vii 47, where *ειπαν* for *λεγω* is read by N Paris<sup>97</sup> only, correctly reported by von Soden, *in the same verse* as to + *και ante ολιγον αγαπα* he only gives B and <sup>1016f</sup>. This obscures the issue. By <sup>1016</sup> he indicates 892. By <sup>f</sup> he *may* mean Paris<sup>97</sup>, but he should say so, for these three only have the reading (with an *Evs<sup>t</sup>* from Egypt published by Amélineau).

Von Soden often opposes Schmidtke's edition of Paris<sup>97</sup>, as at Luke xxii 17 *fin.*, quoting *αυτοις* while Schmidtke prints definitely *εις αυτους* (with L).

Indeed, I question the appearance of Evan. 33 (Sod<sup>548</sup>) several times in the apparatus; notably at Luke vi 38 where Soden quotes <sup>548</sup> for

μετρηθησεται. Tischendorf does not. Tregelles does not. In von Soden's apparatus appears <sup>33</sup> (=our P). Did he not when copying 33 for P also add δ48 (Evan. 33) by mistake? If I am correct, this change of numbers leads to absolutely nothing but confusion.

But to state these matters is only to make a partial impression on my readers of the grievous state of things in this latest book on a most intricate subject. *Es ist zum Weinen.* I have claimed the privilege of presenting these few facts, gleaned in the course of a self-imposed task for other purposes (and not for an unfriendly review), because I am probably one of the very few who could pass an oral examination as to the numbers used by von Soden and their equivalents in the older notation.

H. C. HOSKIER.

## THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN'S 'GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY'.

### II

*Sections xv, xvi.* The fifteenth and sixteenth sections contain material proper to a Canon Poenitentialis.<sup>1</sup> At what period in the evolution of the sacramentarial portion of our document were they introduced?

As at present informed, I see no reason to believe that any of the non-sacramentarial elements of our document had a place in it at either *s* or *S*<sub>1</sub>. But, since some of them have been derived from a Canon Poenitentialis, some from a *Rituale Pontificale*, some from a *Baptisterium*, we must not assume that one and all of them were introduced at either *S*<sub>2</sub>, *V*, or *V'*; for, evidently, the co-option may have been gradual: and, if my forecast of the external history of the collective whole is not warped by some unsuspected error, all of extraneous work that may reasonably be attributed to the first cismontane editor are §§ xv, xvi and a part of § xxxviii.

The 'Precor dñe' &c. in § xv demands emendation. (1) In its first sentence the words 'praeteritorum criminum relaxare' should perhaps be corrected, as by Mr Wilson, to 'praeteritorum criminum debita relaxare'; and (2) I think that in the next sentence the words 'uel confessione' must be deemed intruders. I suspect that 'confessione' was an interlinear or marginal alternative to 'precibus'—'qui publicani precibus placatus es'—but that a post-editorial copyist, perhaps the scribe of *Reginensis*, familiar with Merovingian Latin, conceived the 'uel' to have a copulative force and made the two words a textual adjunct to 'precibus'. If this be the right account of these two peculiarities, and if (3), with the corrected *St Gallen*, we are to read 'sacros̄c̄is' for *sc̄is ac sacris* in the last clause, we have for the original value of the prayer in terms of letters 414 not, as in *Reginensis*, 425.

On turning to the rubric '*Egreditur poenitens*' &c. in § xxxviii (*Mur.* i 549) the reader will perceive that it is worded almost identically with the major portion of the latter half of the '*Suscipis eum*' &c. in § xvi.

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Charles the Great, Hetto, Bishop of Basel, previously Abbot of Reichenau, ordains as follows in his *Capitulare*: 'Sexto, quae ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum: id est, sacramentarium, lectionarium, antiphonarium, baptisterium, computus, canon poenitentialis, psalterium, homiliae per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festiuitatibus aptae. Ex quibus omnibus si unum defuerit sacerdotis nomen uix in eo constabit' (*Migne S. L.* cv 763 C). For a similar use of the word 'canon' see *Becket Memorials* (Rolls Series) vii 427, where, on the subject of the royal coronation, we read 'Rex iunior . . . sicut in antiquo et communi coronationis canone continetur'.

From this I infer, (1) that the first cismontane editor worked on a Canon Poenitentialis which contained a dual form whose two components were connected by a twofold rubric in  $(191 + 29 =) 220$  letters (eight  $\kappa$  lines), and to this effect,—‘*Suscipis eum iv. feria mane in capite xlmæ et cooperis eum cilicio oras pro eo et inclaudis usque ad coenam dñi. Qui eodem die egreditur de loco ubi poenitentiam gessit et in gremio præsenteretur etiae prostrato omni corpore in terra. Et postulat in his uerbis diaconus*’: (2) That he resolved to set the first component where now we find it, in § xv, but to defer the second to the Thursday before Easter, and that he therefore subjoined to the first component an abbreviated modification of the rubric, wording it thus, and in 170 letters (six  $\theta$  lines),—*Suscipis eum . . . ad coenam dñi. Qui eodem die in gremio præsenteretur etiae et dat oñem pontifex super eum ad reconciliandum*: but (3) that the editor of V, who had room on his page for a rubric of seven  $\kappa$  lines, inserted the words ‘*prostrato eo omni corpore in terra*’ before ‘*dat oñem . . . ad reconciliandum*’, thus achieving a third total of 199 letters; and (4) that the ‘*in quinta feria coenae dñi sicut ibi continetur*’ is a marginal gloss which, set at the foot of the page in the last compiler’s volume, or a copy of it, was, by inadvertence or caprice, welded to it by the scribe of Reginensis, or a predecessor.

Two important questions now demand our care.—What sort of ecclesiastic was addressed in this ‘*suscipis*’, this ‘*cooperis*’, this ‘*oras*’ and this ‘*inclaudis*’? and, At what period in the history of the Canon Poenitentialis was the rubric written?

1. The ecclesiastic meant was not the bishop. This is evident from the context in § xvi.

And yet he was no mere ecclesiastic, for he was armed with coercive jurisdiction: else he would not have been empowered to keep the offender in six weeks’ custody under lock and key. Surely, he was an abbot who had the same seigneurial prerogative in his own domain as was enjoyed by the bishop of a *ciuitas episcopalis*. I think, too, that we must assume the domain of this abbot to have been at no great distance from the cathedral church of the diocese in which it lay.

2. Are we therefore to say that the prayers now in § xv and the prayers *ad reconciliandum* now in § xxxviii are as recent as the first of that line of abbots who enjoyed this coercive jurisdiction? I think not.

In my examination of the ‘*Missale Francorum*’<sup>1</sup> I claimed to prove that several editions of that document were set forth on  $\gamma$  pages; i.e. on twenty-one line pages of the average capacity of  $29\frac{1}{3}$  letters to a line: and I now observe with hopeful interest that, if we eliminate from the Canon Poenitentialis of my hypothesis the ‘*Suscipis eum*’ &c., the four supplementary prayers headed ‘*Item ad*

<sup>1</sup> See *J. T. S.* vol. xii pp. 217–250, 535–572.

*reconciliandum*' &c. and the repeated 'Dñs qui' &c., we yet again seem to have detected a libellus of  $\gamma$  pagination. Nor only so. A like discovery ensues if we next eliminate all that implies the presence of a bishop at the function. I dwell no longer on suggestive phenomena the consideration of which appertains to the external history of our document, but content myself with tabulating the results of my analysis, and with observing (1) that my first column of linear values gives us three several groups of prayers each of which is equivalent to either two or three  $\gamma$  pages, and (2) that my second column shews the address and the rubrics which imply the presence of the bishop to have had the value of three such pages; but (3) that, a developement on  $\kappa$  pages being next assumed, the third column shews so much as relates to the Wednesday in *quingagesima* to be equivalent to a couple of such pages, provided, and provided only, that we assume that developement to have exhibited the rubric which implies coercive jurisdiction in some dignitary other than the bishop. It also suggests an apologia for the repeated 'Dñs qui confitentium' &c. in the second component of the scheme. But for that anomaly the whole would not have been equal to an integral number of  $\kappa$  pages.

		<i>pen.</i> <sub>1</sub> (7 $\gamma$ pages)	<i>pen.</i> <sub>2</sub> (10 $\gamma$ pages)	Pen. (11 $\kappa$ pages)
Title and ornamentation . . . .		2	2	*
Exaudi dñe preces nñas &c. . . .	116	4	4	4
Praeueniat hunc famulum &c. . . .	93	3	3	3
Adesto dñe supplicationibus &c. . . .	176	6	6	6
Dñe dñs n. qui offensione &c. . . .	346	12	12	12
Precor dñe clementiam &c. . . .	425 (414)	15 = 42	15 = 42	14
Ad reconciliandum poenitentem . . .	27		1	1
Postulat in his uerbis diaconus . .	27		1	1
Ordo agentibus &c. . . .	33			1
Suscipis eum &c. . . .	191 <sup>1</sup>			7 <sup>1</sup>
Et postulat in his &c. . . .	29			1 = 48
Adest o uenerabilis pontifex &c. . .	1624		56	56
Post hoc admonetur &c. . . .	124		5 = 63	5
Ad reconciliandum poenitentem . . .	27	1	1	1
Adesto dñe supplicationibus &c. . .	226	8	8	8
Praesta quaesumus dñe &c. . . .	150	5	5	5
Dñs humani generis conditor &c. . .	811	28 = 42	28 = 42	28
Item ad &c. . . .	31			1
Oñp. señp. dñs &c. . . .	141			5
Oñp. et mñrs dñs &c. . . .	157			6
Dñs qui confitentium &c. . . .	255			9
Dñe scñe pater oñp. &c. . . .	470			16
Reconciliatio poenitentis ad mortem .	32	1	1	1
Dñs mñrs dñs clemens qui &c. . . .	508	18	18	18
Maiestatem tuam dñe &c. . . .	192	7	7	7
Maiestatem tuam quaesumus &c. . .	353	12	12	12
Dñs mñrs dñs clemens &c. . . .	679 (688)	24	24	24
Oño post &c. . . .	49			2
Dñs qui confitentium &c. . . .	273			10
Explicit or other rubric . . . .		1 = 63	1 = 63	2 = 216

Nucleus of \$ xxxviii

In constructing this and such analogous tables as concern a Canon Poenitentialis, a Rituale Pontificale, or a Baptisterium I assume that in  $\gamma$  libelli the first page of text held the general title of the work, and that there was some slight ornamentation; but that in  $\kappa$  libelli there was an artistically designed frontispiece into which the general title was introduced.

The resumed record for  $S_2$ , V, V' (see above, p. 224) will thus be:—

		$S_2$	V	V'
§ xv <i>Orationes et preces</i> &c. . . . .	30	*	1	1
<i>Exaudi dñe</i> &c. . . . .	116	4	4	4
<i>Pracueniat</i> &c. . . . .	93	4	3	3
<i>Adesto dñe</i> &c. . . . .	176	7	6	6
<i>Dñe dñ n.</i> &c. . . . .	346	13	12	12
<i>Precor dñe</i> &c. . . . .	425 (414)	15	14	14
§ xvi <i>Ordo agentibus</i> &c. . . . .	33	1	1	1
<i>Suscipis eum</i> &c. . . . .	170 <sup>2</sup> , 199 <sup>3</sup>	6 <sup>2</sup> = 50	7 <sup>3</sup> = 48	7 <sup>3</sup> = 48
		(P. 22 ends)	(P. 22 ends)	(P. 22 ends)

*The Cismontane Equipment and Text of §§ xvii, xviii.* Remark has already been made (see above, p. 219) on the seeming abbreviation of the first *Secreta* in § xvii by the substitution for 'ut tibi et mentes n<sup>ras</sup> reddat acceptas et continentiae promptioris nobis tribuat facultatem' of the extant 'ut tibi et mentes n<sup>ras</sup> reddat acceptas et continentiae promptiores'. Another instance—effected, however, not by retrenchment, but by excision—occurs in the *Ad Populum* for Quadragesima Sunday. In Rheinau, in St Gallen and in Gerbert, indeed in § xxvi of the present Book (Mur. i 525), the prayer is worded 'Super populum tuum . . . benedictio copiosa descendat indulgentia ueniat consolatio tribuatur' &c. (134 letters), but in the first item of § xviii Reginensis reads 'Super populum tuum . . . benedictio copiosa descendat consolatio tribuatur' &c. (117 letters); 'indulgentia ueniat' being absent, and, as I believe, absent by intentional exclusion. Mr Wilson 'restores' them, though within cautionary brackets; but I think that, as on a previous occasion, he is mistaken in so doing. This is a Leonianum prayer (Leon. XLIII iv); and, since in Reginensis it serves as a benedictory Sunday prayer, it was, by the hypothesis, introduced by the first cismontane editor; whom I believe to have given it its full value not because, had it been too long for his purpose, he might have selected or composed a shorter prayer, but because its full text is found, and found on this very Sunday, in the cognate documents just mentioned. Hence it is that I attribute our shorter text of it, as I attribute the shorter text of the first *Secreta* in § xvii, to Redaction V, and the longer text to  $S_2$ .

The synopses on pp. 222, 223 were concerned with the equipment and



text of the Roman *missae* for the fortnight beginning on Quinquagesima Sunday. Assuming them to be true to fact, and collating them with the following tables, we cannot but note the skill exercised by the first of the cismontane editors.

	§ xvii. 1 <sup>ma</sup> S.		W. in 1 <sup>ma</sup> .	F. in 1 <sup>ma</sup> .	Sat. in 1 <sup>ma</sup> .	§ xviii. xl <sup>ma</sup> S.	
	S <sub>2</sub> V		S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>8</sub> V	
Capitulum . . . .	48	2 2	22 * *	12 1 1	12 1 1	50 <sup>1</sup> , 51 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>2</sup>
Sub-title . . . .			7 * *				
Collecta . . . .	82	3 3	122 5 4	138 5 5	120 5 4	141	5 5
Oratio . . . .	104	4 4	112 4 4	90 3 3	126 5 5	143	5 5
Secreta . . . .	141 <sup>1</sup> , 119 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>2</sup>	114 4 4	100 4 4	147 6 5	142	5 5
Postcommunion .	111	4 4	90 3 3	81 3 3	104 4 4	82	3 3
Ad Populum . .	138	5 5	88 3 3	137 5 5	86 3 3	134 <sup>1</sup> , 117 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>2</sup>
Of the following .		2 2					
Totals (θ) for S <sub>2</sub>	25 (P. 23 ends)		19	21	24	25	= 89
„ (κ) for V and V'	24 (P. 23 ends)		18	21	22	24	= 85

	M. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .	T. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .	W. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .	F. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .	Sat. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .
	S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>2</sub> V	S <sub>2</sub> V
Brought forward .	89 85				
Capitulum . . . .	21 1 1	8 1 1	7 1 1	7 1 1	8 1 *
Collecta . . . .	83 3 3	108 4 4	127 <sup>+</sup> 5 5	114 4 4	157 6 6
Oratio . . . .	176 7 6	120 5 4	128 5 5	111 4 4	159 6 6
Secreta . . . .	120 5 4	142 5 5	75 3 3	122 5 4	70 3 3
Postcommunion .	76 3 3	114 4 4	77 3 3	78 3 3	116 4 4
Ad Populum . .	86 3 3	97 4 4	91 3 3	97 4 4	130 5 5
Of the following .				1	
Total (θ) for S <sub>2</sub>	111	23	20	21 (= 175)	25 = 200
„ (κ) for V and V'	105	22	20	21 (= 168)	(P. 31 ends) 24 = 192 (P. 31 ends)

At *s* the item for Quinquagesima Sunday had begun at the head of a page, and at *S*<sub>1</sub> that distinction was given to the first station of the old Roman *obseruantia* (see above, p. 222). The editor of *S*<sub>2</sub> combined the two expedients<sup>1</sup>; and this he did, first, by so equipping § xii with a second Oratio and both § xii and § xiv with Ad Populum prayers—prayers forbidden them while the book represented Roman use—as that the Mass for Quinquagesima Sunday should begin with a page (see above, p. 224); and then, as we have just seen, by giving this item an Ad Populum of five lines and subjoining two lines of rubric. Again, at *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub> the group for Quadragesima week had ended at the foot of a page (see above, p. 223). The editor of *S*<sub>2</sub>, although his own Saturday scheme differed greatly from his predecessor's, attained

<sup>1</sup> The table of linear values for §§ i–xi at Redactions *S*<sub>1</sub>, *S*<sub>2</sub>, *V* will be found on pp. 202, 203, 204 *supra*; those for §§ xii–xiv on p. 224.

a like result by adding, as we have just seen, an Ad Populum of five lines to the item for Sunday and by giving a new value (127 letters instead of 114) to Wednesday's Collecta (see above, pp. 220, 221, 223).

Equally conspicuous is the awkward skill with which I charge the second cismontane editor postulated by my thesis. It was, in my opinion, his curious but precarious endeavour to include in a given number of integral  $\kappa$  pages items which at Redaction  $S_2$  had occupied the same number of integral  $\theta$  pages: and while I believe that in pursuit of that endeavour he mutilated the Postcommunion of § i, the Secreta of § ii, and the Preface and Ad Populum of § xii (see above, pp. 206, 225), I also believe that in pursuit of the same endeavour he augmented the long rubric in § xvi (see above, p. 328), but curtailed the text and modified the construction of the Secreta for Quinquagesima Sunday (reducing 141 letters to 119), and on Quadragesima Sunday eliminated a phrase from the Ad Populum which his predecessor had given to that anniversary (reducing 134 letters to 117).

Thus, notwithstanding two very notable changes of liturgical plan on the part of the first cismontane editor, who not only inserted several Ad Populum prayers into the document but devised a new scheme of ember observance, multifarious and sometimes minute modifications of equipment, of rubric and of text have brought it to pass that in as many as four successive editions the period beginning with the Feast of the Theophany and ending with Quadragesima week is represented by an integral number of pages, and these pages of diverse capacity. In the first of the two Roman editions (see above, pp. 212, 222, 223) the items assigned to that period fill eleven  $\beta$  pages (pp. 4-14), and in the second twelve of  $\theta$  value (pp. 15-26). In the first cismontane edition (see above, pp. 224, 330, 331) they fill fifteen  $\theta$  pages (pp. 17-31), and in the second and third fifteen of  $\kappa$  value (pp. 17-31). When—and, if so, how soon—will a similar phenomenon occur?

*Section xix.* It is by no means likely that the cautionary rubric, '*Istae oïones quae sequuntur primo sabbato in mense primo sunt dicendae*', at the beginning of § xix<sup>1</sup> was inserted by the editor of  $S_2$ , for he might have so worded the capitulum, '*Oïones et preces*' &c., as to avoid all need for it: and we must not attribute to him the sixth and supplementary prayer, 'Oñp. señp. dñs qui per continentiam' &c., for it would have carried the item beyond the end of a page. Nor dare I assign this prayer to the editor of V, whose wont it has not as yet been to introduce new constituents: I therefore attribute it to the compiler of V'; and I hope soon to learn what his object may have been in so amplifying the item as to carry it six lines beyond, not

<sup>1</sup> In Mr Wilson's edition the cautionary rubric and the title of the section have donned each other's type. They are properly printed in Muratori (i 511).

merely a page, but a *verso* page, and that not improbably the last page of a gathering (p. 32 of his volume). But, as to the rubric, I think that that must have been inserted by the editor of V; and for two reasons—First: because if, as the pagination of V would seem to suggest, that edition was set forth in another diocese than that for which *S*<sub>2</sub> had been written, such diocese may have been one that had need of explicit caution that, although the section stood next in order after that for Quadragesima week, the Roman custom of ordaining priests and deacons in that week, as against the first week in the calendral month of March, was not to be observed. Secondly: because, if we were to assign it to V' we should set its '*primo sabbato in mense primo*' in conflict with the rubric at the beginning of § xx (Mur. i 512), a rubric of Roman reference and therefore a rubric whose '*sabbatorum dies mensis primi*' and '*sabbatorum dies mensis quarti*' are the spring and summer ember Saturdays of the Roman Church as determined by the incidence of Easter, not the first Saturday in the March and the first in the June of the civil calendar. Thus we have—

## § XIX. EMBER SATURDAY.

	<i>S</i> <sub>2</sub>	V	V'
<i>Istae otones quae sequuntur</i> &c. . . . .	59	2	2
<i>Otones et preces in xii lectiones</i> &c. . . . .	31	1	1
<i>Dñs qui delinquentes</i> &c. . . . .	194	7	7
<i>Omnium nrm dñe quaesumus</i> &c. . . . .	102	4	4
<i>Ieiunia quaesumus dñe</i> &c. . . . .	122	5	4
<i>Adesto quaesumus oñp. dñs</i> &c. . . . .	83	3	3
<i>Da nobis observantiam</i> &c. . . . .	113	4	4
<i>Oñp. señp. dñs qui per</i> &c. . . . .	174		6
Of the following . . . . .		1	
Total (θ) for <i>S</i> <sub>2</sub> . . . . .	25		(P. 32 ends)
„ (κ) for V. . . . .		25	
„ (κ) for V' . . . . .			31

*Sections xx-xxiv.* When, many months ago, my first analysis of §§ xx-xxiv was all but completed, I found that I had unwittingly worked my way to a theory too startling to be lightly accepted as even probable. I therefore contented myself with making mention of it in a foot-note. But, now that I have pursued my study of the document as far, inclusively, as § xl, I am persuaded that the theory is true to fact. I therefore cancel what I had written concerning these five sections, and, in order to make my meaning clear without needless fatigue to the reader, proceed synthetically; beginning with what, for the sake of argument, I set forth as a working hypothesis.

No one can carefully read the prayer '*Dñe scē pater oñp.*' &c. in § xx (Mur. i 513) without perceiving that it resolves itself into two clearly distinguishable parts. The first of these, '*Dñe scē . . . indige-*

mus' (940 letters), treats of the sacerdotal system of the Old Law, regarding it as an adumbration of the sacerdotal system of the New: but it is entirely non-consecratory. The second, 'Da quaesumus o[mn]i pater . . . consequantur. per' (337 letters), is a formula of consecration.

Again: a careful examination of the prayer 'Adesto quaesumus' &c. in § xxii (*ib.* 515) shews that this resolves itself into four parts. The first, 'Adesto quaesumus . . . sorte perpetua possiderent' (635 letters), is prefatory and altogether non-consecratory, for its only subject-matter is the Mosaic economy as an adumbration of the Christian. The second, 'Super hos quoque . . . dedicamus' (114 letters), though not strictly consecratory, relates to the thing in hand, and implores a blessing on the ordinands actually present at the feet of the consecrating bishop. The subject-matter of the third, 'Et nos quidem . . . donare quae poscimus' (274 letters), is the weakness of the consecrator himself, and his inability to scrutinize aright the human heart. The last, 'Emitte in eos quaesumus d[omi]ne s[an]c[t]i s[an]c[t]i . . . capere mereantur. per' (431 letters), is strictly consecratory.

*Redaction 'ord.,'* (*A speculative reconstruction*). Let us, then, assume that the form for the ordering of presbyters in § xx has been evolved from a very brief original, an original whose only constituents were the bidding-prayer, 'Oremus dilectissimi' &c., and the true formula of consecration, 'Da quaesumus o[mn]i pater in hos' &c., or, more probably, 'Da quaesumus d[omi]ne s[an]c[t]e pater o[mn]i. aeternae d[omi]ni in hos' &c. (351, not 336, letters)<sup>1</sup>: and let us make a like assumption as regards the form for the ordering of deacons; this being supposed to have comprised no more than the extant bidding-prayer and the strictly consecratory formula, 'Emitte in eos quaesumus d[omi]ne . . . mereantur. per', necessarily corrected to 'Emitte in hos famulos tuos quaesumus d[omi]ne . . . mereantur. per' (441 letters, not 430).<sup>2</sup>

Let us further assume that the volume in which they were written—like the Canon Poenitentialis (see above, p. 329) which I conceive to have held the nucleus of §§ xv, xvi—was a volume of  $\gamma$  pagination ( $21 \times 20\frac{1}{3}$ ). Such hypothesis would yield a scheme as follows:—

			$\gamma$ scheme
I. <i>Consecratio presbyterorum</i> . . . . .			24
Ornamentation . . . . .			1
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .			1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Da quaesumus d[omi]ne s[an]c[t]e pater o[mn]i. aeternae d[omi]ni in hos &c. . . . .			158
			5 $\frac{1}{4}$
			351
			12
II. <i>Consecratio diaconorum</i> . . . . .			21
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .			1 = 21
			172
			6
Emitte in hos famulos tuos d[omi]ne s[an]c[t]i s[an]c[t]i &c. . . . .			441
			15 = 21

<sup>1</sup> In terms of  $\gamma$  lines the linear value is 12 by either computation.

<sup>2</sup> In terms of  $\gamma$  lines the linear value is 15 by either computation.

*Redaction 'ord.<sub>2</sub>'*. Now, let us develop our hypothesis by supposing that these brief but sufficient forms, inscribed on two pages of  $\gamma$  value, fell into the hands of a prelate—whether bishop of Rome or bishop of some other Church matters not for the moment—a prelate who regarded the gradations of rank in the sacerdotal caste of the Old Law as typical of like gradations, divinely designed, in the New; and that in obedience to such idea he interposed the passage 'Dñe sçe pater oñp. aeterne dñ . . . indigemus' (940 letters)<sup>1</sup> between the bidding-prayer of the first item and the strictly consecratory 'Da quaesumus' &c., but reduced this from 351 letters to 336 by omitting 'dñe sçe' and 'aeterne dñ', which would have made it redundant: and further, that, in order to emphasize the strictly consecratory character of the 'Da quaesumus', he prefixed to this a distinctive rubric, '*Sequitur consecratio*'. The resulting scheme would be a scheme which gave further honour to the 'Da quaesumus' by making it begin on a fresh page: thus,—

$\gamma$ scheme		
I. <i>Ad ordinandos presbyteros</i> . . . . .	23	1
Ornamentation . . . . .		1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .	158	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Dñe sçe pater oñp. aeterne dñ . . . indigemus	932 (940)	33
<i>Sequitur consecratio</i> . . . . .	19	1 = 42 (second page ends)
Da quaesumus oñp. pater in hos &c. . .	336	12
II. <i>Ad ordinandos diaconos</i> . . . . .	20	1
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .	172	6 (= 19)

But, if this result was brought about designedly, we must next assume that, in very consistency, he would interpose after the bidding-prayer of the second item a passage dogmatically analogous to his 'Dñe sçe . . . indigemus', and that he would be careful so to regulate its length as that, whether with or without a '*Sequitur consecratio*', it should extend as far as the end of a page. I therefore assume that he did this, and that the passage devised was the 'Adesto quaesumus . . . possiderent' (Mur. i 515) now found in Reginensis. The result justifies my anticipation. It is—

Brought forward . . . . .	19	
Adesto quaesumus oñp. dñ . . . possiderent	635	22
<i>Sequitur consecratio</i> . . . . .	19	1 = 42 (fourth page ends)

Again: if I am right in believing him to have been consistent thus far, I must next suppose that he would be careful so to enhance the original formula, 'Emitte' &c., as that, whether with or without a final rubric,

<sup>1</sup> By an imperatively needed correction Mr Wilson increases the Reginensis total from 917 to 932: this I augment to 940 by reading, in the first sentence, 'dñ honorum omnium et omnium dignitatum . . . distributor' in place of 'dñ honorum omnium dignitatum . . . distributor'. See and compare Leon. xxviii (Mur. i. 424).

it should cover at least one integral page. This I assume him to have done by prefixing to it—purposely changed, however, from 'Emitte in hos famulos tuos' &c. to 'Emitte in eos' &c., so as to avoid tautology—the passage 'Super hos quoque famulos tuos . . . suppliciter dedicamus'. This my next anticipation is justified by the result :—

Super hos . . . dedicamus (113)	Emitte in eos &c. (431)	544	19
Rubric or prolonged conclusion . . . . .			<u>2 = 21 (fifth page ends)</u>

*Redaction 'Ord.'* In further development of the hypothesis, let us now suppose that a copy of Redaction *ord.*<sub>2</sub> fell into the hands of a prelate who was already in possession of the items '*Consummatio presbyteri*' and '*Ad consummandum diaconatus officium*', a pair of items which, although at first sight they look like supplements to those which we have just been examining, have a strong claim to be regarded as in and of themselves complete and efficient forms of ordination<sup>1</sup>; and that

<sup>1</sup> I do not think I can insist too strongly on the claim which I here make for the '*Consummatio presbyteri*' and the '*Ad consummandum diaconatus officium*'; that they were devised, and in their early history used, as complete and efficient forms of ordination. When and where devised I do not now ask, my present purpose being—

First : to observe that the grammatical equivalence of '*consummatio*' to '*τελείωσις*' seems to suggest a rubricator, if not an author, who, thinking in Greek though writing in Latin, employed '*consummatio*' in the sense of '*consecratio*'.

Secondly : to suggest that the originals may have been written on pages of the same ruling as the extant copy of the '*Missale Francorum*' (MS Vatican. Regin. 257). If they were, the coincidence may sooner or later yield a clue to the place where the writing was done. Muratori's facsimile (i 141) of the Vatican MS shews that this was written on thirteen-line pages, each of whose lines has the average value of 13 letters of text. Written on such pages, the two forms would be ranged thus, each form being equivalent to an integral number of pages :—

<i>Consummatio presbyteri</i>	21	2	<i>Ad consummandum &amp;c.</i>	32	2
Sit nobis &c. . . . .	233	18	Commune uotum &c. . .	169	13
<i>Item benedictio</i> . . . .	14	1	<i>Sequitur benedictio</i> . .	18	2
Scificatum &c. . . . .	726	57	Dñe scē spei &c. . . .	445	35
		<u>78 (6 pages)</u>			<u>52 (4 pages)</u>

The Preface in the Mass being neglected, for it is utterly irrelevant, we should have for that item in its turn an integral number of pages :—

<i>Orationes et preces &amp;c.</i> . . . .	22	2
Exaudi dñe &c. . . . .	157	13
Tuis quaesumus &c. . . . .	73	6
<i>Infra actionem</i> . . . . .	13	1
Hanc igitur &c. . . . .	196	15
Hos quos reficis &c. . . . .	107	8
Da quaesumus &c. . . . .	94	7
		<u>52 (4 pages)</u>

The inner pages of a libellus of four membranes would hold the whole group.

he resolved to transfer the two groups into one and the same volume, first juxtaposing the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* of the one pair and the *Consummatio presbyteri* of the other, then juxtaposing the *Ad ordinandos diaconos* of the one pair and the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium* of the other. But let us also assume, first, that his design was to be carried out on pages of  $\kappa$  lineation and capacity, pages such as were used by the second cismontane editor of the sacramentarial components of our document; and not only so but, in the second place, that, admiring the distributive skill displayed in *ord.*, he imposed it on himself that now, as previously, the strictly consecratory portion of the 'Dñe sçe pater oñp.' &c. for the ordering of priests should begin on a fresh page, and that the strictly consecratory portion of the 'Adesto quaesumus' &c. for deacons should have the same distinction.

Column 'Ord.' in the annexed synopsis shews us what I believe such prelate to have actually done.

1. He brought about the first of these two results by inserting a new prayer, 'Exaudi nos dñ salutaris n.' &c., between the 'Dñe sçe pater oñp.' &c. and the bidding-prayer introductory to this. Thus the consecratory 'Da quaesumus oñp. pater in hos' &c. (Mur. i 514) was enabled to begin in 'Ord.' on the first line of a  $\kappa$  page as in '*ord.*' it had begun on the first line of a  $\gamma$  page, for the 'Exaudi nos' &c. had effected a nett increment of six lines.

2. He brought about the second result very ingeniously. (1) To insert a new constituent, 'Dñe dñ preces nñas' &c., between the 'Adesto quaesumus' &c. (*ib.* 515) and the bidding-prayer introductory to this, was an easy device. But, that done, he proceeded circumspectly. (2) So long as in '*ord.*' the sentence 'Super hos quoque . . . suppliciter dedicamus' (*ib.* 516) stood textually conjoined to the 'Emitte in eos' &c. it shared the consecratory character of the latter; but the editor of 'Ord.' deprived it of that character, for (3) he severed it from the 'Emitte in eos' &c. by means of the strangely introspective passage, 'Et nos quidem . . . indignis donare quae poscimus': so that the prefatory portion, as distinguished from the consecratory, of the 'Adesto quaesumus' &c., now comprised the three subdivisions 'Adesto quaesumus . . . possiderent' (635 letters), 'Super hos quoque . . . dedicamus' (114 letters), 'Et nos quidem . . . quae poscimus' (274 letters). The thirty-fives  $\kappa$  lines required for its 1023 letters carried it on to the foot of one page; the rubric '*Sequitur consecratio*' and the consecratory 'Emitte in eos' &c. stood on another.

He next added the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium* and the *Oñones et preces ad missam*, and thus completed a scheme of the value of nine pages.

		γ schemes		κ scheme
		ord. <sub>1</sub>	ord. <sub>2</sub>	Ord.
I. <i>Consecratio presbyterorum</i> . . . . .	24	I		1
<i>Ad ordinandos presbyteros</i> . . . . .	23		I	1
Ornamentation . . . . .			$1\frac{3}{4}$	6
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .	158i		$5\frac{1}{4}$	7
Exaudi nos dñs salutaris n. &c. . . . .	183			
Da quaesumus dñe scē pater oñp. aeterne dñs in hos famulos &c. . . . .	351	12		
Dñe scē pater oñp. aeterne dñs honorum ... indigemus . . . . .	932 (940)		33	33
<i>Sequitur consecratio</i> . . . . .	19		1 = 42	1 = 48
Da quaesumus oñp. pater in hos &c. . . . .	336		12	12
<i>Consummatio presbyteri</i> . . . . .	21			1
Sit nobis fratres communis oño &c. . . . .	229 (233 <sup>1</sup> )			8
<i>Item benedictio</i> . . . . .	14			1
Sñficationum omnium auctor &c. . . . .	724 (726)			25
II. <i>Consecratio diaconorum</i> . . . . .	21	1 = 21		
<i>Ad ordinandos diaconos</i> . . . . .	20		1	1 = 48
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .	171	6	6	6
Dñe dñs preces nñas clementer &c. . . . .	184 (187)			7
Emitte in hos famulos tuos quaesumus dñe &c. . . . .	445	15 = 21		
Adesto quaesumus oñp. dñs . . . possiderent	635		22	
Adesto &c. (635), Super &c. (114), Et nos . . . quae poscimus (274) . . . . .	1023			35 = 48
<i>Sequitur consecratio</i> . . . . .	19		1 = 42	1
Super hos &c. (113), Emitte in eos &c. (431)	544		20	
Of the following . . . . .			1 = 21	
Emitte in eos quaesumus dñe &c. . . . .	430			15
<i>Ad consummandum diaconatus officium</i>	32			1
Commune uotum communis oño &c. . . . .	171 (169)			6
<i>Sequitur benedictio</i> . . . . .	18			1 = 24
Dñe scē spei fidei . . . munerator &c. . . . .	445			15
<i>Item oñones et preces ad missam</i> . . . . .	26			1
Exaudi dñe supplicum preces &c. . . . .	157			6
Tuis quaesumus dñe operare &c. . . . .	73			3
UD. qui rationabilem creaturam &c. . . . .	234			8
<i>Infra actionem</i> . . . . .	13			1
Hanc igitur oblationem &c. . . . .	196			7
Hos quos reficis dñe sacramentis &c. . . . .	107			4
Da quaesumus dñe populis xpianis &c. . . . .	94			3 = 48

*The Evidence of § xcix* (Mur. i 624). We may reasonably believe that the final compiler, the editor of V', derived the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* in § xx and the *Ad ordinandos diaconos* in § xxii from one and the same libellus as the *Oñones de episcopis ordinandis* in § xcix. To this item I therefore turn in search of corroborative proof that the extant equipment of those is the second developement of an original, small in compass; and that at both the second stage and the third of their evolution the essential part of the formula of consecration began at the head of a page. The digression will, I feel sure, be pardoned if it should help

<sup>1</sup> It is possible, however, that the value of the 'Sit nobis fratres' &c. should be computed as 238. See below, p. 345.



us to form a true idea of the sort of prayer which, together with imposition of hands, was in the early ages of the Church customary at ordinations ; and if it should in course of time provide scholars with a clue to the age and country in which Western Christendom first observed the ceremony of unction in the consecration of bishops.

*Redaction 'ord.<sub>1</sub>'*. Allowance made for omissions<sup>1</sup> in the second, fifth and sixth of the component factors of the formula 'Dñs honorum' &c. in § xcix, the first column of values in the subjoined summary shews what by the Reginensis text is the number of letters in each factor : but, since Reginensis assumes a plurality of candidates, I give in the second column the numbers which in a document otherwise identical with Reginensis would have been yielded if only one candidate had been assumed. For a reason which will be given presently, I prefer the latter alternative.<sup>2</sup>

1. Invocation (Dñs honorum . . . ordinibus) .	71	71
2. Dñs qui moysen . . . actibusque clarescat .	845 [corrected from 842]	844
3. Comple dñe . . . unguenti fluore scifica .	117	114
4. Hoc dñe copiose . . . sinceritas pacis .	211	208
5. Sint speciosi . . . omnium consequantur .	995 [corrected from 975]	966
6. Tribuas eis . . . esse deuoti. per . . .	223 [corrected from 195]	220
	<u>2462</u> [corrected from 2411]	<u>2423</u>

To work our way back to the nucleus of this formula by a method analogous to that by which I worked my way to those of the extant formulae for priests and deacons, we must eliminate (2), for this treats of the Old Law as adumbrative of the New ; and also (3) and (4), which in the order of thought are later than (2), for they are suggested by it. I think, too, that we must neglect (5) ; for, since this is not in the Leonianum—a fact to which I must revert on a later page—it is in all probability comparatively recent work. Our sources are therefore (1) and the classical form of (6) as found in the Leonianum and the so-called Missale Francorum, both of which have 'Sis eis auctoritas sis eis potestas sis eis firmitas. Multiplica' &c. ; not, like Reginensis, 'Sis eis auctoritas. Multiplica' &c. They yield as follows :—

Dñs honorum omnium dñs omnium dignita  
tum quae gloriae tuae sacris famulan  
tur ordinibus tribue quaesumus huic  
famulo tuo cathedram episcopalem  
ad regendam eñiam tuam et plebem uni  
uersam. Sis ei auctoritas sis ei potes  
tas sis ei firmitas. Multiplices su  
per eum benedictionem et grām tuam  
ut ad exorandam semper miām tuam tuo  
munere idoneus tua grā possit esse  
deuotus. per. (308 letters).

<sup>1</sup> These are carefully noted by Mr Wilson *Gelasian Sacramentary* pp. 151–153.

<sup>2</sup> See foot-note 3 on p. 342.

Omitting the constituent 'Propitiare dñe supplicationibus' &c., because it seems to be a supplementary prayer introduced, like the 'Exaudi nos dñs salutaris n.' &c. in § xx, by the editor of Ord. in obedience to a stichometrical necessity, we have the scheme notified in column 'ord.<sub>1</sub>' of the subjoined table; where it will be seen that, just as our analysis of § xx and § xxii gave us an original formula on one  $\gamma$  page for the ordering of priests, and an original formula on one such page for the ordering of deacons, so has a similarly prosecuted analysis of § xcix given a like result for the consecration of a bishop.<sup>1</sup>

		$\gamma$ schemes		$\kappa$ scheme
		ord. <sub>1</sub>	ord. <sub>2</sub>	Ord.
<i>Consecratio episcoporum</i> . . . . .	22	1	1	*
Ornamentation . . . . .		1½	1½	*
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . . .	106	3½	3½	4
Exaudi dñe supplicum preces &c. . . . .	80	3	3	3
Propitiare dñe supplicationibus &c. . . . .	124			4
Original formula (as on previous page) . . . . .	308	11		
Dñs . . . ordinibus (71) dñs qui . . . clarescat (844)	915		32	
Dñs . . . clarescat (915) Comple . . . scifica (114) . . . . .	1029			36
<i>Sequitur consecratio</i> . . . . .	19		1 = 42	1 = 48
Comple . . . scifica (113) Hoc dñe . . . pacis (208)				
Tribuas . . . deuotus per (220) . . . . .	541		19	
Hoc dñe . . . pacis (207) Sint . . . consecratur (966) Tribuas &c. (220) . . . . .	1393			48 = 48
Prolonged conclusion to formula . . . . .		1 = 21	2 = 21	

*Redaction 'ord.<sub>2</sub>'.* When I examined the formulae of consecration in §§ xx and xxii, I ascribed to the editor of my hypothetical ord.<sub>2</sub> that portion of each of them which expounds the ceremonial of the Old Law, and by so doing carried down the end of each exposition to the penultimate line of a page. I now make a like ascription of the corresponding portion of the formula in § xcix, and with a precisely similar result; for, as the reader will see in column 'ord.<sub>2</sub>', the last word of 'Dñs honorum . . . famulantur ordinibus dñs qui moysen . . . moribus actibusque clarescat' stood on the penultimate line of the second page. Then followed the rubric '*Consecratio*' on the last line<sup>2</sup>; the next page resuming with 'Comple dñe in sacerdote tuo' &c., a passage relating to the subject in hand. This page contained on nineteen of its twenty-

<sup>1</sup> In my study of the so-called 'Missale Francorum' I spoke (see JOURNAL vol. xii p. 571) of 'a hitherto unsuspected text', on nine  $\beta$  pages (see vol. xi p. 232) of 'the first ascertainable pontifical of a Bishop of Rome'; but here we have something earlier still, and occupying only three  $\gamma$  pages. I should, however, hesitate to say that it is Roman; for I suspect that, taken to Rome from elsewhere, it there served Leo the Great as the germ from which he evolved his pontifical.

<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to my argument that the rubric '*Consecratio*' should have followed the 'Dñs honorum . . . clarescat'. It might have preceded it. What I insist on is that the 'Dñs honorum . . . clarescat' and the 'Comple . . . deuotus per' were distinct paragraphs, that ending and this beginning on separate pages.

one lines all that from 'Comple dñe' follows in the Leonianum. Let this be carefully borne in mind.<sup>1</sup>

*Redaction Ord.* After the three forms of ordination had been set forth in *Redaction ord.*, there elapsed an interval of time; an interval measurable perhaps by years, perhaps by decades of years: and I shrewdly suspect that in that interval a libellus containing them was transported to the scriptorium of some other diocese, a scriptorium in which sacred books were copied on membranes, not of  $\gamma$ , but of  $\kappa$  pagination, and the staff of which included artists as well as scribes.

These two groups of experts now evolved a new and ampler libellus. It consisted of four of their  $\kappa$  membranes, the collation being—

- Fol. 1 *recto* . . . Blank.
- „ 1 *verso* . . . Frontispiece and Title.
- Pp. 3-6 . . . Consecration of Bishops.
- „ 7-10 . . . Ordering of Priests and *Consummatio presbyteri*.
- „ 11-15 . . . Ordering of Deacons, *Ad consummandum* &c. and Mass.
- Fol. 8 *verso* . . . Blank.

Column 'Ord.' in the table of values enables us to see how ingeniously, and under how new an inspiration, the form for the consecration of a bishop was now distributed.

As to this inspiration, let us remember that when at the present day a bishop is consecrated according to the Roman pontifical, the celebrant, in obedience to a tradition of immemorial antiquity, arrests his recital of the 'Dñs honorum' &c., not at the words '— moribus actibusque clarescat', the last words of a passage strictly prefatory to the 'Comple Domine in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam . . . sanctifica'; but at the end of this latter sentence: and that his reason for stopping here instead of there is that he is now about to anoint the head of the consecrand. When, therefore, after he has performed the ceremony of unction, he resumes his chant at the passage 'Hoc Domine copiose in caput eius influat' &c., this passage becomes *ipso facto* a specific elucidation of that ceremony, and is no longer what I conceive it to have been when first inserted at *Redaction ord.*, a mere interpretation of things done under the Mosaic economy. This borne in mind, let us now examine column 'Ord.' in the table of values so as to learn what it was that artists and scribes had brought about in their libellus of four membranes.

(1) The title had been thrown back into page 2, where it formed part

<sup>1</sup> Here again I take a view which differs from Mr Wilson's. In his opinion the Leonianum 'omits' the very long passage, a passage fraught with citations from Holy Writ, 'Sint speciosi munere tuo . . . de profectu omnium consequantur'. As corrected for our ordinand, it comprises 966 letters. My own opinion is that the passage is a non-Leonian, and, in all probability, a non-Roman insertion, and that the Leonianum has omitted nothing.

of the design of the frontispiece. (2) The prayer 'Propitiare dñe' &c., had been inserted next before the 'Dñs honorum' &c.; and in the 'inclinato super hunc famulum tuum cornu gr̃ae . . . in eum effunde uirtutem' which forms part of it, I see hint of a contemplated anointing which was to be no mere figure of speech, but an objective symbol. My reasons for taking this view of the 'inclinato . . . cornu gr̃ae sacerdotalis benedictionis tuae in eum effunde uirtutem' are that (3) the sentence 'Comple dñe . . . sc̃ifica' now coalesced<sup>1</sup> with the preceding passage, carrying on the text to the penultimate line of page 4, and (4) that the 'Hoc dñe copiose in eius caput influat' &c. now began on a fresh page; the explanation of this new allocation being (5) that the transition from one page to another had purposely been made to coincide with an interruptive interval<sup>2</sup> in which the officiant was to anoint the head of the consecrand. (6) This change in the distribution of the material supplied by 'ord.<sub>2</sub>' had obliged the editor for whom the scribes were working to introduce a batch of new text if the item was to end coincidentally with a page. That new text was the long 'Sint speciosi . . . consequatur', now found—but found with plural inflexions, as for several ordinands; not with singular, as for one—in the 'Missale Francorum' as well as in our document, though suggestively absent from the Leonianum (Mur. i 422).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A redistribution analogous to that which I conceive him to have made in the *Ad ordinandos diaconos* (see above, p. 337).

<sup>2</sup> In my study of the 'Missale Francorum' (vol. xii p. 230) I dwelt emphatically on a similar instance of dramatic suspense.

<sup>3</sup> Before taking leave of § xcix let me say why I think the first, or classic, text of the formula of consecration, as completed at 'Ord.', to have assumed but one consecrand. It is simply because metropolitans rarely consecrate more than one suffragan bishop at a time. But this opinion is convincingly confirmed by the fact that, on that assumption, the passage 'Dñs honorum . . . fluere sc̃ifica' would end on the penultimate line of a page; the rubric '*Sequitur consecratio*', or, more probably, '*Hic signas ei caput sacro xp̃smate*', standing on the last; and that, the unction conferred, the celebrant would resume the formula—'Hoc dñe copiose' &c.—on a fresh page: for, as we have seen, the values and distribution would be—

In terms of letters: 106, 80, 124, 1029, 19 or 28, 1393

„ „ „ lines: 4, 3, 4, 36, 1 (=48), 48 (=48).

Nevertheless—and to this I invite special attention—I do not think that the text which implies two or more consecrands is of appreciably later date, or of less authority, than the other.

Because, as would seem to have been the case with the burning of incense so with the ceremony of unction at a consecration to the episcopate, although some metropolitans might adopt this with alacrity, there might be, and probably would be, others who regarded it with indifference, with hesitant caution, or with disfavour. Were such men therefore to decline to use the completed formula, adorned as it now was with the very beautiful *cento* of citations from Holy Writ, 'Sint speciosi munere tuo pedes . . . fructum de profectu omnium consequatur'? By no means, I should imagine. Though willing to use the formula, they might yet have their

Should scholars ever learn what were the Western scriptoria in which altar books were in the fifth and sixth centuries written on pages of  $\kappa$  lineation, and what the scriptoria in which frontispieces equipped with titles were during that period designed and executed; should they ever learn when and in what Western province unction was first used in the consecration of bishops; should they ever learn who were the theologians likely to have compiled so cleverly devised a *cento* of citations from Holy Writ as the 'Sint speciosi . . . consequatur'—special notice taken of such readings as '*detinuerit* (not '*retinuerit*') peccata', '*cibum in tempore necessario*' (not '*in tempore*' or '*in tempore opportuno*'), '*sollicitudine impiger*' (not '*non piger*')—the topographical areas of choice and the chronological may all have been so much reduced, and may so narrowly have overlapped each other, as to make identification of the time and place of the first edition of 'Ord.' morally certain.

Meanwhile I make bold to say that the theory which at one time startled me is true indeed: that is to say, that the extant formula for the consecration of bishops has been evolved from an ultimate original of only eleven short lines, that the formula for the ordering of presbyters has been evolved from an ultimate original of only twelve such lines, and the formula for deacons from an ultimate original of fifteen: nor only so, but that at each stage of each evolution the strictly consecratory part of each formula was by means of carefully employed bibliographical methods distinguished from the non-consecratory in being made to begin at the head of a page.

I now hope to learn what happened after the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros*, when linked with the probably older *Consummatio presbyteri*, and the *Ad ordinandos diaconos*, when linked with the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium*, were incorporated into one and the same volume with §§ i–xix at Redaction V of the extant whole.

*Sections xx–xxiv (Resumed). The extant scheme.* The directive rubrics at the beginning of § xx would seem to have been taken from a Roman pontifical of the  $\beta$  pagination common to the last edition<sup>1</sup> of the Leonianum and the first Roman edition of the sacramental

pontificals so executed as not to commit themselves to the ceremony of the unction. They could therefore direct their scribes to set a rubric, '*Consecratio*', between the third prayer and the beginning of the formula, and to write the whole of this as one continuous paragraph; but to counterpoise the economy of space thus effected by replacing singular inflexions with plural wherever such replacement might be required by the assumption that two or more candidates were to be consecrated. The scheme of values and distribution would then be—

In terms of letters: 106, 80, 123, 11, 2462

„ „  $\kappa$  lines: 4, 3, 4, 1, 84 = 96.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ix pp. 515–556 and vol. x pp. 54–99 of the JOURNAL.

portions of the present document; their title being '*Ordo qualiter p̄bi diaconi uel subdiaconi eligendi sunt*' (47 letters), and the rubrics themselves being identical with those in Reginensis, allowance made for the merovingianisms in this latter. These will be readily detected by the reader: my correction of them reduces the second '*Auxiliante dño*' &c. from 220 letters to 218, and raises the '*Et post modicum*' &c. from 184 to 186. The last rubric was the '*Sequitur oīo de benedictione*'; for the words '*Require ipsam*' &c., like the words '*in romana sedis apostolicæ eīia*' in the Reginensis title, must be assigned to the editor of V'.

The original values would thus be—

	β scheme
<i>Ordo qualiter p̄bi</i> &c. . . . . 47	2
<i>Mensis primi quarti</i> &c. . . . . 167	6
<i>Auxiliante dño d̄s</i> &c. . . . . 34	1
<i>Iterum iterum dicit</i> . . . . . 17	1
<i>Auxiliante dño dō</i> &c. . . . . 220 (218)	7
<i>Et post modicum</i> &c. . . . . 184 (186)	6
<i>Per dñm</i> <sup>1</sup> . . . . . 5	1
<i>Sequitur oīo de benedictione</i> <sup>2</sup> . . . . . 25	1 = 25

The Reginensis text of the *Consummatio presbyteri* and of the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium*, both of which I believe to have been composed as forms of ordination, forms of ordination as sufficient for their respective purposes as the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* and the *Ad ordinandos diaconos* to which they are subjoined in our document, exhibits anomalies of peculiar interest.

1. The bidding-prayer '*Sit nobis fratres communis oīo*' &c. (Mur. i 514) ends thus—'*ut scī sp̄s sacerdotalia dona priuilegio uirtutum ne impares loco deprehendantur obtineant per suum. per*'.<sup>3</sup> If this extraordinary '*obtineant per suum. per*' has not been inadvertently overlooked by my predecessors, they must I fear have passed it by with the reticence of despair. To print and punctuate it '*obtineant, per suum. per*' or '*obtineant. Per suum. per*' neither explains nor explains away the difficulty presented. But, is the difficulty as portentous as it looks? May not '*per suum*' be a *mendosa lectio* for '*in perpetuum*'?

<sup>1</sup> This '*per dñm*' looks like the first words of the conclusion of the pontiff's blessing of the ordinands; the saying of it having been postponed until these had left the steps of the throne and ranged themselves standing *in ordine suo*.

<sup>2</sup> This '*oīo de benedictione*' was a prayer having reference, not to the pontiff's blessing just given, but to the Song of the Three Children, '*Benedictus es dñs d̄s patrum n̄orum*' &c. There are two such prayers, '*D̄s cuius adorandæ*' &c. and '*D̄s qui tribus pueris*' &c. See I lxxxiii and II lxxxv (Mur. i 605, 686).

<sup>3</sup> So I understand Mr Wilson to say; but Muratori stops at '*per suum*' in his transcription of the Gelasianum (i 514). In that of the '*Missale Francorum*' he gives '*per suum. Per Dominum*'.

No simpler account of it can be imagined; nor could any phrase be at once more apposite to the context and more purely idiomatic than 'ut scī sps sacerdotalia dona . . . obtineant in perpetuum'.<sup>1</sup> My correction raises the number of letters from 229 to 233.

2. In Reginensis the next constituent, 'Scīficationum omnium' &c., citing St Paul's 'in uirum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi' (Eph. iv 13), ends thus—'ut . . . in uirum perfectum . . . in die iustitiae et aeterni iudicii . . . persoluant. per'; where 'persoluant' governs nothing. Here the simplest of remedies would seem to be the remedy to choose. Why should we not read 'persoluantur' for 'persoluant'? An evolution and development which by attaining its plenitude and consummation raises us from a lower to a higher stage of being, as from childhood to manhood, may, I should suppose, be said 'persolvere': and I doubt if any latinist who might have wished to express the idea by some one word in keeping with the conspicuously operose style in which this *Consummatio presbyteri* is written could have selected a more suitable word than this. My correction raises 724 to 726.

These readings in the Reginensis Gelasianum are of great interest and value; for they are also those of the Reginensis 'Missale Francorum';<sup>2</sup> and thus raise the question whether, as regards the *Consummatio presbyteri*, the second cismontane redaction, V, of the one may not be closely allied to one of the numerous editions of the other.

3. The theory of such alliance is further justified by the curious fact that nothing more than some slight error in the transcription of the next bidding-prayer, 'Commune uotum' &c. (Mur. i 516), would seem to have brought about an impossible reading of that constituent in each of the documents.<sup>3</sup> There is, in my opinion, no need whatever to seek a remedy of the fault in such comparatively late works as the Egbert Pontifical and the Jumièges and Gellone MSS; for a careful examination

<sup>1</sup> Let me give two analogous instances:—

1. Our text, like that in Leon. XXVII v (Mur. i 413) of the Ad Populum of the Wednesday Mass in Reginensis § xxv (*ib.* 520) is 'Adesto dñe famulis tuis et *opem tuam* largire' &c.; but the text of the same prayer as found by Muratori (ii 37), Pamelius (ii 228), and Ménard (46) in the post-Gregorian Mass for the next day is 'Adesto dñe famulis tuis et *perpetuam benignitatem* largire'. See also my *Canterbury Missal* (p. 27), which for the Thursdays in Lent before Holy Week not improbably represents the use of the Roman Church early in the eighth century.

2. Similarly, but conversely, in II lxxxii of our document (Mur. i 682) we have 'Adiuua dñe fragilitatem plebis tuae ut . . . *ad perpetuam glām* deuota mente perueniat', which reading Ménard (192) gives; but Pamelius's *Ambrosianum* (i 332) has 'Adiuua dñe fragilitatem plebis tuae ut . . . *per tuam glām* deuota mente perueniat'.

<sup>3</sup> See Mur. ii 668, 669.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* ii 666.

of the two older books suggests the following as the classical text: 'Commune uotum communis oīo prosequatur ut hi . . . qui in diaconatus ministerium [by merovingian substitution, "ministerio"] praeparantur leuitica benedictione et spāli conuersatione praefulgentes gīa scīficationis eluceant. per' (169 letters, not 171).

4. A comparison of their respective texts of the 'Dñe scē spei' &c. serves to prove that, if (except for the intractable 'nīs') Reginensis may fairly claim to be authentic, the original reading was 'Dñe scē spei fidei gīae profectuum munerator . . . hos quoque famulos tuos speciali dignare aspectu' &c., and that the 'speciali dignare inlustrare aspectu' of the 'Missale Francorum' is the effort of a scribe or editor who either would not or could not believe that 'speciali dignare aspectu' is a permissible hellenism.

The subject of a possible affinity between the extant texts of the *Consummatio presbyteri* and the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium* appertains to the external history of our document, and does not at present claim prolonged examination: but, before I leave it, let me observe that even if I am mistaken in suspecting the 'per suum' in the bidding-prayer 'Sit nobis fratres' &c. to be a corruption of 'in perpetuum', the theory of such affinity is not therefore discredited. There is an alternative and by no means improbable account to be given of this 'per suum'; but it is an account which, like the other, is best explained by the hypothesis of clerical error in some stage of the descent of the two texts from a common ancestor. The *Missale Gothicum* (Mur. ii 517-658) contains numerous bidding-prayers<sup>1</sup> which, beginning with some such formula as 'Dñm ac dñm nñm fratres karissimi deprecemur', or 'Dñm fratres karissimi deprecemur', conclude with 'per dñm nñm ihm xp̄m filium suum qui secum uiuit'. If, therefore, we assume that the 'Sit fratres' &c. had in the first instance been framed to this type of bidding-prayer, we shall have to say that while the Reginensis Gelasianum (at least as represented by Muratori) was right in concluding with 'per suum' (= 'per . . . suum'), the Reginensis 'Missale Francorum' was wrong in concluding with 'per suum. per dñm'; but that both were wrong in not beginning with 'Sit nobis fratres communis oīo ad dñm ac dñm nñm', or the like, and that this their common defect is probably chargeable on a common predecessor. The value of the constituent would on this hypothesis be 238.

*The Forms of Ordination at Redactions V, V'.* It now remains to trace the progress of the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* and the *Consummatio*

<sup>1</sup> They are in the Masses for the Vigil of the Epiphany and for the Feasts of St Caecilie, St Clement, St Saturnine, and St Eulalia (Mur. ii 540, 551, 553 and 554. 555 and 556, 560 and 561).



*presbyteri*, of the *Ad ordinandos diaconos* and the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium* from the *Prachtexemplar* 'Ord.' to Redaction V' of our document; and to learn what accessions they may have received, and what modifications undergone, in the course of the journey.

I suspect that the second cismontane editor included them in his edition, the task imposed on him being, not merely to transcribe on κ pages the contents of Redaction S<sub>2</sub>, but to incorporate into his transcript such other material as a bishop might wish to have ready to hand on this or that liturgical anniversary. By this hypothesis it follows that on completing his transcription of § xix he closed the copy of S<sub>2</sub> on which he had thus far been working, and opened a book containing a more or less faithful copy of 'Ord.', the libellus which just now engaged our attention. I say 'a more or less faithful copy', because we should prejudice our investigation of the external history of our document if we were to charge him with the curious little textual anomalies which are common to it and the 'Missale Francorum'.<sup>1</sup>

Column 'V' in the next table shews what he did. Except that, either on his own responsibility or because the thing had already been done, he may in § xx have moved the rubric '*Sequitur consecratio*' from its strictly proper place at the dividing-point of the 'Dñe scē pater oñp.' &c. and, converting it into *Consecratio*, set it before the beginning of that formula, and that he may have done the like in § xxii, he simply transcribed what lay before him.

If I am well advised in believing the *Consummatio presbyteri* and the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium* to have been as truly forms of ordination as the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* and the *Ad ordinandos diaconos*, it would seem to follow that although *ord.*<sub>2</sub> (on γ pages) had been compiled for a bishop whose preferences were for forms which, though known to him as Roman, may yet at their inception, in *ord.*<sub>1</sub>, have been Gallican, the libellus (on κ pages)<sup>2</sup> which I notify as 'Ord.' was written at the instance of a suffragan or metropolitan bishop who had no wish that they should supersede forms which, written in a laboured style and characterized by hellenisms,<sup>3</sup> had always been non-Roman; a bishop, moreover, who, as living in troublous times, could therefore give even to an ordination Mass a Preface highly tinged with political allusion.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 344-346.

<sup>2</sup> See the schemes of values on p. 338 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Amongst these I place *consummatio* = τελείωσις *seniores* = πρεσβύτεροι and *speciali dignare aspectu*.

<sup>4</sup> The Preface is a constituent of Leon. XXVII iii (Mur. i 412), a political item curiously akin to the political Mass of the 'Missale Francorum' (*ib.* ii 680). See vol. xii pp. 536-539 of the JOURNAL.

		V	V'	
	Brought forward (see p. 333) . . .	25	31	} Initial excess, 6 lines
§ xx.	<i>Ordo qualiter in romana &amp;c.</i> . . .	75	3	
	<i>Mensis primi quarti &amp;c.</i> . . .	169	6	} New work, 29 lines
	<i>Auxiliante dño dō &amp;c.</i> . . .	32	1	
	<i>Iterum iterum dicit</i> . . . . .	17	1	
	<i>Auxiliante dño dō &amp;c., &amp;c.</i> . . .	220 (221)	8	
	<i>Et post modicum &amp;c.</i> . . . . .	184	7	
	<i>Per dñm</i> . . . . .	5	1	
	<i>Sequitur oīo de benedictione &amp;c.</i> . .	53	2	
	<i>Ad ordinandos presbyteros</i> . . . .	23	1	
	<i>Oremus dilectissimi &amp;c.</i> . . . .	158	6	
	<i>Exaudi nos dñs salutaris n̄. &amp;c.</i> . .	183	7	
	<i>Consecratio</i> . . . . .	11	1	
	<i>Dñe scē pater oīp. &amp;c.</i> . . . .	1263	44	
	<i>Consummatio presbyterii</i> . . . .	21	1	I = 120
	<i>Sit nobis fratres communis &amp;c.</i> . .	229 (233)	8	
	<i>Item benedictio</i> . . . . .	14	1	
	<i>Sēificationum omnium &amp;c.</i> . . . .	724 (726)	25	
§ xxi.	<i>Capitulum scī gregorii papae</i> . .	25	1	} New work, 11 lines
	<i>Sicut qui inuitatus &amp;c.</i> . . . .	290	10	
§ xxii.	<i>Ad ordinandos diaconos</i> . . . .	20	1	I = 120 I (= 46)
	<i>Oremus dilectissimi &amp;c.</i> . . . .	172	6	
	<i>Oremus</i> . . . . .	5	1	} New work, 2 lines
	<i>Sequitur oīo</i> . . . . .	11	1	
	<i>Dñe dñs preces n̄as &amp;c.</i> . . . .	184 (187)	7	} Total increment, 48 lines
	<i>Consecratio</i> . . . . .	11	1	
	<i>Adesto quaesumus oīp. dñs &amp;c.</i> . .	1458	50	
§ xxiii.	<i>Ad consummandum &amp;c.</i> . . . .	32	1	
	<i>Commune uotum communis &amp;c.</i> . .	171 (169)	6	
	<i>Sequitur benedictio</i> . . . . .	18	1	I = 72 I = 120
	<i>Dñe scē spei fidei &amp;c.</i> . . . .	445	15	
§ xxiv.	as in previous list (p. 338) . . .		33 = 48 33 = 48	
	Sum total for V . . . . .		240 (P. 41 ends)	
	" " " V' . . . . .		288 (P. 43 ends)	

*Redaction V'.* What had been set forth in 'Ord.' the second of the cismontane editors adopted: but the last compiler, the editor of V', seems to have worked for a prelate whose thoughts, whether as ecclesiastic or as statesman, turned Romewards; witness the '*Ordo qualiter*' &c. prefixed to the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* and the citation from Gregory the Great set before the *Ad ordinandos diaconos*. This was inserted to help in carrying on the entire scheme to the end of a page<sup>1</sup>; but the

<sup>1</sup> By adding a supernumerary prayer to § xix the editor of V' put in new material of the value of 6 lines; the Roman Ordo occupied 29; the citation from St Gregory occupied 11; the 'Oremus' and 'Sequitur oīo' in § xxii occupied 2: 48 in all. Let us, however, observe (1) that this 'Oremus' and this 'Sequitur oīo' are not sup-

mere fact that the patron of the edition should have turned to the writings of St Gregory, rather than those of a theologian nearer home, in search of a mere *farcimentum* raises the very interesting question whether in so doing he indulged a merely private proclivity or acted as exponent of a public policy. The troublous times in which 'Ord.' was compiled and the inspiring motive of the two pages of new work engrafted into V' are among the data suggested by §§ xx–xxiv which must be taken into account if the external history of our document is ever to be ascertained.

*The Dividing-point of St Leo's Ieiunium Quadragesima Dierum.* St Leo's forty days' fast began on the Monday in *quinquagesima* and ended on the Thursday before Easter: the series therefore divided on the Tuesday of the third week in *quadragesima*; the Tuesday, that is to say, before the 'Midlent Thursday' and the 'Refreshment Sunday' of modern parlance.

We shall see presently that at Redaction V, and therefore in all moral certainty at Redaction S<sub>2</sub> before it, ended Mass coincided with ended page on this the last day of the first moiety of St Leo's forty days' fast; so that the beginning of the first item of the second moiety coincided with the beginning of a page, just as beginning item had coincided with beginning page on such cardinal anniversaries as the Feast of the Theophany, Quinquagesima Sunday, the first station-day of the *ieiunium*, and the Ember Saturday of the spring quarter.

So far from thinking that the coincidence can be accidental, I believe, and I hope to be able to prove, that special pains were taken to bring it about; and if I can persuade my readers that such pains were indeed taken, they will be in possession of a very valuable clue towards determining an important period in the external history of our document.

The series of sacramental items was arrested at § xix (Mur. i 512), but is resumed at § xxv (*ib.* i 518) and on the Second Sunday in *quadragesima*.

In Tuesday's Ad Populum I propose to read 'ut in mysteriis' rather than 'ut mysteriis', and in Wednesday's Collecta 'in tua . . . pace' rather than 'in tua . . . prece'; correcting therefore 172 and 156 to 174 and 155 respectively.

ported by analogous work in either § xx or § xcix, and (2) that if the extract from St Gregory had but been longer by a couple of lines than it is the first constituent of § xxii would have begun, as at Redaction V, at the head of a page. Here, therefore, as in the mutilated Preface of § xi, I see a clumsy effort of the last compiler's to rectify a clumsy blunder. For, why dock St Gregory's question 'Nam qui . . . quid agit' &c. of its second and more graphic half—'et ascendendo exterius interius ad profunda descendat'? See S.G.M. Ep. ix 106 (Migne S. L. lxxvii, 1029 A.C.).

1\*. The Oratio of Monday's Mass—'Eliam tuam dñe' &c.—is one of several prayers the linear values of which I believe the first of the cismontane editors to have reduced in order to make ended item coincide with ended page on the conclusion of the first half of the Telesphoran seven weeks' *observantia*. The Reginensis construction limps, thus:—'Eliam tuam dñe . . . prosequere ut . . . aeternae beatitudinis percipiat. per'.<sup>1</sup> St Gallen, it is true, governs 'beatitudinis' by 'dona', but not with convincing authority; because it sets the prayer in a Thursday Mass and thus in an item of late compilation, and because, even so, it is not supported by Rheinau, which, like Reginensis, leaves 'beatitudinis' ungoverned. I think, however, that Gerbert's 'donum' suggests the word we want, namely 'lumen'. The *textus classicus* is unquestionably that of Leon. XVIII xi (Mur. i 359), 'Eliam tuam dñe perpeti . . . prosequere ut inter saeculi turbines (*not* 'turbidines') . . . aeternae beatitudinis percipiat claritatem. per', in 145 letters (6  $\theta$  lines): and for this I believe the editor of S<sub>2</sub> to have substituted 'Eliam tuam dñe perpetua . . . prosequere ut inter saeculi turbines . . . aeternae beatitudinis lumen percipiat. per', in 141 letters (5  $\theta$  lines), thus effecting economy of a line, but leaving unimpaired the beautiful metaphor of a ship whose living freight long for the guiding of a friendly beacon or wait hopefully for the first glimmering of dawn.<sup>2</sup> I suspect that the compiler of V', or possibly a later scribe, was cognizant of both readings, and that, vacillating between the two, he wrote neither.

But whether we accept Gerbert's 'donum' or the 'lumen' of which Gerbert's 'donum' may be a corruption, the prayer has a first value, of 145 letters, as in the Leonianum, and a second, of 141. The first I assign to S and S<sub>1</sub> because, by the hypothesis, they were Roman editions: for the reason just now intimated, I assign the second to S<sub>2</sub>. Hence the following scheme:—

<sup>1</sup> See Mur. ii 205, n. k for the reading 'Eliam tuam dñe quaesumus perpetua prosequere ut in turbine . . . aeternam beatitudinem percipiat. per'.

<sup>2</sup> For prayers with like maritime imagery to this see the Saturday's Oratio of § xviii (Mur. i 511) and the Tuesday's Postcommunion in § xxviii (*ib.* 531):—'Reparet nos . . . prouidentia . . . quae fragilitatem nřam et inter mundi tempestates protegat et gubernet et in portum . . . inducat', 'Vegetet nos . . . libatio quae fragilitatem nřam gubernet et protegat et in portum . . . inducat.' Gelasius I (Ep. 12) employs the phrase 'inter diuersos mundi turbines' with a clearly implied reference to St Peter's 'gubernatio principalis' (Migne S. L. lix, 60 B). These passages emphasize the vigilance and skill of the pilot: the Leonianum reading and the reading I suggest in the prayer under consideration emphasize the guiding of the 'kindly light'. All the prayers have this in common, that they fix attention on the frailty (*fragilitas*) of the storm-tossed craft.

	§ xxv. 2nd S. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .				Monday.				Tuesday.				
	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	
Capitulum . . .	26	*	*	I	19	I	I	I	15	I	I	I	
Collecta . . .	94	3	4	3	114	4	4	4	169	6	6	6	
Oratio . . .	117	4	4	4	138 (145 <sup>1</sup> , 141 <sup>2</sup> )	5 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	101	3	4	4
Secreta. . . .	109	4	4	4	125	4	5	4	108	4	4	4	
Postcommunion .	56	2	2	2	51	2	2	2	77	3	3	3	
Ad Populum . .	103	nil	nil	4	4	4	4	4	172 (174)	6	7	6	
<hr/>													
Totals (β) for s	13				20				23			=56	
„ (θ) „ S <sub>1</sub>		14				22			25			=61	
„ (θ) „ S <sub>2</sub>			18				21			25		=64	
„ (κ) „ V				18				20				24=62	

	Wednesday.				Friday.				Saturday.			
	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V
Brought forward .	56	61	64	62								
Capitulum . . .	19	I	I	I	19	I	I	I	26	I	I	I
Collecta . . .	156 (155)	5	6	6	102	3	4	4	164	6	6	6
Oratio . . .	116	4	4	4	175	6	7	6	196	7	7	7
Secreta . . .	123	4	5	4	106	4	4	4	181	6	7	6
Postcommunion .	101	3	4	4	88	3	3	3	111	4	4	4
Ad Populum . .	127	4	5	5	88	3	3	3	109	4	4	4
Totals (β) for s	77				20				28			=125
" (θ) " S <sub>1</sub>		86				22			29			(P. 19 ends) =137
" (θ) " S <sub>2</sub>			89				22			29		=140
" (κ) " V				86				21				28=135

We have seen that the *Liber Pontificalis* declares Pope Telesphorus (A.D. 142–152) to have instituted a quinquagesimal, or seven weeks', fast in preparation for Easter: we have seen that the sermons of Leo the Great imply, as observed by the Roman Church in the first half of the fifth century, a quarantine of fasts beginning on the Monday of Quinquagesima week and also a six weeks' fast which began a sennight later; and I have suggested that soon after Leo's time the latter observance may have come into such general vogue in the Roman Church as to confine the former to an esoteric few. This opinion is corroborated by documentary evidence; for in the '*Breuiarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis*' first published by Tommasi and subsequently by Muratori in the second volume of his '*Liturgia Romana Vetust*', we read 'Monachi uero et Romani deuoti, uel boni Christiani, a Quinquagesima, rustici autem et reliquus uulgus a Quadragesima',<sup>1</sup> where unhappily a lacuna breaks the construction, but where the preceding context leaves no

<sup>1</sup> Mur. ii 400.

doubt as to what is meant : while in a cognate document, printed by Gerbert in the second volume of his '*Monumenta*', we find 'Graeci autem a Sexagesima de carne leuant ieiunium ; monachi uero et Romani deuoti uel boni Christiani a Quinquagesima leuant',<sup>1</sup> and in yet a third, printed by the same editor, and in the same collection, 'Graeci primam ebdomadam, id est Sexagesimam, sanctificant suo ieiunio . . . Cleri nostri, auctore Telesphoro papa, sequentem [ebdomadam], id est Quinquagesimam, qui constituit septem hebdomadarum ieiunium ante Pascha.'<sup>2</sup>

Now, if my theory of two Roman editions—*s* and *S*<sub>1</sub>—of the sacramental contributory to the complex document we are studying be true to fact, and if I have rightly divined its paginal distribution in first one, and then the other of those editions, the Mass for Quinquagesima Sunday began on a fresh page in the former, while in the latter the Mass for the first quinquagesimal station had the same distinction (see above, p. 222). Confessedly, each of these anniversaries is a logical starting-point ; for one connotes the beginning of the quinquagesimal season, the other the beginning of the public observance of the quinquagesimal fast. Moreover, the same distinction, that of a fresh page, is given in *s* (see above, p. 223) to Quadragesima Sunday, an anniversary which Leo the Great would have regarded as another logical point of departure.

Assuming, then, that these coincidences were all of them designed, I shall pursue my redintegration of the  $\beta$  and the  $\theta$  pages, respectively, of Redactions *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub> in hope of learning whether or not there await us in the near sequel any indications of editorial preference for the quinquagesimal theory of prae-Paschal fast as against the quadragesimal, or *uice uersa*. For the moment, let this suffice for Rome. Now for the provinces.

It cannot be doubted that during the period covered by the external history of our document the quinquagesimal theory and the quadragesimal were held simultaneously in some, at least, of the ecclesiastical provinces of Gaul, or that during a portion of that period the quinquagesimal theory was viewed with disfavour by the powers that were,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Gerbert *Monumenta* ii 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ii 189. Durand of Mende, a much later authority, says, 'Regulares incipiunt ieiunare a lxx<sup>ma</sup>, Graeci a lx<sup>ma</sup>, clerici a l<sup>ma</sup>, tota militia X<sup>ma</sup> a xl<sup>ma</sup> additis quatuor diebus hebdomadae praecedentis'; and 'Nota quod Telesphorus et Gregorius Papae . . . statuerunt ut clerici incipiant a quinquagesima ieiunare' (*Rationale* § xxvii).

<sup>3</sup> The First Council of Orléans (A.D. 511) decreed 'ut ante Paschae solemnitate non quinquagesima sed quadragesima teneatur'; the Fourth Council of Orléans (A.D. 541), 'Hoc etiam decernimus obseruandum ut quadragesima ab omnibus ecclesiis aequaliter teneatur ; neque quinquagesimam aut sexagesimam ante Pascha quilibet sacerdos praesumat indicare'.

the quadragesimal with favour. Hence, therefore, the very interesting question whether the compiler of *S*<sub>2</sub>, the first of the cismontane redactions postulated by my theory, can have evinced by means of his bibliographical methods a preference for either of the two theories, and, if so, for which.

We just now saw reason to believe that the first of the cismontane editors reduced the Oratio of Monday's Mass in § xxv from 145 letters on six *θ* lines to 141 letters on five. Three like instances occur in the first four items of § xxvi.

2\*, 1. The Oratio for the Monday of the third week in *quadragesima* (Mur. i 522) is thus phrased in Reginensis:—‘Da quaesumus o[mn]p. d[omi]n[u] ut abstinentiae n[ost]rae restaurationis exordiis competentem dignis praecurramus officiis. per.’ On this Mr Wilson<sup>1</sup> says ‘This Collect . . . is evidently corrupt: it would become intelligible if *abstinentiam* were read for *abstinentiae*’. I scarcely think so. The accusative would enable us to parse the sentence, but I do not think that it would yield a probable sense; for, how can we preface—*praecurrere*—an abstinence which we have already been observing for many days? My own belief is that here, as in the preceding instance (1\*) the compiler of *V* had two texts of the prayer before him, and that he vacillated between them. Unfortunately, the prayer does not occur in so much of the Leonianum as survives at Verona; nor is it found in Rheinau or St Gallen. We must therefore speculate as best we can. That the words ‘abstinentiae’ and ‘praecurramus’ were in *V* I fully believe: as fully do I believe that Mr Wilson’s proposed ‘abstinentiam’ was in *V*, but I would suggest that it was there governed by some such word as ‘obseruemus’; for the only satisfactory solution of the complex puzzle must, I think, be—

That (i) the original text was

‘Da quaesumus o[mn]p. d[omi]n[u] ut per obseruantiam abstinentiae n[ost]rae restaurationis exordiis competentem tua s[an]c[t]a uentura dignis praecurramus officiis. per’ (in 123 letters):

‘obseruantiam’ being supported by the ‘obseruationes antiquae’ of the Ad Populum of the same Mass, the ‘obseruantia’ of Wednesday’s Oratio and the ‘obseruationes sacrae’ of Friday’s Collecta; ‘tua s[an]c[t]a uentura praecurramus’ having the authority of Tuesday’s Oratio,

That (ii) the editor of *S*<sub>2</sub> replaced ‘per obseruantiam abstinentiae’ by ‘per abstinentiam’, thus reducing 123 (5 *θ* lines) to 111 (4 *θ* lines),

That (iii) the editor of *V*, cancelling ‘per’ and ‘tua s[an]c[t]a uentura’ governed ‘abstinentiam’ by ‘obseruemus’ in place of ‘praecurramus’, thus lowering the number of letters from 111 to 93 (3 *κ* lines), and

That (iv) the compiler of *V*, familiar with or, at least, cognizant of

<sup>1</sup> *Gelasian Sacramentary* p. 38 n. 17.

the original text, instead of copying the text which lay before him in V vacillated between the two ; so that, instead of writing

'Da quaesumus . . . ut abstinentiam . . . obseruemus' &c.

he wrote

'Da quaesumus . . . ut abstinentiae . . . praecurramus' &c.

3\*, 2. On the following day, the Tuesday of the third week in *quadragesima*, we have, I am persuaded, a similar instance of textual reduction ; an instance, I mean, of reduction by, first one, then the other of the cismontane editors. I assume that in each of the Roman editions the text of the Collecta for that day had been identical with that of the Oratio for the Friday of the fourth week in *quadragesima* (Mur. i 528) :—

'Prosequere quaesumus o[m]p. d[omi]ni ieiuniorum sacra mysteria et quos ab escis carnalibus praecipis temperare a noxiis quoque uitii cessare concede. per'. in 123 letters (4  $\beta$  lines, 5 of  $\theta$ ).

But, instructed by Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert, I infer from them (ii) that the editor of S<sub>2</sub> reduced this value to 114 letters (4  $\theta$  lines) by suppressing 'quaesumus', at the same time replacing 'temperare' by 'abstinere', and (iii) that, as in the previous instance, the editor of V made a further reduction by converting the first clause into 'Prosequere nos o[m]p. d[omi]ni', thus lowering the total to 94 letters (3  $\kappa$  lines).

Whatever, then, may have been the motive that inspired the editor of S<sub>2</sub> to save a line in the first (1\*) of the three prayers just examined by the slight reduction of 145 letters to 141 ; to save a line in the second (2\*) by the similarly slight reduction of 123 letters to 111, and to do the like in the third (3\*) by lowering 123 to 114, the result attained is evident. I state it thus :—

The original deviser of the sacramentarial contributory of our document had so selected and arranged his material as to make ended item coincident with ended page at precisely the dividing-point of the Leonian quarantine of fasting-days ; for that quarantine, beginning on Quinquagesima Monday and ending on the Thursday before Easter, divided on the evening of the Tuesday after the third Sunday in *quadragesima*. The first of the cismontane editors attained the same result by the expedients now brought to light. So too did the second of the cismontanes by still further reducing (1) the Oratio of Monday's Mass and (2) the Collecta for Tuesday.

The next table exhibits the results thus far ascertained.

We now see why it was that the editor of S<sub>2</sub> should be led to practise these three curiously exceptional economies on the text of S<sub>1</sub> which lay before him : curiously exceptional they certainly are, for none such are to be detected before the Second Sunday in *quadragesima* or after the Fourth.



	§ xxvi. 3rd S. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .				Monday.				Tuesday.			
	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V
Brought forward . . . . .												
Capitulum . . . . .	47	2	2	2	18	1	1	1	19	1	1	1
Collecta . . . . .					119	4	4	4	123 <sup>1</sup> , 114 <sup>2</sup> , 94 <sup>3</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup> 3 <sup>3</sup>
Oratio . . . . .	161	5	6	6	95 (123 <sup>1</sup> , 111 <sup>2</sup> , 93 <sup>3</sup> )	4 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup> 3 <sup>3</sup>	115	4	4	4
Secreta . . . . .	111	4	4	4	59	2	2	2	99	3	4	4
<i>Infra</i> &c. . . . .	20	1	1	1	27	1	1	1				
Memento . . . . .	112	4	4	4								
<i>Et taces</i> . . . . .	80	3	3	3								
Quorum fides &c. . . . .	22	1	1	1								
<i>Item infra actionem</i> . . . . .	17	1	1	1								
Hanc igitur . . . . .	178	6	7	6								
<i>Et recitantur</i> . . . . .	70	2	3	3								
Hos dñe fonte &c. . . . .	94	3	4	3								
Postcommunion . . . . .	111	4	4	4	107	4	4	4	86	3	3	3
Ad Populum . . . . .	116	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>	4	133	4	5	5	106	4	4	4
Totals (β) for s. . . . .	36				20				19			
" (θ) " S <sub>1</sub> . . . . .		177				22				(P. 22 ends)		
" (θ) " S <sub>2</sub> . . . . .		184				21				21		
" (κ) " V . . . . .			177				20			20		
										(P. 41 ends)		
										19 = 216		
										(P. 50 ends)		

He had two objects in view :—

The first was to make item and page conterminous on the Tuesday of the third week *in quadragesima* and, as the reader will see on consulting the table, in order to attain that object he must make either a gross or a nett enhancement of 5 lines to the 220 lines covered by his predecessor ; for  $220 + 5 = 225 = 9 \times 25$ . Since, then, it already behoved him to introduce two *Ad Populum* prayers, one on the Second Sunday and the other on the Third ; and since it would have been unseemly, even if easy, to give two such prayers the joint value of merely five lines, he very prudently gave them the joint, though modest, value of eight lines, and compensated the excess of 8 over 5 by the three devices just examined.

*The Dividing-point of St Leo's Ieiunium Quadragesimale.* The second object held in view by the editor of *S*<sub>2</sub> was to make item and page end simultaneously on the Saturday of the Third Week *in quadragesima*, and to attain this he resorted to a fourth textual economy.

4\*. For the *textus classicus* of the Oratio for the Wednesday of the third week we have not, as we had in 1\*, the help of the Leonianum ; nor, as we had in 3\*, that of Rheinau and St Gallen : but, if the reader will refer to the last of those five prayers in § xix for which, by the hypothesis, we are indebted to the editor of *S*<sub>2</sub>, and compare the form there given to it with the form it bears in this place, he will I think believe with me that, were the Verona copy of the Leonianum complete, we should find the *textus classicus* to have been 'Da nobis quaesumus dñe obseruantiam legitima deuotione perfectam ut cum refrenatione' &c. in 122 letters ; but that the value has there been lowered to the compass of four  $\theta$  lines by omission of 'quaesumus', and here by omission of 'cum'.

If we turn to the less interesting subject of the second cismontane editor's adaptation of means to ends we find two more examples of this :—

3. The *Secreta* for the third Wednesday *in quadragesima*, 'Dñ de cuius' &c., seems to bear trace of the abridging pen of the second of the cismontane editors. St Gallen and Gerbert<sup>1</sup> do not help us here ; for they give the prayer to a Thursday Mass, and thus to an item which is of later date than *S*<sub>2</sub> : but if we turn to a substantially identical prayer in our own document, the *Secreta* of § xxxviii<sup>2</sup> (Mur. i 553), we find what looks like the classic text of its final phrase—'ut . . . tibi placitum deferamus obsequium', not, as here, 'ut . . . competens deferamus obsequium'. That would yield a total of 151 letters, this gives 148. The difference, slight though it be, suffices to secure the inclusion

<sup>1</sup> Rheinau has lost one or more leaves at this part of the series. See Wilson, p. 329 n. 1 ; p. 330 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> § xxxix by Mr Wilson's numeration.

of the prayer in five  $\kappa$  lines.<sup>1</sup> Either reading would have required six  $\theta$  lines.

4. The Collecta of Friday's Mass, 'Praesta quaesumus' &c. (Mur. i 524), exhibits yet another proof of the second cismontane editor's care to adapt means to ends. On the Friday of the autumn ember-week Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert (*Monumenta* i 179) read 'Praesta quaesumus o[mn]p. d[omi]n[us] &c.', thus giving the prayer 97 letters as against the 95 letters of the Reginensis 'Praesta quaesumus d[omi]n[us]e' &c. Here again we have a very slight difference; but a difference which ensures the inclusion of the constituent in three  $\kappa$  lines. Either reading would have required four lines of  $\theta$  capacity.

These variant values are duly notified in the next table. But before I submit this to the reader let me call attention to the strange 'quibus integre contuleris firmitatem' with which Reginensis ends the Oratio of Saturday's Mass (Mur. i 525).

We have seen it to be probable that, when writing the second Oratio in § xxv, and again when writing the second Oratio in § xxvi, the final coadunator, or his amanuensis, vacillated between an old text and a new, consequently penning a phrase which defies grammatical analysis (see above pp. 350 and 353). The same sort of mishap would seem to have befallen the last Oratio in § xxvi. As found in XVIII xxii of the Leonianum (Mur. i 367) the presumably original text of this begins and ends thus, 'Auge fidem tuam . . . quibus in te credendi contuleris firmitatem. per' (115 letters), where 'in te credendi firmitas' means '*a sure trust in Thee*'. In the corrected St Gallen and in Gerbert the reading is 'Auge fidem tuam . . . quibus integram illius [*scil.* fidei tuae] contuleris firmitatem. per' (117 letters): and, if I am right in believing that this 'integra fidei tuae firmitas' means '*a whole-hearted and steadfast embrace of the faith Thou hast revealed*', an interesting question is evoked as to the occasion and reason for what may have been, and probably was, a deliberately designed expunction of 'in te credendi' in favour of 'integram illius'. I hope on another occasion and at the proper moment to recur to this question, meanwhile assigning 'in te credendi' to  $s$  and  $S_1$  and 'integram illius' to  $S_2$  or  $V$ , but attributing the extant '*integre*' to an editor or scribe who knew both readings but adopted neither.

It only remains to add that in the last Secreta of § xxvi, 'D[omi]n[us]e d[omi]n[us] n[oster]. qui in his' &c., 'tuoque' should certainly be corrected to 'tuo quoque' and that 'dicanda' is not improbably a clerical error for 'dedicanda'; the complement of letters being therefore 200, not 195.

My last table of values brought us to the dividing-point of St Leo's *ieiunium quadraginta dierum*: the next carries us on, as regards Redac-

<sup>1</sup> For  $5 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 147\frac{1}{2}$ . For similar instances of minute textual economy see the Orationes of §§ vii, viii. The table of values for these is on p. 203 *supra*.

	3rd W. in xl <sup>ma</sup> .				Friday.				Saturday.			
	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V
Brought forward .		220										
Capitulum . . .	18	I	I	I	18	* *	I I		19	I	I	I
Collecta . . .	178	6	7	6	97 <sup>1</sup> , 95 <sup>2</sup>	3	4	3	113	4	4	4
Oratio . . .	122 <sup>1</sup> , 119 <sup>2</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>2</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup>	140	5	5	5	110 (115 <sup>1</sup> , 117 <sup>2</sup> )	4 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup> 4	4 <sup>2</sup>
Secreta . . .	151 <sup>1</sup> , 148 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	112	4	4	4	195 (200)	7	8	7
Postcommunion .	103	3	4	4	107	4	4	4	77	3	3	3
Ad Populum . .	154	5	6	6	134	4	5	5	111	4	4	4
Of the following .		I	I									I
Totals (β) for s		25 (P. 23 ends)			20				23			= 43
„ (θ) „ S <sub>1</sub>		250 (P. 36 ends)			22				24			= 46
„ (θ) „ S <sub>2</sub>		28			23				24			= 75
„ (κ) „ V		26			22 = 48 (P. 52 ends)				(P. 44 ends)			24
									(P. 53 ends)			

tions *s* and *S<sub>1</sub>*, to the dividing-point of the Telesphoran *obseruantia* on the Wednesday of the third week *in quadragesima*; and, as regards *S<sub>2</sub>* and *V*, to the dividing-point of St Leo's *ieiunium quadragesimale* on the following Saturday (see above, pp. 215, 216).

Since, then, the textual peculiarities of §§ xxv, xxvi which in the preceding remarks I indicated by the symbols '1\*', '2\*', '3\*', '4\*' brought to pass that at Redaction *S<sub>2</sub>* item and page ended coincidentally first at the dividing-point of St Leo's *ieiunium quadragesimale* and then at the dividing-point of his *ieiunium quadragesimale*, and since they are peculiarities such as are not found in other Sections of the document, I infer that both of St Leo's theories of prae-paschal fast were recognized by the first of the cismontane editors. The inference must be borne in mind when we treat of the external history of the collection.

*The Dividing-point of the Telesphoran Obseruantia.* On consulting the last three tables (see above, pp. 351, 355) the reader will perceive that if, while neglecting the Ad Populum prayers for the Second and Third Sundays *in quadragesima* (for Roman use does not tolerate such prayers even on Sundays in Lent), we give to the passages just notified by the symbols '1\*', '2\*', '3\*', '4\*' and '1', '2', '3', '4' what was in all probability their pristine text, the equipment and constituents of §§ xxv, xxvi are such as that in each of the two Roman editions, *s* and *S<sub>1</sub>*, ended Mass must have coincided with ended page on the Wednesday of the third week *in quadragesima*; but that there cannot have been any such coincidence on the following Saturday, as there is in the cismontane redactions *S<sub>2</sub>* and *V*. Hence I infer that the editor, or editors, of *s* and *S<sub>1</sub>* did not set forth the document with St Leo's

*ieiunium quadragesimale* in view ; but that, this being neglected as an exoteric and vulgar *observantia*, attention was fixed on either the Telesphoran scheme of two-and-forty fasts distributed over the seven weeks between Quinquagesima and Easter Day, or else on St Leo's esoteric scheme of a *ieiunium quadraginta dierum* to which were added, as supplement and crown, the two days (Good Friday and Holy Saturday) of the *paschale mysterium*. The dividing-point of each of these schemes corresponded to the close of the fast of the Wednesday of the fourth week before Easter, the third *in quadragesima*.

That the coincidence in *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub> of ended item and ended page was effected of set purpose at this point in the series of prae-Paschal Masses will I think be deemed unquestionable by those who, with me, are of opinion that the curious phrase 'per partes dierum' which occurs in this day's Collecta is to be taken to mean 'by two equal numbers of days', 'by two equal groupings of days'; its purport being that a prae-Paschal observance is now in course, the first half of which ends on the evening of the Wednesday in the fourth week before Easter, an observance which must therefore have begun on Quinquagesima Monday, the first day of the Telesphoran institution and of St Leo's *quadraginta dierum ieiunium*.

The prayer is thus worded 'Dñs qui nos formam humilitatis ieiunando et orando unigeniti tui dñi nři imitatione docuisti concede quaesumus ut quod ille iugi ieiuniorum continuatione compleuit nos quoque per partes dierum facias adimplere. per'. In support, therefore, of the sense which I give to 'per partes dierum', I would observe that in Ménard's sacramentary<sup>1</sup> the Preface for the *sabbatum in hebdomada tertia* has for subject-matter the 'ieiunium quadragesimale' which divided on the evening of that day ; that that Preface incorporates the very phrase 'quod ille iugi ieiuniorum compleuit continuatione nos adimplere' which our document uses on this the previous Wednesday ; and that, while the Preface for the *dominica quarta* contrasts 'fructus praeteriti' and 'fructus uenturi', 'percepta' and 'percipienda', the Benediction for that day not only contrasts 'abstinentia praeterita' and 'abstinentia futura', 'fruges praeteritae' and 'fruges futurae', but begins with words which tell us how to interpret the 'per partes dierum' of Reginensis, and which I therefore italicize, 'Deus qui nos *ad praesentium quadragesimalium dierum medietatem* dignatus est perducere'. Evidently the underlying idea in both documents is one and the same ; that the Redeemer's fast was a fast of equal severity from beginning to end, but that ours is a fast of two equal halves, the first less rigorous than the second.

MARTIN RULE.

<sup>1</sup> Migne *S.L.* lxxviii 69 B-70 A.

(To be continued.)

## THE WORK OF PORPHYRY AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS, AND ITS RECONSTRUCTION.

### I

A PROFOUND interest naturally attaches to the attacks made upon Christianity during the early centuries. Not only are they interesting in their relation to modern attacks, but they also help to explain the attitude and the purpose of those who replied to them in defence of the Christian faith. Among such hostile writings, the champions of the faith in the generations which succeeded are unanimous in their verdict that the deadliest and the most powerful was the treatise of Porphyry in fifteen books against the Christians. Unfortunately the work is lost to us, and indeed it is not likely that anything so harmful to the Christian cause would be preserved. It is equally unfortunate that all the treatises in which it was subsequently answered have likewise perished. Jerome refers to these answers in terms which indicate the greatness of our loss, and the magnitude of the controversy in which their authors were involved. He mentions Methodius among those whose treatises against Porphyry were long and weighty.<sup>1</sup> Concerning Eusebius he gives the information that he wrote in thirty books, only twenty of which were known to himself.<sup>2</sup> About Apollinarius he tells us that his thirty books against Porphyry were still extant, and were considered the best of his writings.<sup>3</sup> And the minuteness of the controversy may be gathered from his statement that Eusebius devoted no less than three of his thirty volumes to answering the attack which Porphyry had made on the book of Daniel.<sup>4</sup> The many references which Jerome himself makes to Porphyry's arguments testify to the lasting influence of that great adversary's attack.

It is strange therefore that little attempt has been made to collect and study what remains to us of the lost fifteen books against the Christians. A new interest has recently been given to the subject by the publication of a book by Dr Harnack in which he tries to prove that we possess a part of the treatise in the form of the objections, brought by a heathen philosopher, which are quoted and answered by Macarius Magnes in his *Apocriticus*.<sup>5</sup> He is obliged to limit his

<sup>1</sup> Jer. *Ep.* 48. 13 and 70. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. *De Viris Illustr.* 81. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 104. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. *Comment. in Dan. Prolog.*

<sup>5</sup> *Kritik des Neuen Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts (Die im Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift)* von Adolf Harnack; Leipzig 1911. *Texte und Untersuchungen* &c. xxxvii 4. .

conclusion by the further assumption that these objections are only excerpts from the original work, made by another writer ; but he nevertheless suggests that they may be used as the basis of an edition.<sup>1</sup>

This theory, which is by no means new, for it was advanced by a Göttingen professor in the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup> and more recently approved by Wagenmann<sup>3</sup> and Neumann,<sup>4</sup> is now supported by many new arguments. If it can be accepted, it only remains for some one to collect the fragments of Porphyry and references to his arguments which are preserved in other writers, and piece them together with the fifty objections contained in what remains to us of the *Apocriticus*, and we shall thus advance some way in our knowledge of Porphyry's work, and may claim that we again possess a good deal of his actual language. I have attempted to do this myself, and my purpose is to set down the result.

But I must state at the outset that I have been brought to the conclusion that Dr Harnack's theory is untenable as it stands, and that in the *Apocriticus* we possess the words, not of Porphyry, but of Hierocles, who copied his arguments but not his language. If this be the case, the actual words of the opponent of Macarius Magnes cease to be of such importance, but his arguments still furnish us with much information about Porphyry's work. Dr Harnack has contented himself with reproducing the actual words and giving a rendering of them in German. It appears to me more useful simply to take the attacks which they express and fit them in as far as possible with the other references which we have to Porphyry's book.<sup>5</sup> And although we cannot thus claim to have recovered so much of his actual language, we may by this means claim to have reached what is in some sense more important, namely, the method of his attack, and the kind of weapons which he used.

I therefore propose to set out at length the quotations and references to Porphyry's book which I have collected from the writings of Eusebius, Methodius, Theodoret, Jerome, Augustine, Theophylact, and Severian of Gatala, with a few brief comments on them. The next step will be to try to reproduce as far as possible the contents of the *Katà Xριστιανῶν* in order, adding the arguments which are contained

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 144 'Baustein für die zukünftige Ausgabe'.

<sup>2</sup> Magnus Crusius. See Migne *P. G.* x pp. 134 ff. His opinions are summarized by Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* i p. 545.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theol.* Bd. xxiii pp. 269-314, 1878.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. Neumann *Iuliani Imp. Libr. contra Christ. quae supersunt*, Leipzig 1880.

<sup>5</sup> According to my own theory, there will be nothing difficult about the fact that the objections in the *Apocriticus* are in an order completely different from the sequence of Porphyry's book as we know it from other sources ; but it is a most serious objection to Dr Harnack's view.

in the *Apocriticus*, and probably in most cases borrowed from Porphyry. This will lead to sundry deductions in conclusion.

But this part of my subject must be postponed to a subsequent article, for I must not attempt to overthrow the theory which Dr Harnack's book was written to substantiate without a careful and detailed consideration of his arguments. And this forms in itself a matter of considerable importance. It is true that it is a disappointment if we cannot say that we have got back to the words of Porphyry himself. But it is scarcely less valuable if we find ourselves possessed of the greater part of the shorter treatise of Hierocles, an opponent of the faith of whom we otherwise know but little. It will be remembered that he was not only a Neoplatonic philosopher, but also an imperial governor, who attacked the Christians with both sword and pen at the beginning of the fourth century, and was one of the authors and instigators of the last of the persecutions. It was Duchesne who originally suggested Hierocles as the opponent of Macarius,<sup>1</sup> and I followed him in what I wrote before on the subject.<sup>2</sup> It is true that he was little more than an imitator in his literary efforts, but Porphyry himself was an imitator of Plotinus. And Hierocles, with his double rôle of philosopher and persecutor, is almost unique in the struggle between paganism and Christianity, and we are the gainers if we can feel that we know more about him.

I will first state and examine Dr Harnack's position. He does not content himself with the negative attitude of the objector in his biting attacks upon the apostles of the New Testament generally; he skilfully reconstructs from the objections the positive attitude of the man who brought them, concluding for instance from his indignation at the sad fate of Ananias and Sapphira, and of the Gadarene swine, that he was humane, and opposed to all violence.

It is an interesting argument, but it may nevertheless have its limitations, for one fears that it is not always safe to construct the morals and beliefs of an opponent of the Christian faith merely from the methods of his attack. And in this case Dr Harnack allows that much is said merely for the sake of argument (*διαλεκτικῶς*). But, if used with caution, it may reveal the practical position of a Neoplatonic philosopher. The question, however, remains whether that philosopher must needs be Porphyry. The whole argument is summed up at the end of the book by means of eleven propositions, and the conclusion drawn from them is that the objector is Porphyry. I will proceed to give and briefly discuss them in order.

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne *De Macario Magne et scriptis eius*. Klincksieck. Paris 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *J.T.S.* viii 413 (April 1907).



The agreement with Porphyry is found by Dr Harnack in—

1. His religious philosophy.

Certainly this corresponds in general outline with Neoplatonic ideas, but there is nothing whatever in it of the nature of deep philosophy, and, if it can easily come from one who is not himself an original thinker, it may just as well belong to Hierocles as to Porphyry.

2. His humane disposition and dislike of all violence.

This is certainly a point, but Dr Harnack himself greatly weakens his argument by what he says elsewhere. For he shews that it does not follow that, because the philosopher objected to violence and had a humane and moral feeling with regard to such things as martyrdom, he was therefore a Christian; and then he adds that *many other* heathen were affected in the same way.<sup>1</sup>

3. His belief in a heaven and an earth which will not pass away, in a God who is omnipotent and unchangeable, and in the lower gods, or demons.

But such beliefs were not peculiar to Porphyry, nor even to the Neoplatonic School.

4. His favourable disposition towards Judaism and the Old Testament, as opposed to Christian lawlessness.

Even if this points to Porphyry, a study of the passages which suggest such a disposition leaves us doubtful whether Judaism was meant to be more than an engine in the attack upon Christianity. But how did Porphyry favour Judaism?

5. The time that he wrote corresponds with the writing of Porphyry's great work against the Christians.

But the work of Porphyry against the Christians was written c. A.D. 270, and there are several indications in the words of the opponent of Macarius that he is writing a little later. Not only does the latter go back to Hadrian in order to give an instance of a *μονάρχης*,<sup>2</sup> but in speaking of his own day he says *πολλοὶ ἄρχουσι τοῦ κόσμου*,<sup>3</sup> which is explained at once if we refer it to the fourfold division of the empire. But this took place in the reign of Diocletian, some twenty years after Porphyry's book was written.

Again, reference is made to the great size of the Christian churches (*μιμούμενοι τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν ναῶν, μεγίστους οἴκους οἰκοδομοῦσιν*).<sup>4</sup> Eusebius describes the substitution of large churches for small ones *ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις* just before the outbreak of the persecution in A.D. 303. But could it be said at a date more than thirty years before it?

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 98 n. 1 'Aber so waren nachweisbar auch viele andere Heiden gesinnt'.

<sup>2</sup> *Apocr.* iv 26, p. 212, l. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* ii 15, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* iv 21, p. 201, l. 5.

6. His being a Greek, and yet knowing the local traditions of the Roman Church,<sup>1</sup> evidently as the result of residence there.

This certainly suits well with Porphyry, who joined Plotinus in Rome in A.D. 263, and wrote his treatise in Sicily. But a somewhat similar apparent linking of East and West occurs also in Macarius himself. He likewise displays a knowledge of local Roman traditions,<sup>2</sup> and yet Dr Harnack definitely decides that he was of Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> We may add that he does not explain why a Christian of Asia Minor should so emphatically point his opponent to Christian communities further East.<sup>4</sup> A reasonable solution would be that the opponent was himself connected with that part of the world. But though this would be exactly true of Hierocles, a Roman official who was moved from Palmyra to Bithynia, it does not suit with Porphyry, who soon removed westwards from Tyre and pursued his studies at Athens.

7. His use of a Western text and canon of the New Testament.

But this may be equally true of one who followed Porphyry and took the same passages of Scripture as the object of his attack.

8. His method of overthrowing the Church by shewing the inconsistencies of the Evangelists and Apostles.

But this was exactly the method that the Neoplatonic school seem to have adopted, and Lactantius, in a passage to which we must refer again, describes Hierocles as trying to overthrow scripture 'tanquam sibi esset tota contraria; nam quaedam capita, quae repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit'.<sup>5</sup> And indeed Dr Harnack himself allows this in speaking of the work of Eusebius against Hierocles, saying of such contradictions 'findet sich bekanntlich bei Porphyrius, sie findet sich auch bei Hierocles'.<sup>6</sup>

9. His method of controversy, his learning and penetration.

In any case the method of Porphyry must have been the result of his being an enthusiastic disciple of Plotinus. But the extraordinary skill with which the objector marshals his attacks on Christianity suggests the clever use of existing philosophic arguments, combined with a full knowledge of the Christian writings, more than the actual language of one who was himself an abstruse thinker and profound philosopher. The method could therefore equally well be that of some other and shallower thinker who followed Plotinus. This fact is supported by Dr Harnack's own admission, to which we shall come presently, that in any case the work with which Macarius dealt was an abridged and popularized form of Porphyry's book, edited by some other man.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Apocr.* ii 22, p. 102, l. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Apocr.* iv 15. See also *D. C. B. Art. 'Linus'* vol. iii p. 728.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Apocr.* ii 7 and l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Lact. Div. Instit.* v 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 141 sq.

10. The identity of his polemic with that of Porphyry is shewn in many concrete instances throughout the work.

At the risk of being wearisome, it will be necessary to consider these detailed instances one by one, for this is naturally where the real weight of the argument lies. I venture to think that only one or two of them are of real importance in pointing to the work as being the individual words of Porphyry; the rest only prove conclusively that it comes from one of the same school of thought. In the cases where I refrain from comment, the reason is either that they do not seem sufficiently important, or that the point has already been dealt with above.

*Apocr.* ii 7 and 10. Greek philosophy as seen in Porphyry could not bear Christ's words, 'not peace, but a sword', nor His hard treatment of the father of the lunatic boy, and of the multitude.

ii 12 and 13. In the discrepancies in the account of Christ's death, the blame is laid, not on Him, but on His disciples. Dr Harnack's final proposition of the eleven which we are considering is to the effect that there is throughout a remarkable absence of attack on the Founder of Christianity Himself, which well accords with the attitude of Porphyry. Of this we must speak later, but it is sufficient to say concerning this particular passage that, after referring to Porphyry, Dr Harnack in the same breath strangely quotes a parallel from Hierocles.<sup>1</sup>

ii 13. The reading *ὠνείδισας* in Mark xv 34 shews the use of a Western text (but *v. sub 7 supra*).

ii 14. Christians are said to be punished as *μύθους ἀλλοκότους ἀναπλάττοντες*, and in Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *H.E.* vi 19. 7 occurs the phrase *ὀθνῆσι μῦθοι*, the same word *ὀθνῆος* being found in another of the objections (*Apocr.* iii 31).

It is true that *ὀθνῆος* is not a very common word, but in the passage referred to it is applied, not to a thing but to a person, St Paul being called *ὀθνῆος καὶ πολέμιος*.

ii 16. The devil is defended in a way which suggests a believer in demons.

But even if the personification of evil be identified with Porphyry's lesser gods, is this defence to be taken seriously as more than a weapon of argument? And did not every one believe in demons?

iii 1. In contrast with Christ's allowing Himself to be seized and crucified, is mentioned the case of Apollonius of Tyana, who disappeared from Domitian's judgement seat.

It is quite true that Porphyry used Apollonius by way of contrast with Christ, but Dr Harnack himself allows that the verbal parallel is with Hierocles, whose remaining fragment must be studied at length later on.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 114.

iii 3. The great antiquity of Moses is conceded, as it was by Porphyry; but as this very point was made an objection to the theory of his authorship by Geffcken,<sup>1</sup> it is too disputed to be of weight.

Geffcken is here following Schrader, and he adduces the statement which is afterwards refuted by Macarius, that the books of Moses were written by Ezra, 1180 years after Moses lived.<sup>2</sup> This does not agree with the place which Porphyry assigns to the age of Moses in the words quoted from him in Euseb. *Praep.* x 9, 12.

iii 4. The destruction of the swine is objected to, and a high morality such as Porphyry possessed is revealed by the saying that the 'unsaved become the accusers of the saved'.

iii 5. The saying that the kingdom is for the poor must be by some poor woman, and not by Christ, εἴ γε τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας παρεδίδου κανόνα. Such an attitude of uncertainty with regard to Christ is thought to be like that of Porphyry (*v. sub* 11 below).

iii 6 (and 4). The objection to the evangelists' description of the lake as if it were a sea, is one that we know to have been made by Porphyry, for we are told (Jerome *Quaest. in Genes.* 1, 10) 'Frustra Porphyrius evangelistas . . . pro lacu Genezareth Mare appellasse calumniatur'.

This is the first parallel of real importance, but it will be shewn later on not to be a verbal one, and it proves no more than that Porphyry's arguments were being copied, which is my own contention.

The occurrence of the words in this passage ἐγνώκαμεν σκηνὴν σεσοφισμένην εἶναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is taken as shewing that the author had once been a Christian. But others who attacked the faith besides Porphyry were perverts from it, such as Theotecnus, the reputed author of the *Acta Pilati*, and it was Hierocles's knowledge (cf. ἐγνώκαμεν) of the Scriptures which made Lactantius suggest that he also had been a Christian.

iii 15. The statement about cannibalism is said to correspond with the ideas of Porphyry, but (as in iii 3) Geffcken's objection makes the point too uncertain to form an argument.

The objection brought by the philosopher to the allegorical sense of eating Christ's flesh is thought to correspond with Porphyry's attitude in the third book of his treatise, in blaming Origen for applying allegory to such things as Jewish and Christian myths (Euseb. *H.E.* vi 19). But Geffcken (*loc. cit.*) notes the mild language in which Macarius's opponent excuses such human feasts as that of Thyestes, and the action of the Potidaeatae, who were forced to it by necessity; whereas

<sup>1</sup> J. Geffcken *Zwei griechische Apologeten.* Leipzig 1907, p. 302 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Apocr.* iii 3 and 10.

Porphry, in his *Περὶ Ἀποχῆς Ψυχῶν*, stigmatizes the Bassari as cannibals,<sup>1</sup> and holds up the Massagetae and Derbikes to reprobation.<sup>2</sup>

iii 16, 17. The weakness of Christians is contrasted with the sayings and precepts of Christ, suggesting again that they and not He were the chief objects of attack.

iii 19. Christ first calls Peter 'Satan' and then blesses him. Such inconsistency is an instance of a form of attack used by Porphyry, for we are told 'Latrat Porphyrius, inconstantiae ac mutationis Iesus accusat' (Jer. *adv. Pelag.* ii 17). This is again a point of contact, but it establishes no more than iii 6 above.

The abuse of Peter in this same passage in the *Apocriticus* is indicated as another link with Porphyry (Jer. *Ep.* 112. 6), but this argument may be used as well concerning Hierocles, and I shall have more to say concerning it later on.

iii 21. Peter is accused of having wrongfully put to death Ananias and Sapphira. There is a plain reference to this in the statement 'Apostolus Petrus nequaquam Ananiae et Sapphirae imprecatur mortem, ut stultus Porphyrius calumniatur' (Jer. *Ep.* 130. 14). But as a matter of fact in iii 21 there is no suggestion of 'imprecatur mortem', and a careful study suggests that the opponent of Macarius combined and somewhat confused Porphyry's arguments about St Peter.<sup>3</sup>

iii 22. On the subject of St Peter's escape from prison, the statement that he only lived a few months in Rome, which is apparently a local tradition, suits well with Porphyry's sojourn in that city.

iii 30. The attack on St Paul begins with a condemnation of his attitude towards the law, which suggests an author who favoured Judaism (*v. sub 4 supra*).

iii 32. The philosopher is indignant with St Paul for saying 'Doth God take care of oxen?', and his own care for oxen is to be compared with that of Porphyry in his treatise *De Abstinencia* ii 31. But surely the author of that strange work would have spoken far more strongly than by simply proving from Scripture that God's interest extends even to the fish, and therefore must certainly include the oxen.

iv 7. Christ's words about heaven and earth passing away &c. contradict Moses and the prophets. This relative acceptance of the Old Testament is said to be natural 'in a Neoplatonic philosopher, especially in Porphyry'.<sup>4</sup> True, but not *only* in Porphyry.

iv 10. On the subject of our Lord's words about calling the sick and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ii 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv 21 (καταθύουσιν καὶ ἐσθίουσι τῶν φιλάτων τοὺς γεγηρακότες).

<sup>3</sup> *v. infra* p. 36. Geffcken (*op. cit.* p. 301 n. 2) notes that the opponent of Macarius does not here call the apostles sorcerers, as Porphyry does.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack *op. cit.* p. 124.

not the whole, the philosopher asks why Christ did not come to call them sooner, for there were 'sick' among our ancestors. In both Jerome and Augustine Porphyry is represented as asking 'Why did not Christ come sooner?'. But the passage in Augustine suggests that the argument of Porphyry in his *Katὰ Χριστιανῶν* was a prominent one, much longer in form, and not a side issue with regard to the 'sick'. The words there quoted do not correspond with those of iv 10, viz. 'Si Christus se salutis viam dicit, gratiam et veritatem, in seque solo ponit animis sibi credentibus reditum, quid egerunt tot saeculorum homines ante Christum?'<sup>1</sup> One can well understand how one who borrowed arguments from Porphyry would utilize his predecessor's question in a shorter form as *part* of his attack on one of the sayings of Christ.

iv 19. For the relative acceptance of the law, *v. sub iv 7 supra*.

iv 20. If the supreme God is called a monarch, it must mean that there are other gods for Him to rule over.

This is certainly quite in accord with Porphyry, but not with him only.

iv 21. The doctrine of angels is used by the objector as a proof of polytheism, and the first in the list of gods is Athene-Minerva (suggesting a link with Rome). Also the objection to churches because 'the Lord hears everywhere' is quite in the spirit of Porphyry.

iv 22. It is a purer idea that the gods live in statues than that Christ lived in Mary's womb. Porphyry's Epistle *ad Marcellam* ch. 17 f is quoted as akin to this and to iv 21, but the connexion is not very obvious.<sup>2</sup>

iv 24. It is urged against the Resurrection that it is impossible for bodies to be restored which have been once destroyed. Aug. *Ep.* 102. 2 is cited as shewing that this argument was in Porphyry. But this is another case where Geffcken has used the opposite argument,<sup>3</sup> and it is therefore too uncertain to build a proof upon. And again the connexion is not a verbal one.

It will be seen that among some two dozen instances of likeness as given above, the great majority do no more than suggest a connexion with the school to which Porphyry belonged. Others suggest such circumstances (e.g. the connexion with Rome) as may well accord with what we know of Porphyry. Only some seven or eight contain

<sup>1</sup> Aug. *Sex Quaestiones c. Paganos* ii, Migne 23 p. 373 (*Ep. ad Deograt.*).

<sup>2</sup> Harnack *op. cit.* p. 126 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Geffcken *op. cit.* p. 303 n. He speaks of Porphyry's clever treatment of the resurrection, and then notes that Macarius's opponent brings again the well-worn objection to it which Porphyry seems to have avoided, viz. that the bodies of the dead may be eaten by beasts &c.

any individual link of a detailed or verbal kind, and none of them is convincing by itself. They lose most of their force if it can be shewn, first, that similar parallels are to be found in the case of another kindred writer who followed him, and secondly, that many of them can be used to support *his* authorship as well as Porphyry's. This is what I intend to try and shew; but first we must return to the final argument among Dr Harnack's eleven propositions, for we have not yet dealt with it.

11. The author seems once to have been near Christianity, and then to have left it, a fact which is affirmed of Porphyry by Socrates and Augustine.

Allusion has already been made to the fact that he attacks Christianity rather than its Founder, and speaks from a remarkably intimate knowledge of the Scriptures. Also Dr Harnack traces a tone of bitter regret in the saying that it is no use flying to Jesus (οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦτω προσφεύγειν καὶ σῶζεσθαι *Apocr.* iii 4), and considers that the tense of ἐγνώκαμεν (in iii 4) shews that he has found out later the falsity of the gospels he once believed in.<sup>1</sup> I must confess that these passages do not appear to me to convey so much. It seems that the Christian sympathies of the objector have been exaggerated, and I would urge the consideration of two things on the other side.

(a) The author's 'hidden high esteem for Jesus' (er hat für Jesus eine verborgene Hochschätzung übrig)<sup>2</sup> is not merely limited by some startling exceptions, such as when he charges Him with being either drunk or dreaming when He said certain words.<sup>3</sup> It seems to have been forgotten that we are dealing with a mutilated work. The whole of Book I is lost, and Book II attacks certain sayings of Jesus before proceeding to attack the inconsistencies of the Evangelists &c. The only clue to the contents of Book I lies in the fragment of chapter vi once quoted by Nicephorus,<sup>4</sup> which treats of the miracle of the woman with an issue of blood. This suggests that the author began by attacking the *deeds* of Christ. In the case of His words it was possible for Christians to misunderstand them, but in dealing with His actions the natural object of attack is the Doer, and there is nothing to shew that the first book did not consist of attacks on the Founder of Christianity Himself. This is the more likely, in that in the later books *some* of His deeds are attacked along with the sayings, the chief blame going to the disciples or evangelists.<sup>5</sup> This perhaps suggests that at the beginning of his work the objector attacked Christ Himself through His deeds. Never in the history of anti-Christian polemic has the abuse of the

<sup>1</sup> Harnack *op. cit.* p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Apocr.* iii 19.

<sup>4</sup> Nicephori *Antirrhethica* in *Spicil. Solesm.* i p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Apocr.* iii 4 and 6.

Person of Christ formed the bulk of the attack. It has always been easier to prove men bad Christians than Christ a bad man. It is not surprising if in an onslaught on Christianity only one-fifth or less is devoted to this particular line of argument; and yet it is probable that, if it formed part of a series which was to end in the exposure of apostolic doctrine, it would come first. But if this be the case, we cannot regard the author as in such sympathy with Christ as Dr Harnack has suggested, and his argument therefore loses some of its force.

Besides this, we may turn to Macarius for his evidence. And apart from his impression of the book as a cruel attack on his Master, the fact that he gives his own work the mysterious title of *Μονογένης* suggests that 'God only begotten' has been attacked. We have been told that the title is perhaps explained in the lost first book; that book may also contain the full force of the attack on Him whom Macarius defended.

(b) It must also be remembered that in every age the attempts to discredit Christianity sometimes involve the affectation of a higher standard on the part of the objector in order to lower that of Christians or to prove it inconsistent. If it be freely conceded that in many cases in this treatise a position is often assumed for the sake of argument (*διαλεκτικῶς* or *disputando*, as Dr Harnack frequently terms it), may not the objector be adopting this method when he says that if Christ had appeared to His judges after the Resurrection all would have been well?<sup>1</sup> And does the objector really presume that the Saviour of the world must suffer, as long as all is done in a noble and worthy way, as in the case of Socrates?<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact this is far more than he actually says, for these are his words: ὁ δέ γε Χριστὸς εἰ καὶ παθεῖν εἶχε κατ' ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐχρῆν μὲν ὑπομεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν, οὐ μὴν ἄνευ παρησίας ὑποστήναι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ σπουδαῖά τινα καὶ σοφὰ διάφθέγγασθαι πρὸς Πιλάτον (iii 1). Surely these words, which only put the case hypothetically, do not warrant the positive conclusion which Dr Harnack has drawn from them. If in one attack (ii 16) he actually undertakes a defence of the devil against the Christian standpoint (ὁφθῆσεται καὶ αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἡδικηκὼς ὁ διάβολος), may he not be using a similar device in some of the cases where he seems to defend the Saviour?

It may be added here (as I have hinted already) that, in the case of a bitter adversary like this, who is ready to assume any position in order to use it as a vantage-ground against the Christians, it is somewhat precarious to assume as fully as Dr Harnack has done that we may

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* ii 14.

<sup>2</sup> See Harnack *op. cit.* pp. 135-137. Also p. 129 'Auch dass die Weltheilande, die Gottesmänner, leiden müssen, setzt er voraus (iii 1), aber beim Leiden muss alles adelig und würdig zugehen (wie bei Sokrates)'.



construct from his words his own positive theology, and infer from his negations the philosopher's own religious standpoint.

Thus may end our survey of the eleven propositions in proof that Porphyry was the author.

But it is full time that we came to the concluding section of his book. It contains the theory, already suggested by Wagenmann,<sup>1</sup> that the attacks preserved in Macarius are 'an anonymous excerpt from the work of Porphyry against the Christians'.<sup>2</sup> This remarkable limitation of the main theme of the book, which several considerations make absolutely necessary, is shewn by the aid of three arguments.

1. In one passage (iii 43) Macarius actually refers his opponent to a work of Porphyry, telling him to study his words about oracles in 'Ἡ ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφία. He was not therefore himself aware that he was dealing with a work of Porphyry. Such ignorance may be accounted for by the suppression of that philosopher's work by Constantine.

This explanation is most ingenious, but to me at least it does not commend itself as probable, but seems to be somewhat of a last resource when all other explanations fail. The reference of Macarius to Porphyry seems much more easily explainable if we think of him as answering one with whom Porphyry's opinions would be of special weight. It is especially noteworthy that it is not his habit to refer to heathen writings, and in choosing out Porphyry in this unique fashion he clearly indicates that he had some knowledge of that philosopher's writings. With regard to the suppression of the particular treatise against the Christians, Dr Harnack himself admits in a foot-note that the suppression was not strictly carried out.<sup>3</sup>

2. A comparison of the questions in Macarius with what we know of the fifteen books of Porphyry's treatise shews at once that the two works cannot be identical, and that the former must be merely an excerpt.

Dr Harnack relegates to a foot-note<sup>4</sup> a summary of what we know about the contents of Porphyry's work; but it so completely reverses the order of the attacks as given in Macarius, as to make the excerpt theory most difficult to accept. It is worth while to tabulate and compare their respective contents.

Of Porphyry's fifteen books, Book I treated of the differences of the Apostles (e.g. Gal. ii); Book III contained a long reference to Moses which makes it probable that it dealt with the Pentateuch; Book IV

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 288. He raises the question whether Macarius used the fifteen books of Porphyry directly, or only indirectly and by way of extracts, perhaps in the excerpts made by Hierocles or some one else.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 141-143.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 142 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 142 n. 2.

treated of Old Testament history; of Books V–XI we know nothing; Books XII–XV contained attacks on Jewish Christian eschatology.

Of the five books with which Macarius deals, Book I contains attacks on the miracles of Christ; Book II is concerned with His words and deeds and the contradictory accounts of them. Book III 1–20 continues the same subject; Book III 21–43 exposes the contradictory and immoral character of Peter and Paul; Book IV exposes the immoralities of the apostolic teaching; and Book V probably continues the same subject.

It will be seen that the order is quite different. The excerpt would have begun later than Book IV of Porphyry, and then would have returned subsequently to the contents of the beginning of that treatise.

The differences between the apostles, contained in Book I of Porphyry, seem to have been the subject of the almost forgotten fragment from Book V about faith and works (which is to be found in the works of De la Torre (Turrianus), the sixteenth-century Jesuit.<sup>1</sup>

3. The tone of the polemic is somewhat more excited and accentuated in the book before us than in the work of Porphyry.

Dr Harnack leaves this statement without further explanation. But surely, if it is true, we are not dealing merely with a man who has made selections from various places and in different order out of Porphyry's book, but with one who has actually altered his language, imparting more force into the arguments and adapting them to a controversy of his own. And if this be so, we are not dealing with actual fragments of Porphyry, which may be used as the basis of an edition,<sup>2</sup> but with another opponent of the faith, who, instead of using original arguments, appropriated those of Porphyry.

After these three proofs of the excerpts theory, Dr Harnack proceeds by way of statement to set forth the probability that some plagiarist compiled about one hundred questions from Porphyry's book for the purpose of another controversy, turning his unwieldy and learned treatise into a popular handbook, which was now made to consist of only two books. He suggests that this may have taken place just before Constantine, most likely in the time of Maximin Daza, when endeavours were made to overthrow the Church by various literary means.

The point that seems to me of particular interest, as providing a possible clue which may aid further investigation, is that this shorter work consisted of *two* books. Dr Harnack gives proof of this earlier in his book,<sup>3</sup> so it is sufficient to say here that he recognizes a distinct break after iii 20, so that of the two sections, the first part contains  $x + 10 + 13$  questions, and the second part  $9 + 16 + x$ .<sup>4</sup> The division

<sup>1</sup> See *J. T.S.* viii 558 (July 1907).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 144 'Baustein für die zukünftige Ausgabe'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 103 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 105 n. 1.

occurs at the place where Peter begins to be attacked (in iii 21), and it has been quite obscured by Macarius.<sup>1</sup>

One wonders why a mere excerpt should thus be divided into two parts, on so completely different a system from the original work. But one is led also to look for some known attack on the Christians at that period which actually contains two books. We shall return later to the fact that such a book is to be found in the *Φιλαληθείς Λόγοι* of Hierocles.

But it would be unfair to pass over a point which Dr Harnack elaborates in the earlier part of this book,<sup>2</sup> though he makes no reference to it at the end. Some of the objections are in sequence, and the subject of one naturally leads on to the next, while with others the sequence is broken. But further, there are occasional indications that something has dropped out, as for example where in ii 14, the philosopher begins *ἔστι καὶ ἕτερος λόγος δυνάμενος σαθρὰν ταύτην ἐλέγξει τὴν δόξαν ὃ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, but in ii 13 there is nothing of the kind. This seems to me the best argument which is adduced to prove that the questions were compiled by a process of selection from a larger work. But the question still remains whether they were actually a mere excerpt, or whether another author has borrowed clumsily from the work of Porphyry.

But we may take the matter a step further on. This strong argument in favour of the theory of an excerpt from Porphyry rests entirely upon the assumption that Macarius is absolutely to be trusted, and that he has reproduced without a single omission every attack which he found in the book before him. It does not seem to have occurred to Dr Harnack that Macarius himself may have made the excerpts, and that, if so, the discovery of omissions counts for nothing in favour of the theory it is adduced to support.

Is his own view of the compilation of the *Apocriticus* such as to make this unlikely? Quite the contrary. I myself tried to shew the likelihood that there was a real five days' debate behind the book, and that Macarius lived about A.D. 300 and actually faced the philosopher whose attacks he reproduces. But Dr Harnack has followed the view of other German scholars, and placed him 100 years later, rending in pieces some of the arguments I had used.<sup>3</sup>

The theory which he supports is as follows:—

A Christian of about A. D. 400 wishes to defend the Scriptures against the arguments which heathen philosophy has brought against them. He works up his theme by means of a realistic but imaginary dialogue, using for his purpose a book of heathen objections, which he probably

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* pp. 105, 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 10 n. 1 and p. 14 n. 1.

possesses in an anonymous form. He is therefore under no obligation to deal exhaustively with the book; there is no need to inscribe his own effort *contra Porphyrium* or *Hieroclem* or any one else. He is free to use just as much of it as suits his purpose. Indeed, although he finds it in two books he conceals the place where they are divided (so Dr Harnack expressly tells us in spaced type).<sup>1</sup> Also he alters just so much as he thinks is necessary in order to keep up the illusion that a dialogue is in progress, adding brief introductions or a few words of conclusion to the attacks,<sup>2</sup> and occasionally changing a word, as when he alters '200 years' into '300', to suit a later period.<sup>3</sup>

If he takes over the *ipsissima verba* of an opponent with these few alterations, there is absolutely no reason why he should not make omissions. If, for example, he is concerned in defending the resurrection and decides to do so after ii 13, it is perfectly natural, if somewhat clumsy, that he should content himself with selecting the *second* of two attacks which he found in the book, and yet set it down *verbatim* in ii 14 as καὶ ἕτερος λόγος . . . ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. *Some one* has blundered, there is no doubt about that. Why should it be the unknown writer of excerpts in whose existence we are asked to believe? Why should it not be Macarius, who shewed such clumsiness a few years later at the Synodus ad Quercum (for Dr Harnack would have us identify him with the Macarius who figured then in such undesirable company),<sup>4</sup> and came forward to accuse another man of the Origenism with which he himself is permeated?

The above considerations seem to me to remove all the point from the evidence of omissions with which we have been dealing.

Dr Harnack's arguments have now been set forth *seriatim*. But one point remains, which seems to have been almost completely overlooked, and yet appears to me to be of great importance. We are asked to accept the view that we have recovered the actual words of Porphyry. But although much that he wrote is lost, many treatises still remain. Can we find such similarity of style and language as to point to unity of authorship? Except for a few words in a foot-note, Dr Harnack is strangely silent on this point, presumably because so little is to be said in support of his view. Besides the few instances of likeness (such as ὁθνεῖος) already mentioned above,<sup>5</sup> he only refers to the fondness of the author for certain forms in -μα, and says that these forms are also

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 105 'Der Hauptabschnitt . . . ist in der Gegenschrift des Macarius—durch die Bucheinteilung und sonst—halb verwischt und verdeckt'.

<sup>2</sup> See how Dr Harnack (*op. cit.*) prints words in brackets in *Apocr.* ii 12, iii 1, 7, 15, 30, iv 1 and 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 109, 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> See under 10 *supra*.

frequent in Porphyry.<sup>1</sup> He adds that the style is a mixed one (buntscheckig) and modelled on Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus.

He proceeds to give a list of rare words, without any reference to Porphyry, and six that appear to be unique. One would have thought that unity of authorship was too large an assumption unless a great deal more than this could be said. In view of the fact that I have discovered some remarkable parallels with the language of the brief fragment of Hierocles which remains to us (as I shall proceed to shew later), I feel that the identification with the language of Porphyry is very unsatisfactory. A study of the works of the latter has confirmed that opinion.

There is one thing which Dr Harnack has most strangely omitted to do. Enough of Porphyry's fifteen books is known to us through quotations and references to enable us to collect these remains and set them side by side with the questions preserved in Macarius. I propose in a subsequent article to gather the former together, and meanwhile the result of my investigation may be stated as follows. Four undoubted fragments remain, and forty-two references, which are sufficient in each case to shew Porphyry's line of argument. Of these forty-two references about ten are quite possibly his actual words rendered into Latin, which, when added to the four fragments mentioned above, would raise the total of quotations to fourteen.

Apart from these, exactly fifty objections are preserved in Macarius Magnes. There may thus be said to remain ninety-six references in all to Porphyry's words. But a careful comparison of the fifty in Macarius with the forty-six found elsewhere reveals only *four* plain parallels, and in none of these is there any verbal similarity. On the contrary there is something in each case to disprove identity. The four parallels are as follows:—

1. The fact of St Peter and St Paul being at variance. But as Jerome gives it, in his commentaries both on Galatians and on Isaiah liii 12, the objection is aimed at St Paul as well as St Peter, whereas in *Apocr.* iii 22 it is simply St Peter who is attacked as unfit to hold the keys of heaven. In fact, it is part of a series of attacks on the latter apostle, who is also accused of having had a wife and therefore being among those concerning whom St Paul said 'Such are false apostles'.

2. St Peter's treatment of Ananias and Sapphira. But whereas Jerome quotes Porphyry as saying that he *invoked* (imprecatur) death against them, this is not quite the same complaint as is brought in

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 97 n. 1. It may be noted that one of them *κατόρθωμα* only occurs once in the questions, but is a favourite word in the answers.

*Apocr.* iii 21. There he is blamed for killing them if they were innocent, and not forgiving them if they were guilty.

3. Jerome quotes Porphyry as saying that the Evangelists called the lake a 'sea', so as to suggest a miracle to the ignorant. In *Apocr.* iii 6 the small size of the lake is the main objection to Christ's walking on the water, and in iii 4 it is introduced in the last sentence of the objection against the miracle of the swine. But although it is stated that the intention of the exaggeration was to introduce a miracle, there is no suggestion such as is contained in Jerome's words '*ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum*'.

4. Jerome, in his Epistle to Ctesiphontes, briefly mentions Porphyry's objection to the fact that God allowed the heathen for ages before Christ's coming to be without a knowledge of His laws. Were this the only reference, it might well be a real link with the brief objection stated in *Apocr.* iv 10. But Augustine, in his Epistle to Deogratias, gives the same objection in a diffuse and detailed form, including reference to the fact that Rome itself remained in ignorance until the time of Caius Caesar.

This indicates that the questions given by Macarius represent a very much abbreviated version, and not the lengthy wording of the author from whom they were borrowed.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the objections of the *Apocriticus* cannot possibly have been by Porphyry himself.

I believe that their authorship is to be attributed to Hierocles. This is not a new suggestion, but I am not aware that any attempt has yet been made to study all the evidence in the way I now propose. I may state at the outset the remarkable fact that Dr Harnack's arguments in favour of Porphyry's authorship may be shewn to favour equally that of Hierocles. But we will study first what is known of the latter's work, and compare it with what we find in the *Apocriticus*.

There are two sources from which we may draw information with regard to the treatise of Hierocles. One is Lactantius, who in the *Divine Institutes* gives considerable information about the treatise in two books of one who was also a persecutor ('qui auctor imprimis faciendae persecutionis fuit').<sup>1</sup> It is generally agreed<sup>2</sup> that he is to be identified with the persecutor mentioned by name as Hierocles in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* ('qui auctor et consiliarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit').<sup>3</sup> The other source of information is Eusebius, whose extant work *Contra Hieroclem* ought to be of considerable use in determining the question.

<sup>1</sup> Lact. *Div. Instit.* v 2.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. A. J. Mason *Persecution of Diocletian* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* xvi.

I will begin with Lactantius.

The passage is contained in *Div. Instit.* v 2 and 3 and may be summarized as containing the following facts, each of which will be seen to have some point of contact with the heathen opponent of Macarius.

1. He wrote in two books, which were written to the Christians, and bore the ambiguous title of *Φιλαληθείς Λόγοι*.<sup>1</sup> Dr Harnack has proved that the treatise Macarius dealt with was in two books, a point which seems to me greatly to help my own contention. And from the double title of Macarius's work a suggestion has occurred to me which I take this opportunity of mentioning. The Athens MS of Macarius gives the strange name of *Ἀποκριτικὸς ἡ Μονογενὴς πρὸς Ἑλλήνας*. The mystery of this title has not yet been solved. Dr Harnack thinks it possible (but not probable) that *Μονογενὴς* has been substituted by mistake for some other word. Could that word have been *Φιλαληθής*? But apart from this, I would suggest that the sub-title of the *Apocriticus* is explained at once if we think of *Μονογενὴς πρὸς Ἑλλήνας* as an answer to a work entitled *Φιλαληθής πρὸς Χριστιανούς*. In answer to the mere 'Friend of truth' he puts Him who is Himself the truth, even the 'Only-begotten'. It must be noted that in Eusebius *contra Hieroclem* the book is spoken of in the singular as *Φιλαληθής*,<sup>2</sup> not as *Φιλαληθείς Λόγοι*, almost as if the word was personified. The likeness of termination in *Φιλαληθής* and *Μονογενής* would help to make the one a suitable substitute for the other.

2. Not only did he try to allure Christians by the title of his work, but his attack is a bitter one, and yet he pretends to be giving kindly advice.<sup>3</sup>

We can infer for ourselves, and Macarius frequently tells us, how bitter and yet how subtle is the attack he is repelling. His opponent makes an appeal in the cause of truth, shewing a more excellent way, and yet he heaps scorn upon the Church, its Scriptures, and its faith. If there be as little direct attack upon Christ Himself as Dr Harnack suggests, this makes the assault the more cunning.

3. He proved the Scriptures false by setting forth those parts which seemed inconsistent.<sup>4</sup>

This is an accurate description of what we find in the *Apocriticus*, a large proportion of the questions being modelled on this form of attack.

<sup>1</sup> 'Composuit enim libellos duos, non contra Christianos, ne inimice insectari videretur, sed ad Christianos . . . ausus est libellos suos nefarios ac Dei hostes *Φιλαληθείς* annotare.'

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *c. Hier.* chh. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ut humane ac benigne consulere putaretur.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Ita falsitatem scripturae sacrae arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria : nam quaedam capita, quae repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit.'

4. In this he shewed such intimate knowledge of the faith as to make it likely that he had been a Christian himself.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Harnack has used this as an argument for the authorship of Porphyry, and therefore his discovery of a tone of regret in some of the questions (with which I do not find myself wholly in agreement) would hold good here also.

5. His chief attack was on the disciples, Peter and Paul being mentioned by name.<sup>2</sup>

This is absolutely true of the *Apocriticus*, especially in Books III and IV, but also in Book II, and according to Dr Harnack in Book V also.

6. His twofold and contradictory charge against them was of fraud combined with ignorance.<sup>3</sup>

Many examples of both can be found in the *Apocriticus*; e.g., their fraud is shewn in the abuse of Paul as γόης and ψεύστης, and the charges against Peter for his behaviour to Ananias and Sapphira<sup>4</sup>; and their ignorance in the ἀπαίδευσία with which he explicitly charges both Peter and Paul as well as the writers of the Gospels.<sup>5</sup>

7. He tried to disparage Christ by saying that His rejection by the Jews was followed by His becoming a robber with nine hundred followers.

Such a statement may well have come in the lost Book I. If he is perverting the life of Christ throughout, and not directly contradicting it, he might naturally alter the story of the robbers at Calvary. The revolts which took place in Palestine during the period which succeeded the crucifixion used frequently to be connected wrongly with Christianity. One can recall not only Judas and Theudas and the Egyptian, for whom St Paul was mistaken, but the familiar saying of Suetonius at a later time about the Jews at Rome 'assidue tumultuantes impulsore Chresto'. Some such tradition may be at the back of this calumny of Hierocles.

8. He aimed at discrediting the miracles without actually denying them.<sup>6</sup>

Dr Harnack would certainly consent to this description of the opponent of Macarius; it is entirely the case with the few miracles that are mentioned, such as that of the demons and the swine and the walking on the lake.<sup>7</sup>

9. One method of dealing with the miracles was to shew the superiority

<sup>1</sup> 'Adeo intima enumerans ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Praecipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit, ceterosque discipulos.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Tanquam fallaciae seminatores; quos eosdem tamen rudes et indoctos fuisse testatus est.'

<sup>4</sup> *Apocr.* iii 31 and 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* iv 6, iii 34, iii 2, 4, &c.

<sup>6</sup> 'Cum facta eius mirabilia destrueret nec tamen negaret.'

<sup>7</sup> *Apocr.* iii 18 and 6.



of those of Apollonius of Tyana. The latter in particular shewed his greater cleverness by disappearing from Domitian when he intended to punish him, unlike Christ, who was seized and crucified. This accords exactly with *Apocriticus* iii 1, where this very reference and comparison is found, thus forming the plainest link that we have yet seen. The two passages are as follows. Lactantius says: 'Si magus Christus, quia mirabilia fecit, peritior utique Apollonius, qui (ut describis) cum Domitianus eum punire vellet, repente in iudicio non comparuit, quam ille, qui et comprehensus est, et cruci affixus.' The words of *Apocr.* iii 1 are as follows: ἡνέσχετο καλὰ μὴ τύπτεσθαι . . . καὶ μὴ καθάπερ Ἀπολλώνιος μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ αὐτοκράτορι λαλήσας Δομετιανῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο.

As the one extant fragment of Book I refers to the defence of a miracle, and it is presumed that the deeds of Christ formed the subject of that book, it is perfectly natural to suppose that the other references to Apollonius would be contained in that part of the work.

10. He claimed for himself and his school a superior wisdom in avoiding such credulity as the belief in the Divinity of Christ the miracle-worker.<sup>1</sup>

The *Apocriticus* contains abundant instances of such a claim, as for example where the philosopher speaks of his superior knowledge that the Gospels are mere inventions, or points out the futility of flying to Jesus, or tries to turn the Christians from their churches by the broader claim that God is everywhere.<sup>2</sup>

11. He adopted an intermediate position between polytheism and monotheism, believing in lesser gods, and accepting the divinities of Greece and Rome. But at the end of his work, as Lactantius mockingly points out,<sup>3</sup> he accepted the supreme God so fully as to reduce all the others to a state of subjection.

Here the parallel is very remarkable, and it seems to me to provide a most important argument. The language of the last sentences of Lactantius's words should be carefully compared with that of *Apocr.* iv 20, where, after saying τὸ μέντοι περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πολυαρχίας τῶν σεβομένων θεῶν διαρρήδην ζητήσωμεν, the philosopher concludes θεὸς μονάρχης οὐκ ἂν κυρίως ἐκλήθῃ, εἰ μὴ θεῶν ἦρχε, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Ut appareat nos sapientiores esse, qui mirabilibus factis non statim fidem divinitatis adiungimus, quam vos, qui ob exigua portenta Deum credidistis.'

<sup>2</sup> See *Apocr.* iii 6; iii 4; and iv 21 fin. (τοῦ κυρίου δηλονότι πανταχόθεν ἀκούοντος).

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* 'Assertor deorum, eos ipsos ad ultimum prodidisti. Prosecutus enim Summi Dei laudes, quem regem . . . confessus es, ademisti Iovi tuo regnum, eumque summa potestate depulsum in ministrorum numerum redelegisti. Epilogus itaque te tuus arguit stultitiae, vanitatis, erroris. Affirmas deos esse; et illos tamen subiicis et mancipas ei Deo cuius religionem conaris evertere.'

suggests that the supreme God is king of other gods, as Hadrian was of other men. Does not this accord exactly with what Lactantius derides? And it occurs at the end of the fourth book, which is sufficiently near the conclusion to warrant the remark 'Affirmas deos esse; et illos tamen subiicis et mancipis ei Deo cuius religionem conaris evertere. *Epilogus* itaque te tuus arguit stultitiae'.<sup>1</sup>

As we leave the evidence of Lactantius, we may feel that each fact which it reveals concerning the treatise of Hierocles, helps to link it with the work which we are considering.

We now come to the evidence of the treatise of Eusebius *contra Hieroclem*. Naturally it is to be expected that considerable fresh proofs one way or the other will be obtainable from it. And if this is not wholly the case, there is some compensation in the fact that a quotation is made from the actual words of Hierocles. It will be well to give it before considering its value as a piece of evidence.

The following sentences are given by Eusebius as occurring verbatim in the *Philaethes* of Hierocles<sup>2</sup>: 'Ἀνὸ δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυφλοῖς ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα, καὶ τινα τοιαῦτα δράσαντα θαυμάσια . . . Ἐπισκεψόμεθά γε μὴν ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐνδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἣν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμην . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν Νέρωνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλώνιος ἤκμασεν ὁ Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομιδῇ νέου, καὶ ἀφ' οὐπὲρ ἐν Αἰγείας τῆς Κιλικίας ἱεράσατο τῷ φιλανθρωποτάτῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράξατο· ὧν τὰ πλείω παρὲς, ὀλίγων ποιήσομαι μνήμην . . . τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵνα ἐξῇ συγκρίναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κορυφαίαν, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποικηκότα οὐ θεὸν ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦμεθα, οἱ δὲ δι' ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι. . . . κἀκεῖνο δὲ λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ τινες τούτοις παραπλήσιοι κεκομπάκασιν (οἱ κεκόμπασιν), ἄνθρωποι ψεύσται καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόγρες· τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγαιεύς, καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἦκοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνδρὸς γενναίου καὶ θεοῖς φίλου πράξεις μὴ βουλόμενοι λαθεῖν.

If any of this fragment were to be found in the *Apocriticus*, further argument would be unnecessary. But such is not the case. However, this is not to be expected, for it has already been pointed out that the probable place for a comparison of the deeds of Christ with those of Apollonius is in Book I, which seems to have dealt with that part of our Lord's life. To this Dr Harnack would doubtless agree, for he suggests as the probable contents of that lost book 'the absurd miracles,

<sup>1</sup> Lact. *Div. Instit.* v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Migne *P. G.* xxii pp. 797-800 ch. 2.

which are attributed to Jesus in the Gospels'.<sup>1</sup> The fact that in Book III (iii 1), where the trial of Christ is contrasted with the escape of Apollonius, the latter is introduced simply without any comment or the addition of his title ὁ Τραπεύς, seems to indicate that he had already been introduced earlier in the treatise. If a contrast is made when Christ's Passion is reached, it is natural that a similar contrast should have been made in the case of the miracles, seeing that it was as a *miraculous* hero that the 'Life' by Philostratus had revealed him to the admiring heathen world. One may refer here to the suggestion that in this 'Life' a tacit attack was made on the Christian faith, by providing a rival hero whose miracles were manufactured as a result of studying the Gospels.<sup>2</sup>

But the fragment may be used as an entirely different form of evidence. Is it long enough to enable us to decide whether the language agrees with an identity of authorship or whether it bears testimony against it? The number of words which are at all distinctive or unusual is unfortunately quite small, and the list can scarcely be extended beyond the following: θρυλῶ, σεμνύνω, ἐνάρετος, ἀκμάζω, κομιδῆ, κουφότης, τερατεία, κομπάζω, ψεύστης, ἀπαίδευτος, and γόης. I venture to think that it is a point of great importance that no less than seven of these eleven words are to be found (either exactly, or in corresponding adjective or noun) in the treatise we are considering, some of them occurring several times, and one of them (κομπάζω) being placed by Dr Harnack among the author's rarer words.<sup>3</sup> The detailed results of the investigation are as follows:—

1. The fragment begins with ἀνὼ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι. This word is found more than once in the *Apocriticus*. In ii 14 περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς πανταχοῦ θρυλουμένης; and in iii 7, of those who saw the alabaster broken by the woman, τὴν ἀκαιρίαν θρυλοῦντων. Again in iii 15 the attack on the words 'Except ye eat the flesh &c.' begins with πολυθρύλητον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ διδασκάλου ἐστίν. It will be noted how exactly the use accords with that of Hierocles in the first and the third instances.

2. The fragment speaks of τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κουφότητα, in contrast with the better sense of the heathen. This is just the spirit in which the corresponding adjective is used in iv 22, which begins with the hypothesis, εἰ δὲ καὶ τις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὕτω κούφος τὴν γνώμην.

3. But a more striking parallel is found in the rarer word κομπάζω. Hierocles declares that τὰ μὲν Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ τινες τοῖς παραπλήσιοι κεκόμπασιν (MSS κεκομπάκασιν).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> See Elsee *Neoplatonism in relation to Christianity* p. 83 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 97 n. 1.

The word is used in iii 36 of Christian virgins, who ὡς μέγα τι κομπάζουσι. Again in iv 7 it is said of a saying of Christ, ἀπὸ τερατώδους καὶ τοῦτο ψευδολογίας καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ἀλαζονείας κεκόμπασται τό ὁ οὐρανὸς κτλ. Also in iv 2, πολλὺς γὰρ οὗτος τῆς ἀλαζονείας ὁ κόμπος, where it is worth noting that the saying is one of St Paul.

4. The apostles are charged with being ἄνθρωποι ἀπαίδευτοι, and the same two apostles come in for similar criticism in the *Apocriticus*. In iii 34 St Paul is spoken of as ταύτην ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀπαίδευτον γνώμην. Again in iv 6 concerning the foolishness of a saying in the Apocalypse of Peter, οὐδεὶς δὲ οὕτως ἀπαίδευτος, κτλ. The noun also occurs more than once; in iii 2 a saying of Christ is called μεστὸν ἀπαιδευσίας, and in iii 4 comes the exclamation φεῦ τῆς ἀπαιδεύσεως.

5. Corresponding to the epithet ψεύσται, given also to the apostles, comes in iii 31 the abuse of St Paul as ψεύστης καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ σύντροφος.

6. Along with the above two epithets, Hierocles also calls the apostles γόητες. And in iii 31, because St Paul first called himself a Jew and then a Roman, he was said to be τέχνη γοητείας τοὺς εὐχερεῖς δουλούμενος. These words occur only a few lines from the passage above containing the word ψεύστης, and not far from the place where ἀπαίδευτος occurs.<sup>1</sup>

7. Although the word τερατεία, used by Hierocles of the miracles, does not occur in the *Apocriticus*, yet the verb, adjective, and a kindred noun are all found, viz. τερατεύεσθαι, τερατώδης, and τερατολογία (iv 6; iii 4, iv 5 and 7; and ii 15).

It may be added that when Hierocles speaks of Apollonius as θεοῖς φίλος, it suggests the same acceptance of the heathen deities as is seen in Macarius's opponent, as for example when he says (iv 20) περὶ μὲν τοῦ εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ δεῖν τιμᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ἅλως.

There is yet another verbal parallel which may be added to those given above. Although the fragment does not contain the word εὐχερής or εὐχέρεια, Eusebius himself makes it quite plain that the Christians have been charged by Hierocles with εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης (see ch. iv p. 513). A parallel with the latter word has already been found. But εὐχέρεια and εὐχερής occur no less than four times, in *Apocr.* ii 16, iii 15, 19, and 31, being in each case applied in some sense to Christians.

It will thus be seen that the actual language of Hierocles, little as we know of it, contributes a striking piece of evidence with regard to identity of authorship. It has already been stated how little this is the case with Porphyry. It now remains to study the rest of the treatise of Eusebius.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the comment in iv 2 on the words in 1 Thess. about the resurrection; ὑπέρογκον τὸ ψεῦσμα.

The first chapter (p. 511) gives us *Φιλαληθής* as the title of the work, and the way its contents are spoken of as *ἐν τῷ φιλαληθεῖ* (instead of *φιλαληθέσι λόγοις*) helps the suggestion I have already made that *Μονογενής* was intended for a rival title to *Φιλαληθής*.

The same chapter contains a very clear statement of the plagiarism of Hierocles, declaring that his material was *μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχανόντα*, *σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἑτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς μονονουχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλαβαῖς ἀποσεσυλημένα*. Eusebius proceeds to instance Celsus as the source of his borrowing,<sup>1</sup> but it is quite certain from what is known and has been already set forth about his attacks on the contradictions of Scripture (including so many passages from St Paul, whom Celsus does not mention), that Celsus cannot be the *chief* source. This latter remains a mystery, until we mark the parallels, already detailed by Dr Harnack,<sup>2</sup> with Porphyry's fifteen books against the Christians. When we consider the extreme likelihood that the recent treatise of Porphyry would be the best and readiest source for him to seize upon, the probability of borrowing grows stronger, and there seems the less necessity for the theory of an 'anonymous excerpt'. If the plagiarism extended, as Eusebius says, even to verbal imitation, we may claim the scanty verbal and detailed links with what we know of Porphyry's work (the use of which by Dr Harnack has been already shewn), as possible of application to the treatise of an imitator like Hierocles.

Eusebius almost immediately proceeds to discuss the comparison instituted by Hierocles with Apollonius of Tyana (ch. ii p. 513) after dealing only briefly with the inconsistencies and other charges brought in the words of his opponent, which I have already given verbatim as quoted by him. Practically the whole of the rest of the treatise is taken up with Apollonius.

From these facts writers have attempted to reconstruct the contents of the *Philaethes*, but I venture to think they have been led astray. For example, we are told, 'His book seems to have consisted of two parts, a series of biblical questions similar to those answered by Origen in his writings against Celsus, and an elaborate attempt to shew that Apollonius, the god-like man of paganism, is greater than Jesus, the Christian God.'<sup>3</sup>

Certainly this would seem to be the case, if the treatise of Eusebius

<sup>1</sup> In *J.T.S.* April 1907 I have shewn the probability that the opponent of Macarius knew Celsus, and have noted arguments which he seems to have borrowed from him.

<sup>2</sup> He freely concedes at the end of his book that Hierocles did copy largely from Porphyry, p. 143. 'Allerdings hat auch er den Porphyrius reichlich ausgeschrieben.'

<sup>3</sup> Elsee *Neoplatonism in relation to Christianity* p. 66 n. 2.

were our only source of information. And the result would be that the identification that I am seeking to substantiate would become an impossible one. But the passage in Lactantius has already shewn us that such is not the case.<sup>1</sup> How then is Eusebius's treatment of the book to be explained? It seems to me that he had before him a work in which the chief attack was through the contradictions of Scripture. This he states at the outset (ch. i p. 511), but he refrains from dealing with this part of the book, contenting himself with saying that Origen has already answered similar objections, when brought by Celsus. It may possibly be that he shirks this part of the controversy himself, as a matter which was either uncongenial, or unnecessary, or with which he did not feel himself competent to deal. But since the time of Origen there had appeared the mythical 'Life' of Apollonius, which formed a most dangerous indirect attack on Christianity by setting up a rival hero, whose story was suggested to the author by that of the God-man Himself.<sup>2</sup> It is absolutely certain that this was seized upon by Hierocles and turned into a direct attack upon Christ and His miracles.<sup>3</sup> This popularizing of the life by Hierocles was an even more serious matter for Christians than the writing of it by Philostratus. If Eusebius felt this strongly, it was perfectly natural that he should take hold of this part of the *Philaethes* and deal with it at length. In any case it must be admitted that in ch. ii he goes off at a tangent and proceeds for the rest of his treatise to speak exhaustively concerning the 'Life'. Hierocles is lost sight of, he is really answering the work of Philostratus. It is an intentional digression from which he never returns. The above explanation of his treatise reconciles it with the statements of Lactantius and supports the theory which we are putting to the test.

Having completed our study of the original authorities, and having found them in agreement with our theory, we may now proceed to set forth other briefer arguments in its favour, some of them suggested by Dr Harnack's own lines of argument. In fact, we may now try and conclude our survey by summarizing *all* the arguments in favour of the authorship of Hierocles. If I imitate Dr Harnack by enumerating them by means of *eleven* propositions it will be the easier to weigh them against his own.

<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient to recall the statement (Lact. *Div. Instit.* v 3) that at the end of his work Hierocles dealt with the relation of the supreme God to the lesser ones. This suits exactly with the end of Book iv of the *Apocriticus*, but it has nothing whatever to do with Apollonius.

<sup>2</sup> See Elsee *op. cit.* pp. 86-88 for the ingenious method of discrediting Christianity thus adopted by Plotinus and the rest of the Neoplatonic school.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Lact. *op. cit.* ch. iii.

1. Hierocles wrote in two books, and our author seems to have done the like. He called his work *Φιλαληθής πρὸς Χριστιανούς*, which would explain the answer being entitled *Μονογενής πρὸς Ἑλλήνας*.

2. Eusebius says he was an absolute plagiarist, and his objections go back to Celsus. Several of the questions in the *Apocriticus* may be similarly traced back. In ii 4 he raises the same objection, that Christ ought to have appeared to His judges, as Celsus puts.<sup>1</sup> In iii 1 he asks why He did not shew His Divinity during the Passion, instead of displaying such meekness.<sup>2</sup> In iii 2 he mocks at His conduct in Gethsemane, and His prayer that His passion should pass away from Him.<sup>3</sup> And in iv 24, in discussing the absurdity of the resurrection of the body, he notices the same Christian plea as Celsus notices, viz. that 'all things are possible with God', and proceeds to refute it by similar arguments.<sup>4</sup>

3. Hierocles goes much further than Celsus, and the chief source of his attacks is really Porphyry. Many links with this philosopher are to be found in the *Apocriticus*, to whom Macarius actually refers his opponent. Most of the arguments which Dr Harnack uses to support the authorship of Porphyry may also be used to substantiate that of Hierocles, the plagiarist who so unhesitatingly 'plundered' the very words of Porphyry.

4. We have only a small fragment of the language of Hierocles preserved independently, but of the only eleven distinctive words which it contains, no less than seven have parallels in the philosopher of the *Apocriticus*, and there are other likenesses besides.<sup>5</sup>

5. The main theme of Hierocles's book was to prove the Scriptures false by adducing their contradictions. This is exactly the attack which Macarius had to face.

6. The time and place of the two writings are in accord as far as they are known to us. Hierocles appears to have written before the persecution began<sup>6</sup> or at all events at the very beginning of the fourth century. This period suits the opponent of Macarius best of all, and Dr Harnack suggests that the unknown compiler of the 'excerpt' made it in the time of Maximin Daza.

Hierocles was an imperial officer, who before moving to Bithynia in A. D. 304 was governor of Palmyra.<sup>7</sup> Now Macarius, Dr Harnack

<sup>1</sup> Orig. c. Cels. ii 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ib.* ii 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ib.* ii 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ib.* v 14 sq.

<sup>5</sup> This is very different from the relation of our author to the many extant works of Porphyry. Here Dr Harnack can do no more than point to a few words in *-μα*, which are characteristic of both, *op. cit.* p. 97 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Mason *op. cit.* p. 61 n.

<sup>7</sup> *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. 3, no. 133 ap Duch. *op. cit.* p. 20.

tells us, is certainly to be connected with Asia Minor. How then are we to account for the fact that he persistently points his opponent to the region of Palmyra? Duchesne indicated such plain references as Berenice having become queen of Edessa,<sup>1</sup> and the philosopher being told to go to Antioch to look for the effects of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> And I myself added the suggestion<sup>3</sup> that the recent history of Palmyra and its queen Zenobia may be referred to in the exclamation *πόσαι βασιλίδες γυναῖκες ἀπώλοντο*,<sup>4</sup> and noted his reference to Bardesanes of Edessa.<sup>5</sup> I am quite aware that the full force of this evidence depends on the theory that Macarius's words were written less than 100 years after his opponent. But even when we place him at the later date, it is easily conceivable that the lost first book (where one of the local references is to be found) contained such a plain allusion to locality that, in order to maintain the realism of a dialogue, he felt constrained to make further reference to it in his answers.

One difficulty however remains. The philosopher also shews knowledge of a totally different part of the world, for he knows local traditions about the Church of Rome.<sup>6</sup> Dr Harnack uses this as a link with Porphyry, who wrote after a long sojourn at Rome itself. And it must be admitted that there is no connexion with Rome in the case of Hierocles, though our knowledge of his career is so scanty that there is no reason why, as an imperial officer, he should not have been connected at some time with that city. Nor is it certain that the writer's knowledge must have been acquired on the spot. But we may add that there is a similar difficulty with regard to Macarius himself in his answers. Everything seems to connect him with Asia Minor, and his list of heretics is drawn entirely from the East<sup>7</sup>; and yet, when he comes to speak of the heroes of the Church, it is to the West that he turns, and to such names as those of Fabian and Cyprian,<sup>8</sup> while he too displays a knowledge of local Roman traditions, different from those mentioned by his opponent.<sup>9</sup> And yet he speaks of the Romans as *βάρβαρον ἔθνος*. In his case therefore the argument concerning Rome is an uncertain one. Nor does the problem seem much simpler in the case of his opponent.

7. The tone of Hierocles was one of lofty superiority. His attack was cruelly bitter, but he claimed to counsel the Christians for their good, and to point them to something higher, writing to and not against

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* i 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ii 7.

<sup>3</sup> *J.T.S.* viii 414 (April 1907).

<sup>4</sup> *Apocr.* iv 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* iv 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* ii 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* iii 43 and iv 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* iii 24. I am indebted to Professor Burkitt for an interesting parallel. Fabian is also mentioned in the Syriac Acts of Bar-Samya c. 370.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* iv 15.



them. This same tone is discernible in the *Apocriticus*, and many instances of it may be given.<sup>1</sup>

8. We may use wording similar to that of Dr Harnack in his corresponding proposition, and say that the chief method of attack in both authors is to shew the perversion of the faith by the followers of Christ.

9. Hierocles simply sought to discredit Christ, without denying His work and His miracles, but only shewing that those of Apollonius were greater. His chief denial was of His Divinity. Dr Harnack has very plainly shewn this to be the case with the author of the questions. Also there remains one explicit comparison with Apollonius (even though the part which dealt with the miracles is lost to us), the object of this comparison being to shew the inferiority of Christ.

10. We may again follow the corresponding proposition in favour of the Porphyrian theory, and say that a similarity may be found by means of a number of concrete instances. These have already been discussed, and it is sufficient to recall two of special importance, namely the reduction of the lesser gods to a state of servitude at the end of the book, and the introduction of Apollonius.

11. The final proposition may stand as Dr Harnack's, namely that the author seems to have been near to Christianity and then to have broken away from it, and that he displays throughout an accurate knowledge of the Scriptures. This is just what Lactantius says about Hierocles, stating that his knowledge was so intimate, that he may have been 'ex eadem disciplina'.

I must leave it to others to weigh these rival propositions. But in comparing them, the fact must not be forgotten that about half Dr Harnack's arguments for Porphyry may be claimed as supporting Hierocles also. Indeed they may nearly *all* refer to the plagiarist as well as to the man who supplied him with his material. But on the contrary, of my arguments for Hierocles, the majority belong to the individual man and to no one else, and therefore can have no reference to Porphyry.

It is a possible ground of objection to my theory, that I have tried to shew successively that the language of the questions<sup>2</sup> is unlike that

<sup>1</sup> e.g., *Apocr.* iii 4, iii 6, and iv 20, iv 21 fin., &c.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity of alluding to a previous statement of mine *J.T.S.* viii 411 (April 1907), that, whereas Macarius characterizes his opponent's language as 'Attic oratory', as a matter of fact the eloquence and the polish all lie with himself. Dr Harnack quotes this and makes merry over it (p. 10 n. 1). Yet he himself says later (p. 96) that the heathen speaks in language short, sharp, and cutting, but the Christian apologist diffusely, pompously, in oratorical pathos (in *rednerischem* Pathos), often with varying repetitions. This agrees with Duchesne's words 'Ab eo genere mirum est quantum differat Macarii facundia gravis et ornata,

of Porphyry, that it has striking similarities with that of Hierocles, and yet that Hierocles copied from Porphyry. But it is impossible to estimate the extent of such copying, and the fact that Eusebius speaks of Celsus and not Porphyry as the ultimate source of his attacks, shews that he is not making a mere transcription from the earlier and greater Neoplatonist.

The time has come to pass on to the attempt to reconstruct the work of Porphyry, using the treatise we have been considering as a subsidiary help. But first, as I have been dealing somewhat fully with Dr Harnack's book, I cannot refrain from adding something to the present article by way of appendix, on the kindred subject treated of in the rest of it, namely the origin and authorship of the *Apocriticus*. And indeed, the question of the identity of the heathen philosopher who is answered therein can scarcely be satisfactorily discussed and concluded without some consideration of the disputed origin of the book itself.

It remains therefore to say something about Dr Harnack's theory with regard to Macarius Magnes himself. In his introductory chapter he gives strong support to the view that the author was the Macarius Magnes, Bishop of Magnesia, who is known to us as having accused Heracleides of Origenism at the Synod of the Oak in A. D. 403.

He begins with the statements which Macarius puts in the mouth of his opponent, that it is 300 years or more since Christ's death, and again, that 300 years have passed since the writing of 1 Thessalonians. These statements suggest a date well on in the fourth century, and other considerations make it probable that the *Apocriticus* must be placed as late as A. D. 395-400. The four arguments which Dr Harnack gives in support of this date are as follows:—

1. The *Apocriticus* reveals a battle between heathenism and Christianity, which is only a literary one.
2. Monasticism has spread everywhere in the East.
3. The Manichees have also spread everywhere.
4. The Trinitarian doctrine belongs to a period subsequent to A. D. 370, and the absence of reference to the Arians among heretics compels a date subsequent to A. D. 381.

Therefore it is certainly not a real dialogue, but the author has seized on a work just a hundred years old, being an excerpt, probably anonymous, from the lost work of Porphyry against the Christians, which is itself some thirty years older still. This excerpt he has embodied complete, without omissions, only in a few cases adding the briefest of introductions, or a word or two of conclusion.

repetitionibus abundans, *oratorio* plane modo se efferens'. So I do not quite understand why Dr Harnack adorns my sentence with a double interrogation mark.

Every word of this theory contradicts the view I ventured to put forth myself,<sup>1</sup> and Dr Harnack has honoured me by discussing and rejecting most of my arguments. I do not therefore propose to marshal the same arguments again. In some points his words have brought conviction to me that he is right. I will not here hold against him the definite view that Macarius lived 100 years earlier, and, though of Asia Minor himself, met Hierocles in the neighbourhood of Palmyra, when he was governor there, and held a public argument with him, facing the objections issued by Hierocles in his *Philalethes*, and publishing the whole afterwards as the *Apocriticus*. But I cannot help thinking that there are many difficulties which still stand in the way of the other solution of the problem. For a problem it still remains, and I cannot feel that Dr Harnack's view of the Answers is the true solution, any more than is his view of the Questions. In accepting the arguments he has given us there are obstacles in each case which must not be forgotten. I will put them in as brief a form as possible.

With regard to the direct evidence of date, it is after all strangely unsatisfactory. The mention of *τριακόσια ἔτη*, coming as it does in the words of the *opponent* of Macarius, is extremely difficult. Dr Harnack guesses that it was altered by Macarius from *διακόσια*, but this is not a very convincing suggestion, as the author of the *Apocriticus* has made no attempt to bring his work up to date in other directions, as we shall see. And the other mention of *τριακόσια* is simply an emendation of the MS reading *τριάκοντα*. And again, if the same antiquity be assigned to the death of Christ and the writing of St Paul's Epistles, it shews that the writer is only dealing with round numbers at best.

And now a word with regard to the other four arguments.

1. If the battle is only a literary one, and the Christian is shewing before a world in which the stigma of Christianity has been removed, how he got the upper hand, why should he cringe so towards the heathen, and represent himself as shewing such a terrified demeanour? He speaks, not with the quiet confidence of a superiority which has been already claimed before the world, but with the effort of one who represents a humble and unpopular cause. Such is the unmistakeable intention of such language as is used of the heathen in ii 12, *ὁ δὲ δριμύτως καὶ λίαν βλοσυρὸν εἰσαθρήσας πληκτικώτερον ἡμῖν ἔφησε νέυσας*, and in the Preface to Book III, *φοβερὸν ὡς εἶδον ἐπισκυνίου σύβητρον*, and also of himself in iii 10, *πᾶσαν τοῦ σώματος αἰσθησιν ἐταράχθημεν, ὡς μικροῦ λέγειν καὶ ἡμᾶς Κύριε, σῶσον, ἀπολλύμεθα*. Is this the way to represent the relation of Christian and heathen in A.D. 400 for the edification of fellow-Christians? If this be all literary padding, why is it of this kind?

<sup>1</sup> *J. T. S. loc. cit.*

2. The mention of Monasticism, as having spread everywhere in the East, is certainly a very strong point in favour of a later date. And yet even here it is the earlier monastic rather than the later coenobitic life which seems to be referred to. Nor does it appear to me to be 'already a great and public evidence of Church life'. Macarius<sup>1</sup> is only acting on the defensive in shewing the fulfilment of Christ's saying that He came to separate a man from his father, and daughter from her mother. He speaks of daughters as cut off from *μητρικῆς πολιτείας*, and turning to the *ἄνω πολιτεία*. He adds *ἀλλαι παρθενίας καὶ ἀγνείας ἔνεκεν ἐπαινετῆς ἐρασθεῖσαι ἥθος μητέρων καὶ τρόπον ἡρῆσαντο*. For such virginity we need not go to the end of the fourth century. Concerning sons he says *προγονικῶν νομίμων ἔθος ἀπωσάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσκητικὴν μετέβησαν δίαταν*. He then points to the East, Syria and specially Antioch, as shewing the diversities in the lives men lead (*μυρίαίς μερίζονται κάτορθωμάτων γνώμας*). Some marry and some refuse; some live in luxury and riches, others in fasting and poverty, *ἄλλοι ταῖς ἐταίραις συνεῖναι σπουδάζουσι, ἕτεροι ταῖς μονηρίαις θέλουσι συναλίζεσθαι*. Is this last phrase sufficient to imply the *later* monasticism of the desert type? If the ascetics referred to above had really left the world for the wilderness, would not Macarius have mentioned this as most plainly fulfilling the *separation* spoken of by our Lord? Does not his pointing to those in the one city imply that they were still in touch with others? Nor are they lost to their parents, for he says *καὶ οὔτε πατέρες ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες ὀργίζονται, οὐ δυσχεραίνει μήτηρ, οὐ χαλεπαίνουσιν ἀδελφοί*. Such is absolutely all the evidence with regard to monasticism.

3. The influence of Manes has also spread everywhere, *ὑφέρπων τὴν οἰκουμένην* (iv 15). Certainly such a reference will suit well with the period when Titus of Bostra had attacked the vigorous growth of the Manichaeans in the East (c. 370) and Augustine was about to do so in the West. But I frankly do not understand why it should be limited to such a period. Seeing that a century earlier, in A.D. 290, Diocletian issued an edict to the Proconsul of Africa to burn the leaders of this sect with their books, and to execute its persistent adherents, I should not have thought that the language of Macarius need be much subsequent to that date. And this is borne out by the fact that it is in company with earlier heretics that the Manichaeans are mentioned (Marcionists and Dositheans in one passage, iv 15, and *Ἐγκρατῆται καὶ Ἀποτακῖται καὶ Ἐρημίται* in the other, iii 43).

4. The Trinitarian teaching is the form of orthodoxy which developed after the sixth decade of the fourth century. The passage which shews this most clearly is in iv 25, where Macarius speaks of *θεὸς εἰς ἐν τρισὶν*

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* ii 7.

ὑποστάσειν, and concludes ἵνα τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐν οὐσίᾳ μὴ γνωρισθῇ τὸ ὄνομα. I suggested the possibility of this language being conceivably ante-Nicene, but in the light of what Dr Harnack now says, I am ready to retract this. My other suggestion was that the passage is an interpolation. I feel strongly the likelihood of this, for the whole of this piece of Trinitarian doctrine is contained in twenty-two lines, which are entirely different in tone, the long periods being replaced by short and disjointed theological statements, with frequent repetitions. In answering a question about the Monarchy of God, it would be absurd for the Christian apologist to set forth without any qualification or explanation the three Persons of the Christian God, when he is just engaged in maintaining monotheism against the polytheism of his opponent. But the excuse for an interpolation is obvious. The subject is the washing of Baptism, and it would be tempting to some later writer to insert a reference to the real meaning of Baptism in the name of the Trinity. Schalkhauser's discovery of an interpolation elsewhere in the treatise makes the suggestion more likely than when I made it, and it is significant that it is also in a doctrinal passage that added words have been found which were not even contained in the Athens MS. I am conscious that the suggestion that the work has been tampered with is somewhat of a last resource. But Dr Harnack himself considers that the original work of Porphyry was made more impassioned in tone by a compiler, and then further altered in some particulars by Macarius. If we add to this the fact, as mentioned above, of there being a known later interpolation in the words of Macarius himself, perhaps my suggestion becomes more reasonable. The Trinitarian language in the rest of the *Apocriticus* is less definite. I do not propose to discuss again the passages in which the word ὑπόστασις occurs<sup>1</sup>; the use varies and the language is difficult, but I do not think that, apart from the passage quoted above, it is sufficient to place the work at the end of the fourth century, if anything else demands an earlier date. And I am emphatically of the opinion that that is the case with another part of the doctrine of the book. Dr Harnack goes on to say that the *Apocriticus* must be *later* than A. D. 381, because Arians are not mentioned in the list of heretics! But that it should have been written only twenty years later, and that it should fail to say a word about the most virulent and acute of the heresies and be content to go back to Dositheans and Encratites and such like, is to my mind absolutely without explanation. Nor does the author intend to confine himself to references to what was long past, for he does introduce the Manichaeans, in a way which makes Dr Harnack think that the treatise must be put

<sup>1</sup> See *J.T.S.* viii 554-556 (July 1907).

late for that very reason. The suggestion that Arians are really meant by the term *χριστομάχοι*<sup>1</sup> becomes quite indefensible when the context is studied, for they are called 'Ιουδαϊκῆς μανίας κοινωνοί.<sup>2</sup> To my mind therefore the difficulty of accepting a date for the treatise when Arianism and its offshoots dwarfed all other heresies in men's recollection, is well-nigh insuperable.

It will be seen then that Dr Harnack's four supplementary arguments are not so convincing as they appear. But besides the omission of Arians, there remain other obstacles in the way of his theory. For example, he connects the two authors whose work is contained in our treatise with Rome and Asia Minor respectively. How is it then that it is to Syria, and especially to Antioch and Edessa, that Macarius points his opponent? And why does he, in speaking of Ethiopia, locate it in the south-west? And how is it that, although he calls the Romans *βάρβαρον ἔθνος*,<sup>3</sup> he knows local Roman traditions,<sup>4</sup> and puts Fabian among the few heroes of the Church that he mentions?<sup>5</sup>

I do not wish to argue here for the view that a real dialogue underlies the *Apocriticus*, but I cannot see the force of one of Dr Harnack's arguments against it. He says that it would be unnatural for the Christian to take some six objections at a time, and then answer them in turn as Macarius has done. But it seems to me that it would be an equally unnatural way of treating a *book* which Macarius is supposed to have had before him in the form of anonymous excerpts from Porphyry.

The above considerations seem to indicate that the problem involved in the book has not yet reached a solution. I attempted an answer myself, and Dr Harnack has tested and rejected it. If I have made bold to do the same thing with his own solution, it becomes the more difficult to advance another. If in conclusion I attempt to do so now, it is quite tentatively, and with the consciousness that there are plenty of obstacles in the way of it.

We have had suggested to us that the work of Porphyry was taken over and abridged by an unknown writer and used for his own purpose. A double authorship has been traced in the *questions*. But what if some explanation of double authorship underlies not the questions but the *answers*? I can imagine a work, written not far on in the fourth century, and facing, probably by name, Hierocles and the arguments his *Philalethes* had brought against the Scriptures. A real dialogue may conceivably have been the foundation of this work, but the preponderance of argument seems against this being the case. Probably it was written

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* iii 14.

<sup>2</sup> See *J.T.S.* viii 417 n. 6 (April 1907).

<sup>3</sup> *Apocr.* ii 17 p. 29, 1. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* iv 15 (The milk that flowed when St Paul was executed).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* iii 21 p. 109.

some years later than Hierocles in the earlier half of the fourth century. The author had been at Rome, but was living in the East, probably in Syria, and therefore naturally points the opponent, who had been governor of Palmyra, to that particular region. But he is also well acquainted with the Eastern part of Asia Minor, and knows of the spread of heresy in regions such as Lycaonia,<sup>1</sup> and of worthies like Aratus of Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> This writer did not belong to the School of Edessa, but was a great Origenist. He was a really great exponent of the Christian faith, and worthy to be ranked with some of the great fathers of that century.

This work was seized upon by Macarius Magnes, the Bishop of Magnesia who is heard of in 403 A.D., and worked into the form in which it is at present, being now made to consist of a five days' debate, and the original division of Hierocles's work into two books being quite obscured. Nothing leads us to expect any great originality or literary talent or powers of Catholic exegesis from this Macarius. It well accords with what we know of him, that he should simply arrange another man's work. He carefully suppresses the names of both Hierocles and the man who had answered him, and alters just enough to make it appear a work of his own time, changing '200 years' into '300', and making the Trinitarian doctrine a little more definite in places, especially where he finds the baptismal formula occurring. But he does not bring the work properly up to date, for he leaves the list of earlier heretics without the addition of those of his own century, nor does he trouble to change the locality from the East to Western Asia Minor. But in iii 24 p. 109, it is perhaps his hand which has placed before the mention of Fabian, Cyprian, and Irenaeus ten lines of detail about a local hero, Polycarp of Smyrna. He found much of the Christian explanation of the passages of Scripture which had been attacked to be allegorical and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Origen. Being himself opposed to Origenism, as he very clearly shewed by his action at the Synod of the Oak, he would not have originated such lines of argument, but he allowed them to remain in their place. Perhaps he curtailed the number of questions and answers to suit his purpose (which would explain the occasional failure of sequence in the questions to which Dr Harnack has called attention), but these omissions may have been made by the writer he is adapting.

I do not pretend that this view harmonizes with all I have said when discussing Dr Harnack's theory. But it will be seen that it satisfies a great many of the difficulties which have been noticed, so that reference need not be made to these things again. But there are one or two fresh points which I may mention here.

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* iii 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv 17 p. 191.

1. The work is sufficiently weighty and important to warrant its careful preservation by the Church. But if, in addition to the fact that it contained blasphemous objections to Holy Writ, it bore the name of an obscure bishop, of whom what was known was not particularly to his advantage, it can easily be understood how it sank into an oblivion from which it was only rescued by its use in the Iconoclastic controversy some centuries later.

2. The above theory helps to explain the strange double title of the work, which seems to have been Ἀποκριτικὸς ἡ Μονογενὴς πρὸς Ἑλληνας.<sup>1</sup> As it is entirely addressed to an individual Greek it is very curious that Macarius should belie the idea of his dialogue by making the word plural. But if we suppose an earlier writer who has answered by name Hierocles's treatise Φιλαληθὴς πρὸς Χριστιανούς, and called his own reply Μονογενὴς πρὸς Ἑλληνας, then we can imagine Macarius retaining this as an alternative to his own title of Ἀποκριτικὸς. The very awkwardness of this would tend to the omission of the words ἡ Μονογενὴς in some MSS, and to the addition (unless indeed it be due to Macarius himself) of the sub-title Περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων.

3. One of the few things we know about the Macarius of A.D. 403 is that he was a bishop. But there is nothing whatever in the *Apocriticus* to suggest that it was written by a bishop. On the contrary, there is one passage at least which seems to point the other way.<sup>2</sup> In ii 16 the heathen has mockingly suggested that, if Christ's words are true, a real Christian ought to be able to drink any deadly thing without its hurting him, and that therefore this would be a good test to which to put bishops. If the reply were by a bishop, one would expect the personal note to enter. Not only is this not the case, but the author seems to differentiate himself from the leaders of the Church by speaking of them in the third person. After giving instances of great bishops of old who figuratively laid their hands on all that was round them and brought a blessing on it, he proceeds<sup>3</sup> παρὲς δ' ἐκείνους, τοὺς νῦν ἀφηγγήσομαι· πόσοι χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντες εἰς εὐχὴν ἰάσαντο; πόσοι κατηχουμένοις ἐν τῷ παλαίῳ πυρέττουσι τῆς ἁμαρτίας πτώματι ἢ νοσήματι χεῖρας ἐπιθέντες καλῶς ἔχειν ἐποίησαν; Can these be the words of a bishop? And yet Nicephorus calls the author ἱεράρχης. All is explained if we think of the Bishop of Magnesia appropriating the work of one who was not himself a bishop.

4. The author of the answers is very plainly an original thinker. He is steeped in Origenism, and a master of the allegorical method of inter-

<sup>1</sup> v. Harnack *op. cit.* pp. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> See my note *J.T.S.* viii 421 n. 3 (April 1907).

<sup>3</sup> *Apocr.* iii 24 p. 109 i 31



pretation. Many of his explanations are, as far as I am aware, unique, and even when he has to answer the same difficulty as Origen in his *Contra Celsum*, he does not copy him, or take the same line of exegesis (the best example of this is seen in the explanation of Christ's conduct in Gethsemane, which Macarius explains as a deception of the devil, while Origen connects it with His obedience and humanity).<sup>1</sup> There are likenesses to be found in his answers to arguments used by several fathers at the end of the fourth century, especially Epiphanius, Amphilochius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Rufinus. These likenesses, however, are so few, and there is so much of the same kind of argument in which our author stands alone, that we cannot think of him as a mere imitator, with his ideas borrowed from greater men who had preceded him. In any case many of the lines of defence which occur in more than one author were doubtless the common property of Christian apologists and exegetes in the fourth century. But taking all the circumstances into account, it is very much easier to imagine an author earlier in the fourth century, an original thinker, some of whose arguments were repeated by those who followed him, than to explain the astonishing excellence and originality of the work of an obscure bishop like the Macarius of the Oak.

I therefore venture, as a new contribution to the subject, to offer the above further attempt to solve the problem presented by the *Apocriticus*.

T. W. CRAFER.

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* iii 2. *Orig. c. Cels.* ii 24. For a discussion of all the passages see *J.T.S.* viii 408-409 (April 1907).

(*To be continued.*)

## THE WORK OF MENEZES ON THE MALABAR LITURGY.

WHEN the various statements about the Malabar Liturgy which are to be found in modern writers are put together, it would almost appear that the one point on which there is an absolute consensus is the historical fact that this liturgy was revised and expurgated by the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Menezes, at the Synod of Diamper in 1599. As to the precise nature of the changes introduced by Menezes, there is a disconcerting lack of unanimity on such leading questions as the following: (*a*) Whether the Malabar rite previous to its revision contained a formula of Institution; (*b*) whether or not Menezes altered the former position of the Institution (assuming its existence in the old Malabar rite); (*c*) whether or not he tampered with the terms of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit with a view to depriving it of the character of a formula of consecration. For the rest, it seems to be the prevailing impression that the revision was of such a drastic kind as to alter radically the character of the original rite; but further—and this is the point of most importance to the student of Liturgy—that the old rite, as regards the order of its parts and the precise terms of its formulae, is now past recovery, and remains only a subject for conjecture.

To illustrate these remarks it is necessary to quote some passages expressive of ideas which, in England at all events, have been held during the last sixty or seventy years as to the nature of Menezes's work of revision. I take the passages in chronological order.

1. *J. W. Etheridge*. 'Menexes, the Portuguese archbishop, in his crusade against the Nestorians of Malabar in the sixteenth century, not content with suppressing and burning the two secondary offices of Theodore and Nestorius, introduced a variety of changes into that called after "the Apostles", which have been the subject of severe criticism among the Romanists themselves. A formulary of consecration was supplied, corresponding with that in use in the Latin church; the host was to be elevated and adored after the consecration. . . . By these and a number of other changes, their Liturgy underwent an essential alteration of character, and no longer represented the old Nestorian worship' (*The Syrian Churches* pp. 217-218: published 1846. To the like effect, as regards the Institution, is another passage, pp. 99-100).

2. *Dr J. M. Neale*. 'I have ventured to make a considerable alteration in the order of the above prayers. As we have the Malabar Liturgy from the Portuguese revisers, the sequence of the Collects is that which is given by bracketed numerals in the margin.' Here the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, contrary to the use of every other Oriental Liturgy, preceded the words of Institution. This, in itself, would be a sufficient proof that an alteration had been made; though very carelessly, if not *malâ fide*, no notice is given of it. But fortunately the Nestorian Liturgy of Theodore the Interpreter bears a sufficient resemblance to this [the Malabar] to shew what was the original order: I have therefore arranged the prayers according to that. The Liturgy of All Apostles,<sup>2</sup> the Nestorian norm, bears, as would be natural, a closer resemblance still to the Malabar; but as All Apostles, from whatever cause, has not the words of Institution at all, it is not so useful in shewing how the Malabar was arranged' (*The Liturgies . . . translated, with Introduction and Appendices*, seventh edition, p. 165 note. See also *ibid.* pp. xx-xxi. The first edition appeared in 1859).

3. *G. B. Howard*. 'The most notable of the alterations confessed by the Portuguese editor, Gouvea, are . . . And particularly, the transposition of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost from its former position *after* the words of consecration [Institution], so as to *precede* those words: and the alteration of its terms, so as to make it refer solely to a fruitful reception of the Eucharist.' [To this is added the following note:] 'This was done, as the Roman censors confess, in order to prevent the idea that the words of Christ uttered by the priest are not sufficient by themselves to effect the consecration' (*The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies*, 1864, p. 40. See also p. 229 note a).

4. *Mr F. E. Warren*. 'Group III. *The Persian Rite* (SS. Adaeus and Maris). . . . The liturgy of the Christians of St Thomas, on the Malabar coast of India, formerly belonged to this group, but it was almost completely assimilated to the Roman liturgy by the Portuguese Jesuits at the Synod of Diamper in 1599' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article 'Liturgy', 1911).

In none of the above passages, or in the works from which they are drawn, is it formally suggested that there is any possibility of getting behind Menezes's expurgated text of the Malabar rite to that on which he operated. But in two or three of the passages there are suggestions as to some more or less close relation between the Malabar and the East-Syrian liturgy known as that of the 'Apostles' Addai and Mari.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, in the margin of Dr Neale's translation of the Malabar rite (R. H. C.).

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the liturgy of the *two* 'Apostles', Addai and Mari (R. H. C.).

Etheridge even speaks of the liturgy revised by Menezes as 'that called after "the Apostles"'; and the revised text itself, of which we have a contemporary Latin translation, bears the title *Sacrum BB. Apostolorum*. Moreover, in 1870, so eminent an authority as Bickell made the following observation: 'As the Malabar liturgy is, apart from mere variants, identical with that of the Apostles, it should not be treated, as usually happens, as a distinct liturgy.'<sup>1</sup>

If this statement of Bickell's be true, it puts us in possession of an important fact which we should hardly have gathered from the authorities quoted above. My friend Mr Edmund Bishop pointed out to me that it is substantially true, and that it may be verified by a very simple and obvious process which, for his own private satisfaction in this matter, he had already put into operation. It is on the lines of his suggestion that the present paper has been written; though I have worked the whole subject through for myself, and present it in my own way.

We now have a Syriac edition of the East-Syrian liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari, and we have also a Latin translation of the Malabar liturgy as it was left by the Portuguese revisers. To test the accuracy of Bickell's observation it is only necessary to compare these two texts one with the other. When this has been done it will be possible to discuss the further questions, how far Menezes altered the text of the pre-existing Malabar rite, and how far it is possible to get behind his revision to the text he worked upon.<sup>2</sup>

For the purpose of this comparison it will be necessary to draw out a full Concordance of the contents of the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari and the Malabar. This will be long, and such tabular apparatus usually present a somewhat forbidding appearance; but there is no other way of dealing with the matter satisfactorily.

As a preliminary to the proposed Concordance something must be said about the documents at our disposal. And first for 'Addai and Mari'.

The East-Syrian liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari was first published in a Latin translation by Renaudot in 1716, in vol. ii of his *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* pp. 584-597. An English translation based on other Syriac manuscripts was published by G. P. Badger in 1875.<sup>3</sup> The Syriac text was first printed in 1890 by members of the

<sup>1</sup> In the Münster *Literarischer Handweiser*, March 1870: No. 88 p. 55 note 1. By 'Apostles' Bickell of course means Addai and Mari.

<sup>2</sup> These questions will form the subject of a subsequent Note.

<sup>3</sup> *The Syriac Liturgies of the Apostles Mâr Adâi and Mâr Mâri, . . . Mâr Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Mâr Nestorius* pp. 1-16 (Occasional paper of the Eastern Church Association, No. xvii).

Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission at Urmi in Persia.<sup>1</sup> These three editions are based on independent sets of manuscripts. The Urmi Syriac text is the basis of the English translation given by Mr Brightman in his *Eastern Liturgies* pp. 252-305 (1896). For other translations, see Mr Brightman's volume, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii : there are no others that I know of which have any textual authority independent of the three editions just mentioned.

Next as regards the Malabar rite. No edition exists of this liturgy in its unrevised form, and diligent search for any manuscript of it has hitherto yielded no result. Hence our concern must be solely with the revised form of text which issued from the Synod of Diamper in 1599, and with those readings of the old text which the Acts of the Synod record. Of these readings no account need be taken in the present general comparison of the Malabar and the East-Syrian 'Addai and Mari' as liturgies ; they will call for attention in a subsequent Note, when it will be necessary to discuss the exact nature and extent of the changes introduced by Menezes.

The Acts of the Synod of Diamper were first published in Portuguese at Coimbra in Portugal, by Antonio de Gouvea,<sup>2</sup> in 1606, or seven years after the Synod. As an appendix to the Acts of the Synod Gouvea printed a Latin translation, made from the Syriac, of the Malabar liturgy as revised by Menezes.<sup>3</sup> Gouvea was a member of the Augustinian Order, to which Menezes himself belonged. He was sent to Goa in 1591, and remained in India, apparently, till 1602. Thus there can be no reasonable doubt that he had access to the Acts of the Synod in a perfectly authentic form, and to a copy of the liturgy containing just the alterations decreed by the Synod and no more. Copies of Gouvea's work are now very scarce ; but in 1745 the text of the Acts of the Synod contained in it was translated into Latin by another Augustinian, J. F. Raulin, in his *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo* (Rome). In this work Raulin's translation of the Acts from Gouvea's Portuguese is followed immediately by Gouvea's original Latin text of the revised Malabar Liturgy. In Raulin's book therefore we have in a convenient form the two documents which are the whole of the first-hand material available for our present purpose. Raulin's own treatment of these documents, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Liturgia sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris, &c., Urmiae, typis missionis archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.*

<sup>2</sup> In his *Jornado do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes.*

<sup>3</sup> To the text of the liturgy he added a short preface containing some important information on a textual point ; but this will not concern us in the present Note. The Acts will be found translated into English in *The History of the Church of Malabar*, by Michael Geddes, London, 1694. Geddes also translates Gouvea's preface to the liturgy, but not the liturgy itself.

capacity of editor or historian, may be interesting; but any observations or editorial notes of his must be kept in their proper place, and must not be confounded with the testimony of the documents themselves, which were *his* only authorities as they are ours.<sup>1</sup>

In the Concordance which presently follows I use the Urmi text of 'Addai and Mari' as the basis of comparison with the Malabar liturgy; but I use it in Mr Brightman's translation, since this can easily be consulted by all who may be interested in the present subject. It is necessary to point out, however, that Mr Brightman has supplied from other sources certain formulae not found in the Urmi Syriac edition of the *Takhsha*, or regular mass-book. The chief of these are a set of diptychs and a number of chants (hymns or anthems of various kinds). Some of these formulae are merely indicated in the rubrics of the Syriac edition; of others no mention is made at all. The meaning of this is that such pieces do not fall within the scope of the *Takhsha*, or missal, and are to be supplied in the service from other books. Thus the absence of such items (when they are absent) from the Malabar clearly has no significance as marking any difference in usage from the East-Syrian rite. But further, the Urmi Syriac text of the *Takhsha* itself is exceptionally full as compared with those represented by the translations of Renaudot and Badger (particularly that of Renaudot). I do not know exactly on what system the Urmi edition was made; but we may perhaps surmise that it is to some extent a compilation, and represents an aggregate of the contents of several manuscripts varying somewhat among themselves. However this may be, in taking the Urmi text as a basis of comparison we are putting the Malabar to a severe test; and it should be no matter for surprise that it fails to provide a parallel to every item that is to be found in the Urmi Syriac—much less that it falls short of Mr Brightman's still fuller text. What is really remarkable is that the Malabar has so much in common with these very exuberant documents as it actually has: the more so as we are dealing here with independent translations, into different languages, of the original Syriac texts; and one of these translations was made so long ago as the end of the sixteenth century, probably under no very favourable circumstances. In not a few of its omissions, as compared with the Urmi, the Malabar text is supported by that of Renaudot. In a number of cases I draw

<sup>1</sup> Dr Neale seems to fall into this error when he writes: 'Raulin, in his edition, professes to point out all the alterations made by the Synod, and to give, in a note, the original: but the least study of his work will shew that some important changes pass without the least notice by him' (*op. cit.* seventh ed. p. xxi). Raulin only professes to reproduce, in notes under the revised text of the liturgy, the original readings of altered passages *preserved in the Acts*. If he fails to do so here and there, or mistakes the meaning of a prescription, this should not be made to reflect on the trustworthiness of the Acts themselves.

attention to this in foot-notes, but not everywhere; and I make but one reference in the notes to Badger's text, though it offers some further support to 'Malabar' against 'Urmi'.

For the Malabar rite I use in the Concordance Gouvea's Latin text in the edition of Raulin.

It remains only to indicate the method of the Concordance. For convenience I divide the whole contents of the two documents into sections numbered with Roman numerals (I to VI). In the first column, headed *Urmi*, the contents of the Urmi edition are indicated in continuous order. The references to page and line accompanying the items are to Mr Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies* (= 'Br'). In the second column, headed *Malabar*, I give the relative contents of the Malabar text, with references to page and line of Raulin's edition. Here also the whole contents are indicated in continuous order, with the exception only of section II. In Section II the order of parts in the two documents differs materially, so that it was found necessary to treat it differently and separately from the rest.<sup>1</sup>

In such a table as the following it was not found possible to take account of textual differences; but it is to be understood in general that when two items stand opposite each other in the parallel columns, the formulae indicated by the cues which I supply are substantially the same: wherever this is not the case some sufficient indication of the fact is given. I have indicated only such rubrics as appeared to be of use for the purpose of the Concordance. For the rest, I think the table is sufficiently simple to explain itself.

## CONCORDANCE.

*I. From the beginning to the Trisagion (inclusive).*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Urmi</i> (reff. to Br).  | <i>Malabar</i> (Raulin).   |
| (1) <i>deest.</i>   | p. 293 ll. 1-6.  |
|   | Rubric.  |
| (2) p. 252 ll. 9-10.<br>'In the name of the Father',<br>&c.   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (3) p. 252 ll. 11-36.<br>'Glory to God in the highest'<br>and 'Our Father', farced<br>with <i>sanctus</i> . | p. 293 ll. 7-23.<br>'Gloria in excelsis Deo', &c. (in<br>like manner). |
| (4) p. 253 ll. 1-2.<br>Deacon's salutation: 'Peace',<br>&c.   | see (8) below.   |
| (5) p. 253 ll. 4-8.<br>Prayer before <i>Marmitha</i> :<br>'Strengthen', &c.                                 | p. 293 l. 24-p. 294 l. 5.<br>Prayer: 'Robora', &c.                     |

<sup>1</sup> For the method adopted for Section II see below, p. 413.

*Urmi.*

- (6) p. 253 note a.  
Alternative prayer to preceding.
- (7) p. 253 ll. 10-13.  
*Marmītha* of 4 Pss.: xcvi-xcviii and xxxv vv. 18-28 (cues only).
- (8) see (4) above.
- (9) p. 253 ll. 17-26.  
Prayer: 'Before the glorious throne', &c.
- (10) p. 253 note c.  
Alternative prayer to preceding.
- (11) p. 253 l. 29-p. 254 l. 17.  
'Anthem of the Sanctuary'.
- (12) p. 254 ll. 19-26.  
Prayer before the *Lākhumāra*:  
'When the sweet savour', &c.
- (13) p. 254 l. 28-p. 255 l. 12.  
The *Lukhumāra*: 'Thee, Lord', &c.
- (14) see (12) above.
- (15) p. 255 ll. 15-23.  
Trisagion.

*Malabar.*

- p. 294 ll. 7-11.  
Prayer (=Urmi, opposite).
- p. 294 l. 13-p. 295 l. 15.  
Pss. xv, cl, cxvii (=the alternative *Marmītha*, Br. p. 253 note b).
- p. 294 l. 16.  
Deacon's salutation: 'Pax', &c.
- p. 295 ll. 17-25.  
'Coram throno superglorioso', &c.
- p. 295 ll. 27-32.  
Prayer (=Urmi, opposite).
- deest.*<sup>1</sup>
- see (14) below.
- p. 295 l. 34-p. 296 l. 16.  
'Te Dominum', &c.
- p. 296 ll. 17-25.  
Prayer: 'Domine Deus noster, quando spirabit... odor suavissimus', &c.
- p. 296 ll. 26-34.  
Trisagion.

[II. From the lections to the Creed (inclusive).]<sup>2</sup>

## III. From Creed to 'Sursum corda'.

- (1) p. 271 ll. 9-17.  
Rubric containing prescription as to washing of hands.
- (2) p. 271 col. 1 l. 19-p. 272 col. 1 l. 11.
- deest hic.*<sup>3</sup>
- p. 307 l. 32-p. 308 l. 13.

<sup>1</sup> The text of this anthem is not given in the Urmi Syriac; it has been supplied from elsewhere by Mr Brightman. The Syr. has this rubric: 'And they say the Anthem of the Sanctuary, whatever it be.'

<sup>2</sup> I reserve the treatment of this section to the end, since the order of the service is so different here in the two documents that it is impossible to exhibit the relative portions by the same method as has been adopted for the rest of the liturgy. See below, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Malabar gives the washing earlier in the service. See on this p. 420 note 1 below.



## Urmi.

Deacon : ' Let us pray. Peace be with us'. Then the proclamation : ' Pray for the memorial of our fathers the catholici', &c.

- (3) p. 271 col. 2 ll. 24-43.  
Prayer : ' Glory be to thee the finder', &c.

- (4) p. 272 col. 2 ll. 1-12.  
Elaborate rubric as to worshipping before altar, ending : '*And he looks towards those on the right side . . . and worships towards them and says*'.

- (5) p. 272 ll. 13-15.  
' Bless, o my Lord. My brethren, pray for me that this offering be accomplished at my hands'.

- (6) p. 272 l. 16-p. 273 l. 32.  
Elaborate ceremony of worshipping before altar and kissing it.

- (7) p. 273 l. 34-p. 274 l. 4.  
Prayer (*cushāpa*) : ' Yea, o our Lord and our God', &c.

- (8) p. 274 ll. 5-18.  
Long rubric.<sup>1</sup>

- (9) p. 274 ll. 19-20.  
' Bless, o my Lord (*ter*). My brethren, pray for me'.<sup>2</sup>

- (10) p. 274 ll. 21-25.  
' *And they answer* : Christ hear thy prayers', &c.

- (11) see (7) above.

- (12) p. 274 ll. 28-38.  
Prayer (*gehānta*) : ' We confess', &c.

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly occupied with (a) general instructions as to attitude of priest in saying prayers called *gehānta*, (b) title to Anaphora portion of 'Addai and Mari' which begins here.

<sup>2</sup> This appears as a sort of doublet to (5) above : it is omitted in Renaudot (vol. ii p. 587).

## Malabar.

Deacon : ' Oremus : pax nobiscum : orate in memoriam reducentes Patres nostros Catholicos', &c.

- p. 308 ll. 14-25.  
' Sit tibi gloria inventor', &c.

- p. 308 ll. 26-27.

Rubric : ' *Odorat* [l. *Adorat*] *Sacerdos eos, qui a dextris altaris stant, et dicit eis*'.

- p. 308 ll. 28-30.  
' Benedicite Domini mei, et orate pro me, Patres mei, et fratres mei, ut consecretur oblatio haec per manus meas'.

*deest.*

see (11) below.

*deest.*

*deest.*

- p. 309 l. 1-p. 310 l. 3.  
' *Illi respondent cum diacono* : Christus exaudiat orationes tuas', &c.

- p. 310 l. 5-p. 311 l. 5.  
Prayer : ' Etiam Domine Deus noster'.

- p. 311 ll. 6-16.  
Prayer : ' Confitemur', &c.

## Urmi.

- (13) p. 275 ll. 3-5.  
'Peace be with you'.  
Response: 'And with thee  
and with thy spirit'.
- (14) p. 275 l. 10.  
Deacon: 'Let us pray  
Peace', &c.
- (15) p. 275 l. 11-p. 281 l. 25.  
Diptychs.<sup>2</sup>
- (16) p. 281 ll. 28-29.  
Deacon: 'Give the Peace  
one to another in the love  
of Christ'.  
Rubric: '*They give the peace  
one to another and say*'.
- (17) p. 281 l. 30-p. 282 l. 3.  
People: 'And for all catho-  
lici', &c.<sup>3</sup>
- (18) p. 282 col. 1 ll. 7-27.  
Deacon: 'Let us all confess  
and make request and  
beseech', &c.
- (19) p. 282 col. 2 ll. 8-14.  
Prayer (*cushāpa*): 'O Lord  
God of hosts', &c.
- (20) p. 282 col. 2 ll. 20-23.  
Rubric: '*And the priest . . .  
lifts the veil from the mys-  
teries . . . and says*'.
- (21) p. 282 col. 2 ll. 24-27.  
Prayer: 'Forasmuch', &c.
- (22) p. 282 ll. 29-33.  
Prayer of incense: 'O our  
Lord and our God', &c.

## Malabar.

- p. 311 ll. 18-19.  
'Pax vobiscum. Et tecum et cum  
Spiritu tuo'.
- deest*<sup>1</sup>
- deest*.
- p. 311 l. 20.  
Priest: 'Praebeto pacem alteru  
trum'.
- p. 311 ll. 21-29.  
'Et pro omnibus Patriarchis', &c.
- p. 311 l. 30-p. 312 l. 1.  
'Petamus, confiteamur, et obsecre-  
mus omnes', &c.
- p. 312 ll. 2-7.  
'Domine Deus fortis', &c.
- p. 312 marg. opp. ll. 5-9.  
'*Discooperit mysteria et benedicit  
incensum . . . et dicit Sac.*'
- deest*.
- deest*.

## IV. 'Sursum corda' to Fraction.

- (1) p. 283 ll. 4-6. p. 312 ll. 8-10.  
'The grace of our Lord', &c. 'Gratia Domini nostri', &c.
- (2) p. 283 l. 10. p. 312 l. 12.  
'Lift up your minds'. 'Sursum sint mentes vestrae'.

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 588) also omits.<sup>2</sup> Inserted by Mr Brightman from another source. Their proper place is after the kiss of peace, as the Urmi Syriac text indicates and other authorities shew (see *J. T. S.* vol. xiii p. 592).<sup>3</sup> The terms of this formula clearly have reference to the diptychs (cf. *Narsai* p. 10).

*Urmi.*

- (3) p. 283 l. 12.  
'Unto thee, God of Abraham',  
&c.
- (4) p. 283 l. 15.  
'The offering is being offered  
unto God the Lord of all'.
- (5) p. 283 l. 17.  
'It is fit and right'.
- (6) p. 283 l. 20.  
Deacon: 'Peace be with  
us'.
- (7) p. 283 ll. 23-26.  
*Cushāpa*: 'O Lord Lord, give  
us openness of face', &c.
- (8) *deest.*
- (9) p. 283 l. 32-p. 284 l. 8.  
Prayer (*gehānta*): 'Worthy of  
praise from every mouth',  
&c.
- (10) p. 284 ll. 10-17.  
'Holy, Holy, Holy . . . Ho-  
sanna in the highest'.
- (11) p. 284 ll. 21-36.  
Prayer (*cushāpa*): 'Holy',  
&c.
- (12) p. 284 ll. 38-39.  
'Bless, o my Lord (*ter*). My  
brethren, pray for me'.
- (13) p. 285 ll. 2-23.  
Prayer (*gehānta*): 'And with  
these heavenly hosts', &c.<sup>2</sup>
- (14) p. 285 l. 28.  
Deacon: 'Pray in your minds.  
Peace be with us'.
- (15) p. 285 l. 31-p. 286 l. 5.  
Prayer (*cushāpa*): 'O Lord  
God of hosts, accept', &c.  
(intercessory).<sup>3</sup>

*Malabar.*

- p. 312 ll. 13-14.  
'Apud te Deum Abraham', &c.
- p. 312 l. 15.  
'Oblatio Deo omnium Domino  
offertur'.
- p. 312 l. 16.  
'Dignum et iustum est'.
- p. 312 l. 16.  
'Pax nobiscum'.
- p. 312 ll. 17-25.  
'Domine Deus fortis da nobis  
facierum revelationem', &c.
- p. 312 l. 26.  
'Benedic Domine mi'.
- p. 312 ll. 27-40.  
'Omnium ore glorificetur', &c.
- p. 312 l. 41-p. 313 l. 3.  
'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus . . .  
Hosanna in excelsis'.
- p. 313 ll. 4-23.  
Prayer: 'Sanctus', &c.
- deest.*<sup>1</sup>
- p. 213 ll. 23-37.  
'Cum his igitur caelestibus exer-  
cibus', &c.
- p. 313 l. 38.  
'Orate mentibus vestris: Pax  
nobiscum'.
- p. 313 l. 39-p. 314 l. 9.  
'Domine Deus exercituum, audi  
vocem', &c. (intercessory:  
different from Urmi opposite).

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 590) also omits.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 12-18 are occupied by the words of Institution. These are not found in the MSS, but have been inserted by the English editors of the Urmi Syriac from 1 Cor. xv. They are placed in square brackets by Mr Brightman. Malabar has no Institution formula here. See below, Section V no. (7).

<sup>3</sup> The prayers in nos. (15) and (16) are variable formulae. They belong to the class of '*cushāpas*', on which see below, p. 424. No. (15) in Malabar is substantially

*Urmi.*

- (16) p. 286 note a.  
Alternative intercessory prayer  
to the preceding (also  
*cushāpa*).

- (17) p. 286 ll. 7-8.  
'Bless, o my Lord', &c.

- (18) p. 286 l. 11-p. 287 l. 27.  
Prayer (*gehānta*): 'Do thou,  
o my Lord', &c.

- (19) p. 287 col. 1 ll. 30-31.  
Deacon: 'In silence and awe  
stand ye and pray. Peace  
be with us'.

- (20) p. 287 l. 30-p. 288 l. 7.  
Invocation.

- (21) *see (24) below.*

*Malabar.*

- p. 314 ll. 10-22.  
Another intercessory prayer :  
different from that opposite.

*deest.*<sup>1</sup>

- p. 314 l. 23-p. 315 l. 8.  
'Tu Domine mi', &c.

*deest.*

- p. 315 ll. 9-21.  
Invocation (in same terms as in  
Urmi).

- p. 315 l. 23-p. 316 l. 8.  
Psalm 'Miserere', as far as 'et  
peccatores ad te convertantur';  
Ps. 'Ad te levavi oculos meos',  
as far as 'Miserere nobis,  
Domine'. Then: 'Extende  
manum tuam, et salvet me dex-  
tera tua, Domine, permaneant  
super me, Domine, amores tui  
in saeculum, et opera manuum  
tuarum ne derelinquas'.<sup>2</sup>

- (22) p. 288 ll. 13-20.  
Prayer: 'O Christ the peace  
of those above', &c.

- p. 316 ll. 9-18.  
'Christus pax superiorum', &c.

- (23) p. 288 ll. 22-31.  
Prayer: 'I thank thee, o  
Father', &c.

*deest.*<sup>3</sup>

- (24) p. 288 l. 33-p. 289 l. 5.  
A treatment of Pss. li and  
cxxxiii somewhat similar to  
that in Malabar at no. (21).

*see (21) above.*

- (25) p. 289 ll. 8-14.  
Prayer of incense: 'May our  
prayer', &c

*deest.*<sup>4</sup>

the same as the prayer found here in one of Renaudot's MSS (vol. ii p. 591)  
beginning: 'Domine Deus potens, exaudi vocem'.

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii, p. 591) also omits.

<sup>2</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 592) gives exactly this, and in the same position, from his  
'other codex' (sc. of 'Addai and Mari').

<sup>3</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 592) also omits.

<sup>4</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 593) also omits.

V. *The Fraction to the Lord's Prayer.*

## Urmi.

- (1) p. 289 ll. 16-19.  
Rubric introductory to fraction: '*The order of signing and breaking . . . and he censes his hands and his face saying*'.
- (2) p. 289 ll. 20-26.  
'Sweeten, o our Lord and our God', &c.
- (3) p. 289 ll. 30-32.  
'The mercifulness of thy grace, o our Lord and our God, bringeth us nigh', &c.
- (4) p. 289 ll. 34-36.  
Deacon: 'In truth, o my Lord, we are not worthy. Have pity', &c.
- (5) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 1-4.  
Rubric: '*And the priest takes the bûchra . . . in both his hands . . . and says*'.
- (6) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 5-13.  
'Praise to thine holy name', &c.
- (7) *deest.*
- (8) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 18-20.  
'Glory be to thee, o my Lord (*ter*), for thine unspeakable gift towards us for ever'.

## Malabar.

- p. 316 margin opposite ll. 19-23.  
Rubric: '*Sac. benedicat incensum et mittens in thuribulum dicit*'<sup>1</sup>.
- p. 316 ll. 19-23.  
'Offeramus carmen Trinitati tuae supergloriosae, omni tempore, et in saecula. Suavem fac Domine Deus noster', &c. (Malabar omits the last 4 lines of the prayer in Urmi.)
- p. 316 ll. 24-27.  
'Domine Deus noster praebeat nobis accessum clementia misericordiae tuae', &c.
- p. 316 l. 28.  
'In veritate non sumus digni' (omitting what follows in Urmi).
- p. 316 marg. opposite l. 29.  
Rubric: '*Sumens ambabus manibus hostiam dicit*'.
- p. 316 ll. 29-35.  
'Gloria nomini tuo sancto', &c.
- p. 316 l. 35-p. 318 l. 5.  
The Institution.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 318 ll. 5-7.  
'Gloria tibi Domine mi (*ter*), propter ineffabile donum tuum'.

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 593 l. 2) has here: '*Imponit incensum, quo se ipsum perfundit, et dicit: Suavem fac Domine Deus noster*', &c. See no. (2) below.

<sup>2</sup> The presence and position of this formula in Malabar will be discussed in a subsequent Note. The rubrics as to genuflexion and elevation are obviously additions on the part of the revisers (see Raulin, p. 145: '*nec non eadem adorationes, inclinationes, et ceremoniae fiant, quae in Missali Romano praescribuntur*').

## Urmi.

- (9) p. 290 col. 1 ll. 3-28.  
Chant: 'I am the bread  
which came down', &c.<sup>1</sup>
- (10) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 24-33.  
'He holds the *buchra* firmly  
with both hands and says:  
We draw nigh, o my  
Lord', &c.
- (11) p. 290 l. 36-p. 291 l. 22.  
Long rubric as to method  
of breaking and signing:  
'While naming the Trinity  
he breaks' . . . And he puts  
the half which is in his left  
hand in its place . . . And  
with the half in his right  
hand he signs the blood in  
the chalice . . . dipping a  
third part . . . into the  
chalice . . .'.  
(12) p. 291 ll. 24-29.  
'The precious blood is  
signed', &c. . .
- (13) p. 291 ll. 30-35.  
Rubric: ' . . . And so he signs  
the body in the paten in like  
manner with the same half  
which is in his hand saying'.
- (14) p. 291 ll. 36-41.  
'The holy body is signed', &c.
- (15) p. 292 ll. 1-5.  
Rubric: 'And he holds both  
the halves in his two hands  
and joins them together . . .'.  
(16) p. 292 ll. 6-21.  
'These glorious and holy and

## Malabar.

- p. 318 l. 10-p. 321 l. 4.  
Deacon and choir: 'Ego sum  
panis', &c.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 321 ll. 5-9.  
'Accedimus Domine mi', &c.
- p. 321 ll. 10-12.  
Rubric: '*Sacerdos partem Hostiae,  
quam manu sinistra tenet, im-  
ponit patenae, aliam vero San-  
guine intingit, usque ad medium,  
dicens*'.
- p. 321 ll. 13-15.  
'Signetur Sanguis pretiosus', &c.
- p. 321 ll. 16-17.  
'*Et particula sanguine inducta sig-  
nat alteram partem, et superponit  
patenae, dicens*'.
- p. 321 ll. 18-20.  
'Signetur Corpus sanctum', &c.
- p. 322 l. 1.  
'*Et coniungens ambas particulas ad  
invicem dicit*'.
- p. 322 ll. 2-8.  
'Praedestinata' sunt consecrata,

<sup>1</sup> This is not indicated in the Urmi Syriac, but Renaudot has it at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Malabar has several verses more than are given in Brightman and Renaudot.

<sup>3</sup> After a few words the rubric continues: '*And some here sign the *perista* with their thumb at the time of breaking: but do thou beware of such an audacity*', &c. But below, no. (17), Urmi has a rubric actually prescribing this forbidden practice. Is it the case that the prohibition above was inserted by the modern editors of the Urmi Syriac text? As to this rite in Malabar and its suppression see note to no. (17) below.

<sup>4</sup> This obviously translates the same Syriac verb that is rendered 'set apart', opposite. The word sometimes means 'devoted' to a particular purpose.

*Urmi.*

life-giving and divine mysteries have been set apart and consecrated and perfected and fulfilled', &c.

- (17) p. 292 ll. 22-36.  
 Rubric: '*And at now he cleaves a cleft with his thumb at the part which was dipped in the blood . . . and says*'.

- (18) p. 292 ll. 37-39.  
 'Christ accept thy ministry', &c.

- (19) p. 292 l. 43-p. 293 l. 11.  
 'Glory be to thee, o our Lord Jesus Christ', &c.

- (20) p. 293 ll. 17-19.  
 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ', &c.

- (21) p. 293 col. 1 l. 28-p. 294 l. 27.  
 Deacon's proclamation: 'Let us all with awe and reverence', &c.

- (22) p. 293 col. 2 ll. 28-36.  
 'Blessed art thou, o Lord God of our fathers', &c.

- (23) p. 294 l. 30-p. 295 l. 10.  
 Diaconal litany: 'We condone . . . O Lord, pardon the sins', &c.

- (24) see (22) above.

- (25) *deest.*

*Malabar.*

perfecta absoluta, . . . mysteria haec supergloriosa, sancta et vivificantia et divina', &c.

*deest.*<sup>1</sup>

*deest.*

p. 322 ll. 9-16.  
 'Gloria tibi Domine mi, quoniam creasti me', &c.<sup>2</sup>

p. 322 ll. 17-19.  
 'Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi', &c.

p. 322 l. 21-p. 323 l. 14.  
 Deacon: 'Omnes nos timore pariter, et honore', &c.

see (24) below.

p. 323 ll. 15-34.  
 Litany: 'Propitiare peccatis', &c.

p. 323 l. 35-p. 324 l. 1.  
 'Benedictus es Domine Deus Patrum nostrorum', &c. (To be said while the choir sing no. (23) above.)<sup>3</sup>

p. 324 ll. 1-18.  
 Continuation of prayer in (24).

<sup>1</sup> See note to no. (11) above. The Acts of Diamper mention this practice as in use in Malabar, and condemn it (Raulin, p. 154). Evidently a rubric about it has been suppressed here.

<sup>2</sup> A different formula from that of Urmi, but the same as that in Renaudot at this point (ii pp. 594-595).

<sup>3</sup> Thus in Malabar no. (23) is simultaneous with no. (24); and the two items might as well have been indicated in the reverse order, as in Urmi.

## Urmi.

- (26) p. 295 l. 12.  
Deacon : 'Let us pray.  
Peace', &c.
- (27) p. 295 ll. 14-29.  
'Pardon, o my Lord, by thy  
compassion the sins and  
transgressions of thy ser-  
vants', &c.
- (28) p. 295 l. 31-p. 296 l. 4.  
'Our Father', &c.
- (29) p. 296 ll. 6-12.  
'O Lord God of hosts our  
good God', &c.
- (30) p. 296 ll. 14-21.  
'Yea, o our Lord', &c. (An  
alternative prayer to pre-  
ceding.)

## Malabar.

- deest.*<sup>1</sup>
- p. 324 ll. 19-27.  
'Dele Domine mi peccata, et  
delicta servorum tuorum', &c.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 324 ll. 28-33.  
'Pater noster', &c.
- p. 324 l. 34-p. 325 l. 2.  
'Etiam Domine Deus virtutum,  
Deus noster optime', &c.
- deest.*<sup>3</sup>

## VI. From the Lord's Prayer to the end.

- (1) p. 296 ll. 26-28.  
'Peace be with you'.  
'And with thee and with thy  
Spirit'.  
p. 325 ll. 4-5.  
'Pax vobiscum'.  
'Et tecum, et cum Spiritu tuo'.
- (2) p. 296 l. 30.  
'The holy thing to the holies  
is fitting in perfection'.  
p. 325 ll. 6-7.  
'Sanctum Sanctis decet, Domine  
mi, in consummationem'.
- (3) p. 296 ll. 32-34.  
'One holy Father', &c.  
p. 325 ll. 8-10.  
'Unus Pater sanctus', &c.
- (4) p. 297 ll. 4-26.  
Chant : 'Terrible art thou',  
&c.  
*deest.*<sup>4</sup>
- (5) p. 297 l. 30.  
Deacon : 'Let us pray.  
Peace', &c.  
*deest.*<sup>5</sup>
- (6) p. 297 l. 31.  
Rubric : 'And the priest takes  
the hand of the deacon and  
places it on the chalice say-  
ing'.  
p. 325 ll. 11-13.  
'Accedens diaconus ad altare,  
Sacerdos apprehendit manum eius  
dexteram, et infert in patenam,  
dicens'.

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 595) also omits.<sup>2</sup> Malabar here agrees with Renaudot in omitting what is in Urmi, l. 21-l. 25 (second word).<sup>3</sup> Renaudot also omits (*ibid.*).<sup>4</sup> Absent also from the Urmi Syriac and from Renaudot.<sup>5</sup> Renaudot, p. 596 : 'Precemur pacem nobiscum'.



*Urmi.*

- (7) p. 297 ll. 32-37.  
Priest: 'The grace of the Holy Ghost be with thee and with us and with the partakers thereof', &c.  
Deacon: 'With thee and with us and with the partakers thereof in the kingdom of heaven'.
- (8) p. 298 l. 2.  
Deacon: 'Praise ye the living God'.
- (9) p. 298 col. 1 ll. 5-11.  
Antiphon: 'Blessed be thy body', &c.
- (10) p. 298 col. 2 ll. 1-15.  
Rite of handing paten and chalice to deacon for the communion.
- (11) p. 298 l. 17.  
Deacon: 'Bless, o my Lord'.
- (12) p. 298 ll. 20-21.  
'The gift of the grace', &c.
- (13) p. 298 l. 23.  
People: 'World without end Amen'.
- (14) p. 298 col. 1 ll. 26-29.  
Antiphon: 'My brethren, receive the body of the Son, saith the Church', &c.
- (15) p. 298 col. 2 ll. 26-36.  
Formulae for giving communion.
- (16) *see* (14) *above*.
- (17) p. 298 col. 1 l. 32-p. 299 l. 30.  
Anthem of the *Bema*.
- (18) p. 300 ll. 3-36.  
Thanksgiving hymn: 'Strengthen, o our Lord', &c.

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- p. 325 ll. 14-16.  
Deacon: 'Gloria (*sic*) Domini nostri'.
- Priest: 'Sit tecum, et nobiscum in regno caelesti, Gloria Deo vivo'.
- p. 325 l. 17.  
Deacon: 'Glorificate Deum vivum'.
- p. 325 ll. 18-28.  
A different chant: 'Gloria ipsi', &c.
- deest.*
- deest.*
- p. 325 ll. 29-30.  
'Donum gratiae', &c.
- p. 326 l. 1.  
Deacon: 'In saecula saeculorum. Amen'.
- see* (16) *below*.
- p. 326 ll. 2-4.  
Formula when priest receives the chalice.
- p. 326 ll. 5-6.  
'Fratres mei suscipite Corpus ipsius Filii,<sup>1</sup> dicit Ecclesia', &c.
- deest.*<sup>2</sup>
- p. 326 ll. 7-24.  
Deacon: 'Conforta Domine nos-ter', &c.

<sup>1</sup> This is the original reading of Malabar: the revisers add 'Dei' after 'Filii'.

<sup>2</sup> This anthem is not indicated in the Urmi Syriac text, nor yet in Renaudot's MS.

*Urmi.*

- (19) p. 300 l. 37-p. 301 l. 23.  
Second hymn (or second part  
of the preceding one):  
'Cause all harms', &c.
- (20) p. 301 ll. 28-32.  
Deacon: 'Let us all then',  
&c.
- (21) p. 301 ll. 34-35.  
People: 'Glory be to him for  
his unspeakable gift'.
- (22) p. 301 l. 37.  
Deacon: 'Let us pray. Peace  
be with us'.
- (23) p. 302 ll. 2-10.  
Priest: 'It is fitting, o my  
Lord, every day and it is  
right at all times and meet  
every hour', &c.
- (24) p. 302 l. 13.  
People: 'Bless, o my Lord'.
- (25) p. 302 ll. 15-25.  
Priest: 'Christ our God and  
our Lord', &c.
- (26) p. 302 l. 29-p. 303 l. 14.  
Chant: Psalms with farcing.
- (27) p. 303 l. 16.  
'Our Father'.
- (28) p. 303 l. 23-p. 304 l. 8.  
The 'seal' (blessing).
- (29) *deest.*
- (30) *deest.*<sup>2</sup>
- (31) *deest.*

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- deest.*
- p. 326 ll. 24-29.  
'Nos omnes igitur', &c. (As con-  
tinuation of no. (18) above.)
- p. 326 l. 30.  
Priest: 'Ipsi gloria propter in-  
effabile eius donum'.
- deest.*
- p. 326 l. 31-p. 327 l. 2.  
Priest: 'Decens, iustum, et di-  
gnum est, Domine, ut omnibus  
temporibus, et diebus, et horis',  
&c.
- deest.*
- p. 327 ll. 4-14.  
'Christus Deus noster, et Dominus  
noster', &c.
- deest.*
- p. 327 ll. 15-20.  
'Pater noster', &c.
- p. 327 l. 22-p. 329 l. 7.  
Blessing (different from that  
opposite).<sup>1</sup>
- p. 329 l. 9-p. 331 l. 9.  
Another blessing: '*in diebus solen-  
nibus*'.
- p. 331 l. 11-p. 332 l. 27.  
Another blessing: '*in diebus feria-  
libus*'.
- p. 332 l. 29-p. 333 l. 18.  
Another blessing: '*in Missa pro  
defunctis*'.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the Urmi Syriac edition of the *Takhsha* (the vol. hitherto referred to as 'Urmi Syriac') is a series of these blessings, or 'seals', for different occasions: they are all in metre. The blessing given here in Malabar is to be found in the *Takhsha* on pp. 153-154.

<sup>2</sup> For the blessing opposite see the Urmi *Takhsha* pp. 162-163.

This is the end of the main part of the Concordance. It remains to deal with Section II (Lections to Creed, inclusive) which, owing to the fact that the Malabar text has here a different order from that in Urmi, was held over for separate treatment. The only possible method of dealing with this section is first to break it up into a number of subdivisions; then to give a general table shewing the different order in which these subdivisions occur in Urmi and Malabar; and finally to shew by a series of separate tables how each of these subdivisions is composed in Urmi and Malabar respectively. On examination the whole Section is found to be divisible into six parts, in each of which it is possible to compare Urmi and Malabar together by parallelizing the constituent items in continuous order, as in the main body of the Concordance.

In the first table these six subdivisions are ranged in the order in which they are found in Urmi; the numerals in the second column shew the relative position of each piece in Malabar.

*II. From the Lections to the Creed (inclusive).*

<i>Urmi.</i>	<i>Malabar.</i>
A 1 Lections (Br p. 255 l. 25–p. 261 l. 28).	5 (Raulin p. 305 l. 3–p. 307 l. 29.)
B 2 First and second litanies, with censings of paten (Br p. 262 l. 1–p. 266 l. 11).	1 (Raulin p. 296 l. 35–p. 300 l. 39.)
C 3 Third litany (Br p. 266 ll. 13–33).	3 (Raulin p. 303 l. 23–p. 304 l. 10.)
D 4 Expulsion of catechumens (Br p. 266 l. 36–p. 267 l. 28).	4 (Raulin p. 304 l. 11–p. 305 l. 2.)
E 5 Setting of mysteries on the altar (Br p. 267 l. 29–p. 270 l. 26).	2 (Raulin p. 301 l. 1–p. 303 l. 22.)
F 6 Creed (Br p. 270 l. 30–p. 271 l. 7).	6 (Raulin p. 307 l. 30.)

The following tables shew how each of the above subdivisions of Section II is constituted in Urmi and Malabar respectively.

*A. The Lections.*

<i>Urmi</i> 1.	=	<i>Malabar</i> 5.
(1) p. 255 ll. 25–33. Prayers before the lections.		<i>deest.</i>

- |      |   |   |  |
|------|---|---|--|
|      | <i>Urmi</i> 1.  | = | <i>Malabar</i> 5.  |
| (2)  | p. 256 ll. 2-5.<br>Lessons from O. T. and Acts. <sup>1</sup>                          |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (3)  | p. 256 ll. 7-28.<br>' <i>Shurrāya</i> '. <sup>2</sup>                                 |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (4)  | <i>see</i> (10) <i>below</i> .  |   | p. 305 l. 3.<br>Deacon (?): 'Oremus, pax nobiscum'.  |
| (5)  | p. 256 l. 30-p. 257 l. 3.<br>Prayer before Apostle: 'Enlighten', &c.                  |   | p. 305 ll. 4-12.<br>Prayer: 'Illumina', &c.  |
| (6)  | p. 256 note <i>a</i> .<br>Alternative prayer to last: 'Do thou, o wise governor', &c. |   | p. 305 ll. 14-20.<br>Prayer: 'Te sapientissimum gubernatorem', &c.                                       |
| (7)  | <i>deest.</i>   |   | p. 305 l. 21.<br>Deacon: 'Silete'.   |
| (8)  | p. 257 l. 5.<br>Deacon: 'Bless, o my Lord'.   |   | p. 305 ll. 22-23.<br>Priest: 'Paulus Apostolus Epistola: ad Corinthios Fratres mei; benedic, Domine mi'. |
| (9)  | p. 257 ll. 7-8.<br>Priest: 'Christ make thee wise', &c.                               |   | p. 305 l. 24.<br>Deacon: 'Benedicat te Christus'. <sup>3</sup>   |
| (10) | p. 257 l. 11.<br>Deacon: 'Let us pray. Peace', &c.                                    |   | <i>see</i> (4) <i>above</i> .  |
| (11) | [p. 257 ll. 13-36<br><i>Turgāma</i> before the Apostle.] <sup>4</sup>                 |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (12) | p. 257 l. 38.<br>The Apostle.   |   | p. 305 l. 25-p. 306 l. 20.<br>The Apostle: 1 Cor. v 1 &c.—full text.                                     |
| (13) | [p. 258 l. 4.<br>'Glory to the Lord of Paul'.] <sup>5</sup>                           |   | p. 306 l. 21.<br>'Gloria Christo Domino'.  |
| (14) | p. 258 ll. 6-11.<br>Prayer: 'Thee, o brightness', &c.                                 |   | p. 306 ll. 22-28.<br>Prayer: 'Te splendorem', &c.  |

<sup>1</sup> In the *Urmi Syr.* text they are simply called 'the lections', without further specification.

<sup>2</sup> Text of this *shurrāya* not given in *Urmi Syr.*, only the rubric: 'And they add the *shurrāya* that is appropriate'.

<sup>3</sup> It looks as if this should have been given to the priest, and the preceding remark to the deacon.

<sup>4</sup> There is no sign of this in the *Urmi Syr.* text.

<sup>5</sup> Not in *Urmi Syr.*; it is added in *Br* from information as to modern practice.

- | <i>Urmi</i> 1.  | = | <i>Malabar</i> 5.   |
|---|---|---|
| (15) p. 258 ll. 13-15.<br>Priest who goes to make<br>ready the Gospel: 'Glory<br>to the eternal mercy', &c. |   | <i>deest.</i>   |
| (16) p. 258 ll. 17-21.<br>Prayer: 'Make us wise', &c.   |   | p. 306 ll. 29-33.<br>Prayer: 'Sapientem me fac', &c.  |
| (17) p. 258 ll. 23-28.<br>Prayer of the censer.   |   | <i>deest.</i>   |
| (18) [p. 258 l. 31-p. 259 l. 3.<br><i>Zummāra.</i> ] <sup>1</sup>   |   | <i>deest.</i>   |
| (19) p. 259 l. 5.<br>Deacon: 'Stand we pre-<br>pared', &c.  |   | <i>deest.</i>   |
| (20) p. 259 l. 7.<br>Deacon: 'Be silent and still'.   |   | p. 306 l. 34.<br>Deacon: 'Silentium est, silete'.   |
| (21) [p. 259 l. 9-p. 260 l. 28.<br><i>Turgāma</i> before Gospel.] <sup>2</sup>                              |   | <i>deest.</i>   |
| (22) p. 260 l. 30.<br>Priest: 'Peace be with you'.  |   | p. 306 l. 35.<br>Priest: 'Pax nobiscum'. <sup>3</sup>   |
| (23) p. 260 l. 32.<br>'And with thee and with thy<br>spirit'.   |   | p. 307 l. 1.<br>'Et tecum et cum spiritu tuo'.  |
| (24) <i>deest.</i>  |   | p. 307 ll. 2-6.<br>Priest: 'Evangelium sanctum<br>Domini nostri Iesu Christi,<br>praedicatio Ioannis'. Deacon:<br>'Gloria Christo Domino'. Priest:<br>'Benedic, Domine mi'. Deacon:<br>'Benedicat te Christus'. |
| (25) p. 260 ll. 34-36.<br>Gospel. Deacon: 'Glory be<br>to Christ our Lord'.                                 |   | p. 307 ll. 7-29.<br>Gospel: John v 19 sqq.—full text.<br>D.: 'Gloria Christo Domino'.   |
| (26) [p. 261 ll. 1-38.<br>Anthem of the Gospel.] <sup>4</sup>   |   | <i>deest.</i>   |

<sup>1</sup> Not indicated in Urmi Syr.

<sup>2</sup> Not indicated in Urmi Syr.

<sup>3</sup> We expect 'vobiscum' in the priest's salutation; in Syriac liturgies the deacon always (so far as I know) says 'nobiscum', the priest 'vobiscum'.

<sup>4</sup> Nothing of this in Urmi Syr.

B. *The first and second litanies.*<sup>1</sup>

Urmi 2.	=	Malabar 1.
(1) p. 262 col. 1 ll. 4-12. Deacon: 'Let us all stand up as is right', &c.		p. 296 l. 35-p. 297 l. 2. 'Stemus omnes pulchre', &c.
(2) p. 262 col. 1 l. 14-p. 263 l. 19. The first litany.		p. 297 l. 3-p. 298 l. 1. The first litany. <sup>2</sup>
(3) p. 263 l. 22. Deacon: 'Let us pray: peace be with us'.		p. 298 l. 2. Deacon: 'Oremus, pax nobis- cum'.
(4) p. 263 l. 23-p. 266 l. 11. The second litany.		p. 298 l. 3-p. 300 l. 17. The second litany.

[The Urmi Syriac does not contain the text of the litanies, but immediately after the reading of the Gospel it refers to them in a rubric. It is this rubric that occupies Br p. 262 col. 2; but as Mr Brightman has had to modify it somewhat in order to adapt it to the insertion of the text of the litanies, I now give it as it stands in the Syriac.]

- (5) p. 262 col. 2 (Br) p. 300 ll. 19-39.
- '*And the deacon says the kārōzūtha (= litany) Father of mercies, and its companion*'.  
*And while it is being said they both (sc. priest and deacon) go, and the deacon takes the censer, and the priest censens the paten.*
- '*Dum haec Diaconus recitat, Sacerdos in medio altaris accipit patenam, et praebente thura diacono, et tenente thuribulum ambabus manibus cum igne, immittit incensum in ignem in formam crucis, et patenam thuris odore imbuit*'. [Here follow prayers for the censuring of the paten, veil, and chalice.]
- And he takes the paten and puts in it as many bukhras (= loaves) as he desires; and he sets the paten on the treasury until the kārōzūtha*
- [Here in Malabar follows the formal setting of the mysteries on the altar: see table E below.]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Malabar these follow immediately upon the Trisagion. See Sec. I no. (15).

<sup>2</sup> Malabar omits the petitions marked in Br with a †, i.e. those 'said only on Sundays, feasts of our Lord, and memorials of saints'.

<sup>3</sup> Though in the Urmi text the bread and wine are placed on the altar at a later point (viz. after the expulsion of catechumens, which follows the litanies), yet Badger's text prescribes this rite in connexion with the litanies. Thus, although Badger's text agrees with Urmi in placing the litanies after the Scripture lessons, it agrees with Malabar in connecting the presentation of the bread and wine with the litanies. See below, p. 422.

*Urmi 2.* = *Malabar 1.*  
*is ended. And when the*  
*kārozūtha is ended, [the*  
*priest says: 'Thee, Lord*  
*of hosts, we beseech', &c.*  
 (See Br p. 266 ll. 27-33 :  
 after the third litany)].

C. *The third litany.*

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <i>Urmi 3.</i>  | = | <i>Malabar 3.</i>  |
| (1) p. 266 ll. 13-25.<br>The litany.                                  |   | p. 303 l. 23-p. 304 l. 1.<br>The litany.                       |
| (2) p. 266 ll. 27-33.<br>Prayer: 'We beseech and<br>ask of thee', &c. |   | p. 304 ll. 2-10.<br>Prayer: 'Rogamus et obsecramus<br>te', &c. |

D. *The expulsions.*

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <i>Urmi 4.</i>   | = | <i>Malabar 4.</i>  |
| (1) p. 266 ll. 36-37.<br>Deacon: 'Bow down your<br>heads', &c. |   | p. 304 ll. 11-12.<br>Deacon: 'Inclinate capita vestra',<br>&c.   |
| (2) p. 267 ll. 3-22.<br>Prayer: 'O Lord God of<br>hosts', &c.  |   | p. 304 ll. 14-35.<br>Prayer: 'Domine Deus fortis',<br>&c.        |
| (3) p. 267 ll. 25-28.<br>Formulae of expulsion.                |   | p. 304 l. 36-p. 305 l. 2.<br>Formulae of expulsion (as in Urmi). |

E. *Setting the mysteries on the altar.*

[In this subdivision of Section II it is necessary to follow the Urmi Syriac text, in which formulae and rubrics follow each other in continuous sequence; for Mr Brightman's arrangement here of the text in parallel columns obscures certain points of agreement between Urmi and Malabar: thus the anthem 'I waited patiently for the Lord', which is given continuously in Br pp. 267-268 col. 1, is in the Syriac, as in Malabar, divided in two, and between the two parts comes the whole of what is given in Br col. 2 p. 267 l. 33-p. 268 l. 22. For all that concerns the setting of the mysteries on the altar therefore I give my own translation of the Syriac and follow its order.

But note that this *does not apply to the first three items of the table*: these are concerned with the mixing of the chalice, which in the Urmi text does not fall within the liturgy itself, but belongs to the rite of the 'Preparation of the Oblation' which comes before the liturgy. As the formulae for the mixing of the chalice in Malabar agree with those in the Urmi 'Preparation' (Br p. 251), I follow Mr Brightman's translation for the latter.]

Urmi 5.

=

Malabar 2.

- (1) p. 251 ll. 35-38 (Br).  
 '... and (he) pours wine into the chalice ... saying: The precious blood of our Saviour is poured into this chalice: in the name of the Father', &c.
- (2) p. 251 ll. 39-42 (Br).  
 'Then he takes a jar of water and pours it into the chalice ... saying: Water is mixed with wine and wine with water, and let them both be one: in the name', &c. (So Malabar at no. (3) below.)
- (3) p. 251 l. 43-p. 252 l. 4 (Br).  
 'He takes the flagon of wine and pours it into the chalice saying' (John xix 34, 35). (So Malabar at no. (2) above.)
- (4) p. 6 ll. 10-11 (Urmi Syr).  
 Rubric as to placing paten and chalice on altar (= Br p. 267 col. 2 ll. 29-32).
- (5) see (7) below.
- (6) p. 6 ll. 12-17.  
 First half of anthem: as far as 'Holy, Lord God' (= Br p. 267 col. 1 l. 30-p. 268 col. 1 l. 2).
- (7) p. 6 ll. 18-19.  
 Rubric: priest holds paten in
- p. 301 ll. 1-3.  
 'Mittens vinum in calicem dicit Sacerdos: Misceatur pretiosus sanguis<sup>1</sup> in calice Domini nostri I. Chr.: in nomine Patris', &c.
- p. 301 ll. 4-8.  
 'Infundens aquam dicit: Venit unus ex militibus', &c. (John xix 34, 35). (As Urmi at no. (3) below.)
- p. 301 ll. 9-11.  
 'Rursus infundens vinum dicit: Misceatur aqua vino, et vinum aqua in nomine', &c. (As Urmi at (no. 2) above.)
- p. 301 ll. 12-14.  
 Rubric as to placing paten and chalice on altar (different wording from Urmi).
- p. 301 ll. 15-17.  
 Rubric continued: priest holds paten in left hand and chalice in right.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 301 ll. 18-26.  
 Anthem: as far as 'Sanctus Dominus Deus'.<sup>3</sup>
- see (5) above.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pretiosus sanguis' is the original reading; it was altered by the revisers to 'vinum' (see Acts of Synod of Diamper in Raulin, p. 148).

<sup>2</sup> There is not the least reason for suspecting the genuineness of this rubric with Dr Neale, much less for thinking that it 'is evidently taken from the Roman Missal'! (*op. cit.* p. 153 note 5). There is nothing at all resembling it in the Roman rite.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'panem sanctum et calicem pretiosum' in this Anthem were originally 'corpus Christi et sanguinem eius pretiosum', as in Urmi (cf. Acts of Diamper, Raulin, p. 148).



Urmi 5.

=

Malabar 2.

left hand and chalice in  
right (=Br p. 267 col. 2  
ll. 33-35).

- (8) p. 6 l. 20.  
Deacon: 'Let us pray: peace  
be with us' (=Br p. 267  
col. 2 l. 37).
- (9) p. 6 ll. 20-24.  
Prayer: 'Let us send up  
glory to thy Trinity', &c.  
(=Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 2-  
10).
- (10) p. 6 l. 24.  
Rubric: '*And he strikes the  
paten on the chalice three  
times and says each time*'  
(=Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 11-  
13).
- (11) p. 6 l. 24-p. 7 l. 2.  
'By thy command, our Lord  
and our God, are set and  
ordered these mysteries',  
&c. (Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 14-  
22).
- (12) p. 7 l. 3.  
Rubric: '*And he worships  
the mysteries on the altar,  
and they cover the mysteries  
with the veil carefully*'  
(=Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 23-  
25).
- (13) p. 7 ll. 4-10.  
'Glory to the Father': and  
the rest of the anthem  
(=Br p. 268 col. 1 ll. 7-  
31).
- (14) see (12) above.
- p. 301 l. 27.  
Deacon (?): 'Oremus: pax nobis-  
cum'.
- p. 302 ll. 1-7.  
Prayer: 'Offeratur, et gloria im-  
moletur Trinitati tuae',<sup>1</sup> &c.
- p. 302 l. 8.  
Rubric: '*Sacerdos superponens  
altari oblata, silentio dicit*'.
- p. 302 ll. 9-13.  
'Constituantur et ordinentur  
mysteria haec', &c.
- see (14) below.
- p. 302 l. 14-p. 303 l. 17.  
'*Elevans vocem dicit*: Gloria  
Patri': and rest of anthem.
- p. 303 ll. 18-21.  
Rubric: '*Operiens oblata Sacerdos  
dicit*:  
Amictus lumine sicut vestimento',  
&c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Latin translation seems to be somehow at fault here. The Acts of the Synod (Raulin, p. 148) read 'gloriae', which does not help.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a verse, or antiphon, of the anthem: it does not appear in Urmi.

- Urmi 5. = Malabar 2.  
 (15) *deest hic.*<sup>1</sup> p. 303 l. 22.  
 Rubric : '*Dum Sacerdos lavat manus dicit Diaconus*'. [Here follows the third litany : see table D above.]
- (16) p. 7 l. 11-p. 8 l. 3. *deest.*  
 'And they go forth to the nave ;  
 and the priest lades the  
 deacons with the cross and the Gospel, and says : Christ our Lord  
 account you worthy to meet Him with open face, Amen. And  
 they bind (back) the veils (of the sanctuary) ; and the priest begins  
 the Anthem of the Mysteries, whichever it be,<sup>2</sup> and those in the  
 altar repeat it. And the priest worships towards the four sides of  
 the bema . . . [the number and direction of these obeisances is  
 here prescribed] and he says Glory be in the Anthem of the  
 Mysteries. And he comes down and is saluted<sup>3</sup> by the people ; and  
 when he reaches the deacons they worship towards him, facing each  
 other<sup>4</sup> ; and he says to them : May God the Lord of all (&c.).  
 And when he arrives at the door of the apse, which is the altar, he  
 says : Having our hearts besprinkled (&c.). He proceeds : But  
 thou art good (&c.) ; or if there is no room (for this) he says : Our  
 Lord Jesus Christ be with us' (&c.) (= Br p. 268 ll. 32-36, and  
 p. 269 col. 2 l. 1-p. 270 col. 2 l. 26).

#### F. The Creed.

Urmi Br p. 270 l. 30-p. 271 l. 7 ; Malabar p. 307 l. 30 (after the Gospel).

If the foregoing Concordance is examined there would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that the Malabar Liturgy, which in Gouvea's Latin version bears the title *Sacrum B.B. Apostolorum*, is, as Bickell says, 'identical' with the East-Syrian liturgy of the 'Apostles' Addai

<sup>1</sup> In Urmi the washing of hands comes later, after the Creed (Br p. 271 l. 13). But in giving the lavatory in connexion with the Anthem of the Mysteries and the ordering of the bread and wine on the altar, Malabar has the support of the mediaeval Nestorian commentator known as George of Arbela, who expressly says in his Exposition of the Offices of the Church (Bk. iv chap. 14) that the priest washes his hands in the bema during the anthem and the setting on of the bread and wine by the deacons ; whereas the Creed was said in the sanctuary, whither the celebrant and assistant presbyters came in solemn procession from the bema after the mysteries were placed on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Brightman gives (pp. 269, 270 col. 1) the text of one of these anthems from some other source.

<sup>3</sup> Vocalizing the verb *meshallam*, i. e. 'receives the salutation *shelām*'.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the deacons are standing in two rows *e regione*, and make an obeisance to the priest as he passes between them. On this procession see pp. 422-423 below.

and Mari. In only two points can the differences be regarded as amounting to more than mere 'variants': (1) as regards the presence in 'Malabar' of a formula of Institution, which is not found in the manuscripts of 'Addai and Mari'. This matter will be discussed in another Note, and may be dismissed altogether from the present one. (2) in Section II, where the Malabar has an entirely different order. On this latter point a few remarks are offered here.

As regards the order in Section II, what has been done in 'Malabar' (if it can be said to have been 'done' and not simply to 'be') is this: the rite of setting the bread and wine on the altar has, in the text, been placed between the second and third litanies (see table B), but it is directed by a rubric to be performed *while* the deacon is saying the first and second litanies; and then the whole passage beginning with the first litany and ending with the expulsion of catechumens (i.e. subsections B, E, C, D) has been placed *before*, instead of *after*, the readings of the Scripture.

As we have seen, the Urmi text has the order: Lections, Litanies, Expulsions, Setting mysteries on the altar, Creed. That this is a traditional East-Syrian order is seen, for the last three items, by consulting Narsai's metrical commentary.<sup>1</sup> Further, the above order for all five items is supported not only by the commentator known as George of Arbela<sup>2</sup> (not later than saec. xii), but also by the earlier mediaeval commentator Abraham Bār Lipheh.<sup>3</sup>

Are we then to ascribe the different order in 'Malabar' here to the work of Menezes? In other words, are we to suppose that, having the 'Urmi' order before him in the liturgy he was revising, he altered a point of agreement with the Roman Mass into one of marked disagreement, viz. by directing that the bread and wine should be set on the altar before the reading of the Scriptures instead of after it? There is nothing to suggest that he did any such thing, and good *prima facie* ground for supposing that he would not have had recourse to a gratuitous reform by de-Romanizing (if the term may be permitted) the rite before him in this particular point. Moreover, the Malabar text in its revised form directs that the chalice be mixed before it is placed upon the altar: another non-Roman feature.<sup>4</sup> Further, if for the moment

<sup>1</sup> *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge Texts and Studies VIII i) pp. 2-5.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae* (in the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*) lib. iv capp. 5-17. Vol. i of this work, containing books i-iii, has already appeared (Syr. text, 1911; Latin trans., 1912), also the Syriac text of vol. ii, containing books iv-vii (1913).

<sup>3</sup> In his *Interpretatio Officiorum*. The Syriac text of this commentary is now in print at the end of vol. ii of the work mentioned in the previous note. Bār Lipheh is often quoted in the commentary of 'George of Arbela'.

<sup>4</sup> At a Roman high Mass both the bread and the wine are brought up and set on the

we leave aside the question of the Institution and its place in the anaphora, which will be discussed in a subsequent Note, it is plain from the above Concordance of the Urmi and Malabar texts that nowhere else in the liturgy do the revisers manifest any desire to interfere with the order of the text they are dealing with: the purpose of their corrections is everywhere doctrinal, even where they introduce words from the Roman Missal.<sup>1</sup> In view of this there is no good reason for doubting the *bona fides* of the revisers when, in the Acts of the Synod (Raulin, p. 146), they declare their intention of preserving the old rite as far as possible unaltered: 'utque antiquus ritus, quantum patitur fidei sinceritas, ac doctrinae puritas, servetur.' Certainly for the change of order in Section II it is difficult to see what motive touching 'faith and doctrine' can be alleged. But in fact it is noticeable that Dr Neale and others, in charging Menezes with having tampered with the order of the old rite, nowhere adduce this Section II as an example: though here is the one case in which there is a material difference as to order between the Malabar and the Urmi text of 'Addai and Mari'.

There is just one other remark to be made as to the order of events in Section II. It is this: that even (late) East-Syrian MSS are not consistent in this matter. Thus Badger's text so far agrees with the Malabar against the Urmi order, that it gives the rite of setting the bread and wine on the altar in connexion with the litanies, and *before* the expulsion of catechumens; whereas the Urmi text places it *after* the expulsions, and apart from the litanies. If Menezes was responsible for the Malabar order here, it is curious that he should have hit upon this point of agreement with some current East-Syrian texts.

At this point may be noticed a matter not concerned with the question of order. No. (16) of table E (of Section II) shews a rubric in the Urmi edition which, as it stands there, does not seem very intelligible. Immediately after the bread and wine have been set on the altar the priest is referred to as being in the 'bema', then as 'coming down', and finally as arriving 'at the door of the apse, or altar'. I do not know how far this may be understood by the modern Nestorian Christians who use the liturgy of Addai and Mari, or by those

altar after the Gospel, or after the Creed (following the Gospel) when this is said; and the mixing of the chalice then takes place on the altar itself. In a low Mass the empty chalice and the paten with the host upon it are placed on the altar before the Mass begins; but the wine and water are poured into the chalice after the Gospel (or the Creed), as at high Mass.

<sup>1</sup> This only occurs in the Creed, the Institution, and a response of the people to which the words 'et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus' are added from the Roman prayer *Te igitur*. This response is no. (10) of Section III.

who have had an opportunity of attending a celebration among them. In other words, I do not know whether the rubric in question represents anything in present use, or is now merely an unmeaning survival in the text from an obsolete practice. What was formerly done at this part of the service can be learned from the commentator known as George of Arbela. In bk. ii chap. 2 of his Exposition<sup>1</sup> he gives a detailed description of an East-Syrian, or Nestorian, church. At the east end stood the apse, sanctuary, or 'altar'. Outside this, and shut off from it by a partition (whether a solid wall or a perforated screen does not appear) and a curtained door, was an open platform called the *qesrōmā* (κατάστρομα), which was approached from the level of the nave floor by steps. 'In the midst of the nave' was another spacious platform, called the 'bema'. This bema contained an altar, a throne for the bishop, two pulpits for the readers, and room enough for a considerable number of assistant presbyters. On the east side of the bema were steps leading up to it, and facing those of the *qesrōma*. Between the bema and the *qesrōmā* was a passage connecting them. Now from the early chapters of bk. iv (dealing with the Liturgy) we learn that the whole of what was once the Mass of the Catechumens was conducted by the bishop from the bema in the middle of the church; and it was not until after the mysteries had been set on the altar (which took place during the singing of the 'Anthem of the Mysteries') that the bishop, accompanied by the whole body of clergy, marched in an imposing procession from the bema to the sanctuary. On arrival at the door of the sanctuary they began the Creed, which was then said aloud by the whole congregation.

At the end of the fifth century we find Narsai describing a similar procession, though he does not mention the bema: 'The priests now [sc. after the mysteries have been set on the altar] come in procession into the midst of the sanctuary, and stand there in great splendour and beauteous adornment'; and as soon as they reach the sanctuary the Creed is sung by all.<sup>2</sup>

Now the Malabar rite has not got this procession to the sanctuary; and there is no indication that any part of the service is to be conducted from the bema; nor is the bema itself mentioned. It seems a reasonable suggestion that the absence of this feature in the text as we have it is due to a difference in the construction of the Malabar churches, which led to the whole service being conducted from the sanctuary. Perhaps some one who has seen modern Nestorian churches at Urmi or in the neighbourhood will tell us whether they still keep the arrangement of the bema as described by 'George of Arbela'.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 421 note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 4-5.

As the ultimate purpose of this paper is to help towards a fuller understanding of the East-Syrian rite, of which the Malabar is one representative, it may be well to add here a few remarks that have no direct bearing on the inter-relation of the Malabar and Urmi texts. In a note to no. (15) of Section IV in the Concordance it was pointed out that two intercessory prayers coming shortly before the Invocation, and entitled *kushshāphā* in the Urmi text (in Brightman *cushāpa*), are only specimens of a whole class of such intercessory formulae; the two in 'Malabar' differ from those in 'Urmi', but one of them is to be found in Renaudot (vol. ii p. 591). It is important for the study of the East-Syrian rite to observe that all prayers in the Urmi text which bear the title *kushshāphā* are late additions, and no part of the traditional liturgy of Addai and Mari. The same of course applies to any corresponding prayers in 'Malabar' and in the texts of Renaudot and Badger in which the title *kushshāphā* is not preserved by the editors. There is nothing suggestive of any of these prayers in Narsai, nor do the mediaeval commentators Bār Lipheh and the so-called George of Arbela anywhere employ the term *kushshāphā* to describe a liturgical formula, or comment on any of the prayers thus designated in the Urmi text. Hence it is a mistake to suppose that the liturgy of Addai and Mari had, until quite late times, anything of the nature of a Great Intercession just before the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, as in the other Nestorian liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius. Nor can it any longer be said that the presence of an Intercession just before, instead of just after, the Invocation is a distinctively 'Persian', or East-Syrian, note.<sup>1</sup> When these *kushshāphā* prayers are eliminated, the nearest thing to an Intercession in the East-Syrian rite is to be found in the deacon's address 'Pray ye for the memorial of our fathers the catholici' &c. (Br p. 271), and in the people's response after the diptychs 'And for all the catholici' &c. (Br p. 281): both items attested by Narsai.<sup>2</sup> The intercessory *kushshāphās* in the present 'Addai and Mari' were probably added in imitation of the Intercessions in 'Theodore' and 'Nestorius', and so passed on to 'Malabar'—just as we find in Narsai an elaborate Intercession, doubtless of his own composition, which he tells us was said by the priest 'imitating Mar Nestorius in his supplication'.<sup>3</sup> It is especially noteworthy that even the comparatively late writer 'George of Arbela' in his elaborate commentary says no word as to an Intercession before the Invocation: he treats the whole passage from the beginning of the Preface to the end of the Invocation as one prayer, which he calls

<sup>1</sup> I fell into both these errors in my Introduction to *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (1909) pp. lxvii and lxix, for at that time I was not aware of the facts stated just above.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 6 and 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

*gēhāntā*; and it is undoubtedly these unvarying prayers entitled *gēhāntā* that best represent in our modern texts the nucleus of the ancient East-Syrian anaphora.

The facts just stated as to the Intercession in the East-Syrian liturgy will need to be seriously considered by any one who undertakes to deal with the sixth-century fragment of a 'Persian' anaphora published by Bickell, a Latin translation of which (made by Bickell) is printed by Mr Brightman in Appendix L to his *Eastern Liturgies*. Of this document Mr Brightman says (*ibid.* p. lxxix) that 'its structure indicates its Persian affinities, the Intercession intervening between the Institution and the Invocation'. But if 'Addai and Mari' is the true and traditional representative of the 'Persian', or East-Syrian, type of liturgy, it will now be pertinent to ask whether, instead of being connected with the 'Persian' type, the fragment is not rather differentiated from it by just the feature in question; and whether it does not thereby fall into the category of fifth or sixth-century East-Syrian adaptations of Greek texts represented by the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius. To this category I should be inclined on other grounds also to assign the fragment. Why that great oriental scholar, the late Dr William Wright, spoke of it without qualification as 'the anaphora of Diodorus of Tarsus',<sup>1</sup> no one seems to know, and it may very well be doubted whether he had any positive authority for doing so.

The result arrived at in this Note is—I think this may now be said without fear of controversy—that the Malabar and the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari are one and the same. A subsequent Note will be devoted to the enquiry, exactly how far the text of the Malabar rite was altered by Menezes and the Synod of Diamper—with regard in particular to the Recital of Institution.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

## PSALM LXXVI AND OTHER PSALMS FOR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

*The residue of wrath shall keep feast to thee LXX (or shalt thou gird upon thee R.V.<sup>txt</sup> or shalt thou restrain R.V.<sup>mg</sup>) Ps. lxxvi (lxxv) 11 (10).*

THIS difficult phrase occurs in the concluding stanza of a Psalm, 'In Judah is God known', celebrating some signal deliverance whereby God has destroyed the enemies of Zion. He has broken the fiery

<sup>1</sup> *Syriac Literature* p. 28.

darts of the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle, and cast horse and chariot into a deep sleep. The Psalm is commonly explained as referring to the destruction of Sennacherib's army.

The last three verses stand apart and are recognized by Dr Briggs<sup>1</sup> (who adopts, correctly I think, the LXX reading in my text) as 'a gloss' which 'calls upon all to praise Him in festival even in their wrath and to bring Him presents'. But the phrase 'the residue of wrath shall keep feast to thee' is still puzzling, and I cannot think that Dr Briggs has fully solved the difficulty. His comment is 'God's people celebrate the victory by a festival when the residue of their rage still remains'. Commentators have here missed the mark through failing to observe the liturgical use of this Psalm. It was, according to our oldest authority, the Psalm appointed to be sung at the autumn Feast of Tabernacles or Booths (*Sukkoth*). That is the particular festival (חג) to which the glossator refers; there is no need, with Dr Kirkpatrick,<sup>2</sup> who rejects 'the peculiar rendering of the LXX', to suggest the general meaning 'shall honour thee'. The obscurity of the allusion to the residue of wrath disappears when we read the words in the light of the prophetic lesson appointed to be read at the same feast.

The words of my text run in the M. T. :—

כִּי תִמְתָּ אִדָּם תִּוְדָּר שְׂאִרֵּי תִמָּת תִּתְהַלֵּךְ

i. e. 'For the wrath of man shall praise thee,  
the residue of wraths shalt thou gird on (thee).'

Dr Kirkpatrick's comment is: 'God girds on Himself as an ornament the last futile efforts of human wrath, turning them to His own honour: or girds them on as a sword, making the wrath of His enemies to minister to their final discomfiture.' This is surely unconvincing. The Greek translators render :—

ὅτι ἐν θυμῷ ἀνθρώπου ἐξομολογήσεται σοι,  
καὶ ἐν κατάλιμμα ἐν θυμῷ ἐορτάσει σοι,

i. e. they read the singular תִּמָּת in both parts of the verse, and instead of תִּתְהַלֵּךְ (from חָגַר) they had תִּתְהַלֵּךְ or תִּתְהַלֵּךְ (from חָגַג).

The tractate *Sopherim*, the oldest extant authority containing a full statement as to the allocation of special Psalms in the synagogue services to the various festivals, tells us that Ps. lxxvi was the Psalm appointed for the Feast of Tabernacles.<sup>4</sup>

From the Mishna we learn that the Haphtarah or prophetic lesson for the first day of the same feast was the last chapter of 'Zechariah',

<sup>1</sup> *International Critical Commentary*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Bible*.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'restrain' R. V. marg.

<sup>4</sup> *Soph.* xix 2 (ed. J. Müller, Leipzig 1878) "נודע ביהודה" בסוכות. The tractate, though not older than about 800 (Müller, *Introd.* p. 22), preserves traditions of a far earlier date.



'Behold a day cometh for JHWH', the lesson from the Torah being the passage relative to the feast in Lev. xxiii, the chapter from which the oldest lessons for all the festivals were drawn.<sup>1</sup>

The final chapter of 'Zechariah' is 'a characteristic specimen of the Jewish Apocalypse'.<sup>2</sup> It describes, in lurid language, partly borrowed from Ezekiel, the future gathering of all nations to fight against Jerusalem; the capture and looting of the city and the deportation of half the inhabitants; then the sudden appearance of JHWH to do battle with the enemies of Zion; the earthquake which rends the Mount of Olives on which He takes His stand; the renovated and enlarged Jerusalem; the horrible plague wherewith JHWH will smite all the peoples that had warred against Jerusalem and their horses and all the beasts in their camps. The closing section gives the chapter its special *raison d'être* as the Haphtarah for the Feast of Tabernacles, and at the same time illuminates the obscure phrase in the special Psalm for that occasion. 'And it shall come to pass', we read in verse 16, 'that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles.' Those who go not up are to be punished by the withholding of rain; they refuse to keep the harvest-festival and are to be fitly punished by having no harvest. For Egypt, which was watered, not by the clouds but by the Nile, there is reserved a special punishment, apparently (the text is doubtful) the consuming plague already described.

'Every one that is left' (כָּל-הַנוֹתָר, ὅσοι ἐὰν καταλιφθῶσιν), that is, all the survivors of Zion's enemies after the scenes of carnage (the work of the wrath of man) which the city has witnessed, and after the heaven-sent plague (the signal of the wrath of God), 'shall go up to worship and to keep the feast of tabernacles'. Here, surely, we have the explanation of the phrase which the glossator, familiar with the ceremonial of the oldest and greatest feast in the Jewish calendar, has appended to the Psalm: 'For the wrath of man shall turn to Thy praise, the remnant of the wrath (or wraths) shall keep feast to Thee.'

In the body of the Psalm, as distinct from the closing gloss, we may trace ideas connected with the feast, which, if not present to the mind of the writer, would be read into it by those who originally appropriated the Psalm to the Feast of *Sukkoth* or by translators and others familiar with its liturgical use.

<sup>1</sup> T. B. *Megilla* 29 b :— יום טוב הראשון של חג  
(Lev. xxiii) פורים בפרשת מועדות שבתורת כהנים  
(Zech. xiv 1) ומפסירין "הנה יום בא ליהוה"

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Smith.

v. 3 (2 E. V.). *In Salem is his tabernacle.* 'His tabernacle' is סוכו (*Sukkah*), literally 'His covert' or 'lair', JHWH being likened to the lion of Judah, as in Jer. xxv 38. But our English translators, by using the word 'tabernacle', happily, though unconsciously, call up the thought which could not fail to occur to every Jew who chanted the Psalm at the Feast of Booths. Salem is not the *Suk*, but the *Sukkah*, of God, the 'tabernacle' or 'booth' which gave its name to the feast. JHWH, like His worshippers, observes the feast; the Holy City itself is His tabernacle.<sup>1</sup>

v. 4 (3). *There brake he, &c.* The Greek version (B text) appends to the record of the past historical victory commemorated in the Psalm a reference, in language modelled on that of the last verse of the preceding Psalm, to the final overthrow of God's enemies in the future, which 'Zechariah' locates at Jerusalem: ἐκεῖ συνκλάσει τὰ κέρατα.

v. 5 (4). *Glorious (or radiant) art thou, majestic from the mountains of prey.*

M. T. נאור אתה אדיר מהררי טרף

LXX φωτίζεις σὺ θαυμαστῶς ἀπὸ ὄρέων αἰωνίων.

The words, in the Greek version at least, would recall to the pilgrim worshipper the glorious theophany, depicted in the festal lesson, ushering in a period when there is to be continuous day: 'it shall be one (continuous) day, . . . not day and not night (alternating), but . . . at evening time there shall be light' (Zech. xiv 7).<sup>2</sup> I cannot help thinking that he would also see in the 'mountains', from which JHWH is represented as shining forth, a reference to the Mount of Olives on which 'His feet shall stand in that day' (Zech. xiv 4), and from which, we may add, the worshippers gathered the branches to make the booths.<sup>3</sup> The word טרף rendered 'prey' (root-meaning 'tear', 'pluck') also means a fresh leaf (Ezek. xvii 9), and the cognate adjective in the only O. T. passage in which it occurs is used of a fresh *olive* leaf (Gen. viii 11). 'Mountains of prey' should therefore perhaps be 'leafy mountains', or more specifically 'mountains of olive leaves'. Certainly Theodotion interpreted the phrase in some such sense; his rendering

<sup>1</sup> The Midrash on this verse (*Midr. Tehillim*, trans. A. Wünsche) begins: 'R. Berechia said: In the beginning of the creation of the world the Holy One, blessed be He, made Himself a tabernacle in Jerusalem, in which, if one may so speak, He prayed.' Cf. Weber *Jüdische Theologie* 159 f for similar Rabbinic ideas.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Int. Crit. Comm.* for text and interpretation. The φωτισμός would also recall the brilliant illumination of the Temple at the festival, which prompted our Lord's words 'I am the light of the world'. If, as appears, the Psalms were read in a triennial cycle beginning on 1 Nisan, the Psalm for Tabernacles in the first year would be xxvi (xxvii) Κύριος φωτισμός μου.

<sup>3</sup> Neh. viii 15 'Go forth unto the mount and fetch olive branches . . . to make booths, as it is written'.

is φοβερός εἰ, θαυμαστός ἀπὸ ὀρέων καρπίμων. The Septuagint rendering 'eternal mountains' may or may not indicate that the translators had another word than מְרֹמֵם in their Hebrew text; in either case this phrase is in all probability a reminiscence of another passage which was read in the services on the octave of the Feast of Tabernacles. We are informed<sup>1</sup> that on the eighth-day feast (עֶצְרַת, ἐξόδιον) the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii) was read, and in the fifteenth verse of that chapter, in the blessing pronounced upon Joseph, reference is made to 'the precious things of the everlasting hills' (ἀπὸ κορυφῆς βουνῶν ἀενάων).

v. 7 (6). *Both chariot and horse are cast into a dead sleep.* The plague which will smite the enemies of Jerusalem, whose flesh consumes away while they stand upon their feet, will fall likewise upon their horses, mules, camels, asses, and other beasts of burden (Zech. xiv 12, 15).

Further parallels between Psalm and lesson will occur to the reader.

The ceremonial at the Feast of Tabernacles has influenced the text of other Psalms used on that occasion. Ps. cxviii [cxvii LXX] 25 to the end was also proper to this festival.<sup>2</sup> These closing verses or some of them are again doubtless liturgical glosses (Briggs), and v. 27 in its LXX form clearly refers to the practice of the worshippers of waving their *lulabs* or palm-branches towards the altar when the concluding verses were chanted<sup>3</sup> :—

θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν<sup>4</sup> ἡμῖν  
 συστήσαθε ἑορτὴν ἐν τοῖς πυκάζουσιν  
 ἕως τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

The rendering of the words מְרֹמֵם בַּעֲבֹתֵים in the R.V., 'Bind the sacrifice with cords' &c., is, as Dr Briggs notes, not in accord with sacrificial laws or usage. The LXX rendering, 'Perform the festal rites with the thick-foliaged branches (pointed) towards the horns of the altar', is in accordance with the levitical law<sup>5</sup> and rabbinical practice.

Again, the title which Ps. xxix (xxviii LXX) bears in the Greek version, ἐξοδίου σκηνης, marks it out as a Psalm for the eighth-day closing festival which followed on the seven-day feast.<sup>6</sup> Here too we have, this time in the opening verse, an additional line in the LXX,

<sup>1</sup> T.B. *Meg.* 29 b, after naming the lessons for the 'last' or seventh day, adds :  
 "זמרת הברכה" (Dt. xxxiii 1) למהר קריין.

<sup>2</sup> Oesterley *The Psalms in the Jewish Church* 142, quoting Mishna *Sukkah* iv 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 123.

<sup>4</sup> Again the idea of epiphany or φωτισμός.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. xxiii 40 'And ye shall take you on the first day . . . boughs of thick trees' (עֶצְבֹת, עֲנַף, κλάδους ξύλου δασεῖς).

<sup>6</sup> Lev. xxiii 36 καὶ ἡμέρα ἡ ὕψος ἁγία κλητὴ ἔσται ὑμῖν . . . ἐξοδίου ἔστιν. According to another authority (T.B. *Sukkah* 55 a) this Psalm was sung on the second day of the feast.

which owes its origin, in part at least, to the ceremonial of the feast. The addition, which is familiarized to us through its presence in the Prayer Book version, runs:—

ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοὺς κριῶν (= בני אלים).

The line is clearly a dittograph or alternative rendering of the preceding line

*Bring unto the Lord, ye sons of the mighty* (בני אלים),

but this alternative rendering, which is possibly the older of the two, is explained by the fact that rams were among the offerings prescribed for that occasion: καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐξόδιον ἔσται ὑμῖν . . . καὶ προσάξετε ὀλοκαντώματα . . . μόσχον ἓνα, κριὸν ἓνα, ἀμνοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ἑπτὰ ἀμώμους (Num. xxix 35 f).

Investigation on the above lines will, I am convinced, prove fruitful for the interpretation of portions of the Old Testament and the Psalter in particular. It is a line of research which has not yet been worked out. Commentators as a rule have, I venture to think, paid too little heed to the ancient liturgical use of the Scriptures, whether as lessons or canticles. They have neglected to take into account, as an important factor in exegesis, the arrangements of the Jewish ecclesiastical calendar, so far as these can be recovered from the rabbinical traditions which have come down to us. Indications are not wanting that this liturgical use began at an earlier date than is commonly supposed, and that it has in various ways influenced and moulded the shape in which the text has been transmitted. The festival lessons and psalms have, it seems, in some cases at least, reacted on each other, and both have been affected by the ritual for the day. Dr E. G. King has done excellent pioneering work somewhat on these lines in connexion with the Psalter.<sup>1</sup> His recognition of the fact that the Psalter, like the Pentateuch, was arranged for use in a triennial cycle is a most illuminating discovery with far-reaching results, which have not yet, I think, been exhausted. Some details in his arrangement of the cycle appear open to question,<sup>2</sup> but the general scheme seems clearly on right lines, and I should unhesitatingly endorse his conclusion that 'the present form of the Psalter has been determined by the liturgical use of the Synagogue'. I should, indeed, go further and suggest that not only have the Psalms (or some of them) been arranged in such an order as to suit the triennial calendar, but that they have in many cases been expanded by glosses calculated to adapt them to the

<sup>1</sup> *The Psalms in three collections*, Cambridge, Deighton, Bell, 1898–1905; cf. his article on *The influence of the triennial cycle upon the Psalter* in *J. T. S.* v 203.

<sup>2</sup> There are indications, as Dr King himself notes, that the system has varied at different times.

particular occasions on which they were used in Temple or synagogue, while some of the latest in the collection may have been wholly composed with a view to a particular feast and to fill a gap in the cycle arrangement. I hope to return to this subject on another occasion and to submit some notes on the lessons and psalms for Rosh Hashanah (New Year's Day). Here I need only remark that the services for that day were dominated by the thoughts contained in the Song of Hannah (the New Year Day Haphtarah); that the Jewish civil New Year's Day came just before the Feast of Tabernacles in the middle of the ecclesiastical year; and that Psalm lxxv, both by its position in the middle of the Psalter immediately before the Psalm for Tabernacles which I have taken as the text of this paper, and by its parallels to 1 Sam. ii 1-10, is marked out by this internal evidence, though tradition is here silent, as the Psalm which was at one time proper to the New Year season in the second year of the triennial cycle.

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

MR THACKERAY'S note is most interesting, and will (I hope) be fully considered by Old Testament students. His explanation of the reading of the Septuagint is surely right.

But the reading of the Masoretic text is not so hard as it looks. The first clause

‘For the wrath of man shall praise thee’

may claim the support of LXX. In the second clause the Greek translators read the Hebrew verb as *תִּחַיֵּן*, as Mr Thackeray points out, but the Masoretic *תִּחַיֵּר* cannot be rejected as giving unsatisfactory sense. We may translate literally,

‘The remnant of wraths shalt thou gird on.’

Now the Hebrew *שְׂאִרִית* ‘remnant’ means usually a remnant of a *people* or of *peoples*, and the phrase ‘thou shalt gird on the remnant’ means in Eastern language, ‘thou shalt make a slaughter of thy foes, and obtain complete mastery over those who survive’. The same thought expressed in somewhat different language is found in Jer. xliii 12 ‘[Nebuchadrezzar] shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd arrayeth himself with his garment’. ‘Putting on’ or ‘girding on’ is a phrase meaning to *take possession of* or to *treat as, personal property*, thus in Jer. xiii 11, JEHOVAH is represented as saying, ‘As the girdle (Heb. *אֲזוּר*) cleaveth to the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave to me the whole house of Israel and the whole house of Judah’.

Finally, it may be said that the phrase ‘the remnant of wraths’ can

be justified as an Eastern phrase for 'the remnant of wrathful peoples'. In the first clause the term 'the wrath of man' stands for 'wrathful men' by the same figure of speech. By the same figure the writer of Ps. cix 4 says 'I am prayer', and another Psalmist 'I am peace' (cxx 7, quoted by Kirkpatrick). We may therefore paraphrase Ps. lxxvi 11 (10) as follows:—

'Surely wrathful Gentiles shall learn to praise thee at Zion;  
The remnant of the wrathful nations thou shalt take as thine own.'

With this agrees the second half of the following verse in which prediction passes into invitation:—

'Let all that are round about him bring presents unto him that ought to be feared.'

W. EMERY BARNES.

## THE PATRISTIC *TESTIMONIA* OF TIMOTHEUS AELURUS.

(IRENÆUS, ATHANASIUS, DIONYSIUS.)

### I

IN the following pages I discuss certain pieces which occur in what we may call the Patristic *dossier* of the patriarch of Alexandria Timotheus, nicknamed Aelurus or the Cat. Next to nothing remains in Greek of his works, because he was in conflict with the form of belief which triumphed in the great churches of the west and the east at the Council of Chalcedon.

Four years ago, however, there was published at Leipzig a lengthy treatise of Timotheus in old Armenian by two archimandrites of Edschmiadsin. It is a work which seems to have been written by him when he was banished to Gangra in the year 460; his method in it is to state his own views, together with those of his opponents, and then to give select passages from fathers whose orthodoxy was considered above doubt and dispute, to shew that his opinion was old and catholic; and these are followed by passages from recognized heretics like Paul of Samosata, Nestorius, and Theodoret, and it is argued that the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon were in agreement with the latter. We should expect a patriarch of Alexandria writing in the middle of the fifth century to preserve to us passages from many Christian authors now lost; and this expectation is not wholly disappointed when

we come to examine the Armenian text, which was made from the original Greek between the years 550 and 600. We find, however, many more *testimonia* from writers of the third and fourth century than we do from that of the second century, and Irenaeus is the only really early writer whom Timotheus had in his hands. It is also to be doubted whether he had his works entire, and did not rather derive his citations from some book of selections made for the use of the fathers who assembled at Ephesus to condemn Nestorius.

(a) *Irenaeus.*

The passages which he quotes from Irenaeus are as follows:—

1. Title: Of the blessed Irenaeus, a successor of the apostles and Bishop of Lugdunum, who was celebrated for his knowledge of the lore of philosophers.

‘The law and the prophets and the gospels have proclaimed that Christ was born of a virgin and passible upon the cross, and visible from among the dead, and that He ascended into the heavens, and was glorified by the Father and is King for ever. Also that He is perfect mind, the Word of God, who before the Daystar was born, co-creator of all, fashioner of man, who became all in all: patriarch among patriarchs, law among laws, high priest among priests, among kings ruler and leader, among prophets a prophet, among angels an angel, among men a man, in the Father Son, in God God, Eternal Ruler. He it is who steered Noah in his ship, and guided Abraham, with Isaac was He bound, and together with Jacob He sojourned in a strange land; together with Joseph He was sold, and with Moses He led the host; to the people He gave laws, and with Joshua the son of Nave He uttered dooms. In David He was a singer, and among the prophets He proclaimed His own passion. In the virgin He was made flesh, and in Bethlehem was born, in a manger He was wrapt in swaddling clothes, and was beheld by the shepherds. By the angels He was glorified, and by the Magi worshipped, was welcomed by John and was baptized in the Jordan, was tempted in the wilderness and was found to be Lord. He gathered round Him disciples, and preached the kingdom, He healed the halt and cleansed the lepers, He illuminated the blind, and raised the dead. He appeared in the temple, and was not believed in by the people, He was betrayed by the Jews and taken prisoner by the high priest, was brought before Herod and judged in the presence of Pilate. In His flesh He was nailed, and hung upon the tree, in the earth He was buried, and He rose again from the dead, He appeared to the disciples and was raised up to heaven; on the right hand of the Father He sat down and was glorified by Him. As He is the Resurrection of those who are buried, so He is the salvation of the

lost, the illumination of them that are in darkness, and the ransom of those who are exiled, guide of those gone astray and refuge of the afflicted, Shepherd of the saved and Bridegroom of the Church, the charioteer of the cherubs and captain of the angels, God of God, Son from the Father, Jesus Christ, King unto the ages, Amen.'

The above passage has already been published in Armenian by Cardinal Pitra, in vol. i ch. 4 of his *Spicilegium*, from a recently written Codex in the library of the Convent of San Lazzaro at Venice. W. W. Harvey, the Cambridge editor of Irenaeus, remarks that it represents the same original as a Syriac fragment which he publishes, but with certain interpolations, which he brackets as such in his Latin translation. The passages bracketed at least double the length of the extract; and the text, as we have given it above from the work of Timotheus, not only contains several phrases which are not found in the Armenian MS of Venice, but is in general more correct. There is no reason to suppose that the additional matter of Timotheus is an interpolation. In antiquity his text of Irenaeus goes far behind any other sources; and there is no reason to suppose that its tradition has been tampered with. It may be remarked that the Armenian text of Timotheus is published from a very ancient uncial MS written on parchment, of which the editors give a couple of facsimiles. It is in a very archaic style of writing, certainly not later than the twelfth century, and perhaps as early as the tenth.

2. The next fragment of Irenaeus also exists in Syriac, and is given in Harvey's edition on page 458 of the second volume. It had already been printed by Cardinal Pitra in the first volume of his *Spicilegium* in a Syriac form with a Latin translation. It is as follows in the text of Timotheus:—

'The Holy Scriptures recognize that Christ as He was Man, so likewise He was not man; and that as He was flesh, so also spirit, and Word of God, and God. And as in the last times born of Mary, so also first-born of all creation, come forth from God; and as hungering, so also as satisfying His appetite, and as thirsting, so also they state that He long ago gave to the Jews to drink, when He was the rock Christ<sup>1</sup>; so now to the faithful, Jesus gives spiritual water to drink, welling forth to life eternal. And as He felt weariness, so He gives rest to those who are weary and heavy-laden; and as He was Son of David, so also that He is David's Lord; and as He is descended from Abraham, that so He was before Abraham. And as He was a servant of God, so also that He was Son of God and Lord of all. And as He was spat upon in ignominy, so also that He breathed His Spirit into His disciples;

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. x 4.



and as He sorrowed, so is giver of joy to His people. And as He was susceptible to capture and to handling, so again He passed into the midst of those who thought to do Him harm, yet was not taken by them, and through closed doors He entered in, yet was not confined by them. And as He slept, so also He gave command to sea and winds and spirits; and as He suffered, so also He is alive, and redeemer, and heals from every sickness. And as He died, so also is He the Resurrection of the dead; on earth without honour, yet in the heavens greater than all honour and glory. *Crucified indeed He was because of infirmity, yet He lives by dint of divine potency.*<sup>1</sup> Into the lowest parts of earth He descended, yet ascended above the heavens.<sup>2</sup> He found sufficient for Himself the manger, yet fills everything. He became dead, and was made alive for ever and ever, Amen.'

3. A third passage which survives in the citation of Timotheus is Book I, ch. ii, of the work against Heresies. It is a passage of which Epiphanius discerned the importance and accordingly cited it in his work on Heresies, Book XXXI, ch. xxx. In the Armenian we have a fresh testimony to the text of it, as follows:—

Holy Church, although it extends over the whole world, being sown like seed to the limits of the earth, from the Apostles and from their disciples has received the faith in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of the sea and all that is in them; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who by means of the prophets was preacher of the dispensations of God and of the advent and of the birth from a virgin, and of the passion and the resurrection from the dead and the bodily ascension into heaven, of the loved son Christ Jesus, our Lord, and of His advent from the heavens in the glory of the Father in order to recapitulate all things, and raise all flesh of all mankind; in order that to Jesus Christ, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, in accordance with the will of the Father unseen, every knee may be bent, of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth; and that every tongue may fully confess to Him; and that He may fulfil judgement of righteousness upon all, and may send into eternal fire the spiritual powers of evil and the transgressing angels, and those that became apostates, and the impious and the unjust and the lawless and the blasphemers among men; but that bestowing life He may make ready incorruption and glory for the holy and righteous, and for those who kept His commandments, and did abide in His love, some from the beginning, but some by way of repentance.

This preaching the Church received, and this faith, as we said above;

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. xiii 4.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. iv 9, 10.

and although she is sown like seed over all the earth, she carefully guards it, as dwelling in a single house; and in the same way she believes in the above, as having one soul, and the same heart, and concordantly she preaches these things and teaches them and hands them down, as possessed of one mouth.

(b) *Athanasius.*

From Athanasius Timotheus derived many pieces of his *dossier*, some of them not extant in Greek. The texts used by Timotheus were many centuries earlier than any of our MSS of Athanasius, and must have been those which were preserved in the archives of the Alexandrine patriarchate. The Armenian version is therefore of some value for the text of the excerpts, but in some cases they appear to be abridged from the original. Three passages are cited from the *Discourse on the Holy Spirit* which are not found in the Latin version: we may perhaps infer that the Latin text is an abridgement of the lost Greek original. Several passages are cited as from Athanasius which are from works to-day ascribed by critics to Apollinaris of Laodicea. The *De incarnatione Dei Verbi* is an example. Timotheus gives it in full among his *testimonia*, just as his predecessor Cyril cited it at some length in his Epistle to the Princesses. Leontius of Byzantium under Justinian surmised that the citation had been interpolated in Cyril's letter, but the reappearance of the entire piece in Timotheus does not confirm such an hypothesis; and it is possible after all that at one time of his life Athanasius may have written passages which a hundred years later the adversaries of the Council of Chalcedon found useful.

(c) *Dionysius.*

Among the existing Greek fragments of Dionysius, Patriarch of Alexandria (died A.D. 264-265), is a letter to Basilides, Bishop of the churches in the Pentapolis, on the great Sabbath. It deals with the question of what is the right hour at which to break the Easter Fast, and was printed in vol. iii of Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, in Beverege's *Synodicum*, in Mansi's *Concilia*, and other collections of the kind.

Now in the same uncial MS which contains the work of Timothy Aelurus f. 306 r<sup>o</sup> we find a long excerpt from Dionysius bearing the following title: 'Of the Blessed Dionysius, Archbishop of Alexandria, from the Epistle to the Queen, an examination of the evidence of the Resurrection after three days of the Lord, shewing that the Lord is true.'

I conjecture that the Armenian word *thaguhin*, 'queen', here renders βασιλίσσαν in a Greek original, and that this was a corruption of

*βασιλίδην*; for we know from Eusebius that Dionysius wrote to him not only the epistle above mentioned, but several others. An alternative view is that the Queen in question was Zenobia, the patroness of Paul of Samosata. The Epistle of Dionysius against the latter proves that he was interested in churches which were under Zenobia's jurisdiction. If she was as favourably inclined to Christianity as she is reported to have been, she may well have sought information on the points with which this letter deals from the head of a church so celebrated as was that of Alexandria for skill and accuracy in respect of calendrical calculations.

Here are the passages of this letter preserved by Timotheus or by the Armenian who translated his book against the Decisions of Chalcedon. In the MS they follow that book without any break:—

306 r<sup>o</sup>. 'And the evening and the morning were one day' (Gen. i 5). And they ask which was first, day or night?

Now thou hast rightly reckoned that which lies immediately at hand and has been made clear in advance, that the day seems to be previous to the night. In common parlance anyhow we say that the day is fulfilled at eventide and that the dawn is the completion of the night. And for this reason perhaps Job, anxious because of his excessive agony<sup>1</sup> for the divisions of time to pass by, says: 'If I fall asleep, I say, When is the day? But if I wake up, again I say, When is evening?'<sup>2</sup> Signifying the evening to be as it were the limit of the day, and that the night ceases when the day, that is the dawn, appears.

And, mark this, a similar conclusion appears to be in accordance with convention. For after God had said, Let there be light,<sup>3</sup> and after the light was first created and called by him Day, just as later on the darkness was called Night, he added—as if the day was fulfilled—that, 'There was the evening and there was the dawn.' And straightway comprising the two at once, he fulfilled one day. For, says some one, it is meet for the time of working to be called Day, but for what remains and is a cessation from work to be called Night. Even as our Lord said: It is needful for you to do the work of him that sent you, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work.<sup>4</sup>

And after a little:—

For the day is always mentioned first, as God foretold to Noe: 'By day and by night thou shalt not pause'<sup>5</sup>; or the Sun makes the beginning of his revolution from the West and concludes it at the East, and then pursues his return, as the Psalmist foretold: 'The Sun knew

<sup>1</sup> Reading *geradsavotzn* for the *vox nihili garadsotsn* in the Arm. text.

<sup>2</sup> Job vii 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. i 3-5.

<sup>4</sup> John ix 4 (the ordinary text read *us* or *me* for *you*).

<sup>5</sup> Gen. viii 22.

his setting. Thou didst set the darkness, and it was night ; but thereafter the Sun arose and beamed.'<sup>1</sup>

But if persuaded by the above arguments we believe that the day precedes night, then a doubt, as thou hast written, assails the argument ; I mean that you call in question, in respect of the three days, the mystery of the resurrection of the Beloved.<sup>2</sup> For it is no longer on the third day, but on the second, that he must be reckoned first to have risen from the dead ; for if he died on the *Paraskevé* (i. e. Friday) and rose on the next day, on the Sabbath, (that was) after the same (day's) night, this being reckoned therewith.<sup>3</sup>

And after a little :—

Now, if one begins at this point, he contradicts all that was said before ; and we all affirm—I mean that the entire Church of God beginning from the holy apostles bears witness—that the night was part not of the day which had passed away, but of that which was approaching ; and was divided from what preceded it, but associated with what succeeds itself. For when does he minister and to whom, as to one dissatisfied, does he present his work ? If he really refers his work first to the past, then it were meet for us to feast the Sabbath, as if the Lord had risen thereon. For he rose on the night of it,<sup>4</sup> if on the night following it. But as it is, we have left this<sup>5</sup> to Jews, and the eye-witnesses and those who themselves heard the Lord, have handed down to us the tradition of feasting on the first of the week. For they have related to us that our Lord arose unto it and on it ; and so they honoured the day with a glorious epithet, naming it *Kyriaké*, which means Dominical.

And after a little :—

So at least the Jews, when the sun sets on *Paraskevé*,<sup>6</sup> say that the Sabbath is come and first enforce Sabbatical inactivity during the repose of night ; for it is forbidden them to light a fire on the Sabbath day. But the day<sup>7</sup> belonging to the preceding night<sup>8</sup> they exclude, (the day)

<sup>1</sup> Ps. ciii 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. ἀγανηρός.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. From Friday 6 p.m. to Saturday 6 p.m. is one day ; from Saturday 6 p.m. to Sunday 6 p.m. is a second day ; therefore if Jesus died on Friday afternoon and rose on Sunday at dawn, he rose on the second day, not on the third.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. of the Sabbath or on Saturday night. Perhaps this sentence is the lemma of one whom Dionysius controverts. The meaning of the sentences which precede : For when, &c., is obscure, though the Armenian text is straightforward. Perhaps for *djkhoyi* = 'one dissatisfied' should be read *dshkhoyi* = 'a Queen', viz., the Christian Church.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. the feasting of the Sabbath.

<sup>6</sup> Friday.

<sup>7</sup> i. e. our Friday 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.

<sup>8</sup> i. e. our Thursday night.

which is ushered in by the evening<sup>1</sup> before it. For their<sup>2</sup> repose is abrogated, having become general mourning in connexion with the feast, in that the Lord was hidden from that (day) forth, having remained wholly in the heart of the earth without arising thereon, in order to establish for us as a more Dominical and truer feast the first of the week dawning on us.<sup>3</sup> And, indeed, all men associate the preceding nights<sup>4</sup> with the morrows to come, and regulate their nocturnal proceedings to suit the days which immediately follow. In this manner do they celebrate birthdays, in this annual commemorations of deaths, in this those of festal occasions.

308<sup>ro</sup>. Why in confirmation of this do we further appeal to the general procedure of Gentiles and to the traditional usage of the ancestors of the Jews? Not only so, but sufficient for us, as teaching this, is the Healer of God Moses, so far forth as he has revealed to us the creation of the world; for with all clearness he indicated to us that the compass of day extends from evening to evening, in the passage<sup>5</sup> in which he enacts concerning the Pascha as follows:—

‘For at the commencement, on the 14th day of the first month, from even (ye are) to eat unleavened bread until the 21st day of the month at even. For seven days leaven shall not be found in your houses.’

But the seven days are from the 15th to the 20th. It is clear, therefore, that the 15th began with the 14th evening, while the 21st ended on the following day before the night of the next evening. And the 14th day was not one of the days of unleavened bread; but the lamb was slain on it, not at even, for the evening was not thereof, but when the evening was advanced,<sup>6</sup> as it is written<sup>7</sup>:—

‘And they shall slay it, all the multitude of the congregation of the children of Israel, towards even.’

Then, anyway after a sufficient interval had taken place, during which they were laying the blood on the door-posts and lintels, were also skinning and preparing it, and as the Scripture adds:—

‘They shall eat the flesh on that night roasted with fire, with unleavened bread upon bitter herbs shall they consume it.’

So then the first day of unleavened bread was the 15th, beginning with eventide and night, as he again says<sup>8</sup>:—

‘Seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread, and from the first day ye shall hide away leaven out of your houses.’

And after a little from Leviticus<sup>9</sup>:—

‘In the first month on the 14th of the month, in the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> i. e. our Thursday evening.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. of the Jews.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφώσκουσιν.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the eves of festivals.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. xii 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> Or ‘added’.

<sup>7</sup> Exod. xii 8.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. xii 15.

<sup>9</sup> Levit. xxiii 5-6.

evening is the Pascha of the Lord. And from the 15th of this month is the feast of unleavened bread of the Lord. Seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread.'

And as he said in Exodus :—

'They shall slay it towards even.'

So in this passage he modifies his expression to 'in the middle of the evening', because not at the completion nor on the verge of even, but in the middle of the term, the passover was to be slain, in order that on that account the 15th might be called the feast of unleavened bread and it might be consumed just at nightfall.

And after other matter :—

'But if any one imagine that eventide is end and last portion of the day, because the Pascha is declared to be the seventh until evening, let him reflect that the first day was declared (to begin) from the evening, as if the evening were the first limit of the day; and it is necessary that all the days compounded of days and nights should be uniform and commensurate one with the other; and their common beginnings must be one, and their completion must be the same in transmission, while the definite periods comprised in them must be invariable one from the other. One eventide, therefore, and one dawn, and one mid-day, and one mid-night is included in each.

And after other matter :—

For the three days' mystery of our Lord's Resurrection is to be computed thus: He instructed his disciples beforehand that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer many things at the hands of the elders and high priests and scribes, and die, and on the third day rise from the dead.<sup>1</sup> Now after the ninth hour—in which he died—what remained of Paraskevê was one day, but the day-night<sup>2</sup> of the Sabbath totalled a second; but the evening of the Sabbath, as Matthew says,<sup>3</sup> was 'beginning to dawn for the first of the week', and in these words he signified as a manner of its imminence that the night was being illumined, but not that the day was being darkened by the night's overtaking it. From the verge of night was the third day, on which, according to his prediction, our Lord arose.

Some one argues from there having been darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour, taking (this) for a night, that the three days and three nights (so) came to pass, and reckons this fraction too (as belonging) to the days in order to complete the days; for he divides off the *Paraskevê* up to the sixth hour and puts it aside as then entirely completed; but from the ninth hour on as the second day, both<sup>4</sup> what

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xx 18.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμερονύκτιον.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxviii 1.

<sup>4</sup> The next few words are to me unintelligible.

of these (hours) is *Paraskevé* and what is Sabbath. Now two days in one do not constitute a *Paraskevé*, nor two Sabbaths. And he recognizes one true night, but adds the other that never was. For the darkness in question was in a way a symbolic passion and mourning, as it were, of the day, the sun having all but hidden himself and subsided into blackness at what was taking place. But a night was not (therefore) to be added in the reckoning; nay, even if it be called exceptional and excessive night, it was yet moonless and starless, and for that reason is not to be reckoned on a level with other nights. If, however, Sabbath follows *Paraskevé* and after it the first day of the week is completed, it is clear, if the *Paraskevé* on that occasion lasted until the sixth hour, while the Sabbath came after the ninth, then the Sabbath was turned into the first of the week, and the first of the week trenching on the second. And as we still feast it as dominical, both number and order of the days have obviously been confused, an extra day having been intercalated.

But such views are most unreasonable. Why should we not equally entitle nights all eclipses of the sun? For although on that occasion, the moon being at its full, and the month only half expired, the eclipse was most incongruous and miraculous, for it is (under such circumstances) impossible, as experts in these matters declare it to be. For they say this never occurs except in the usual intercrossing of their paths and directions, by reason of the moon's intrusion and of its turning the rays into shadow relatively to us. And although this (eclipse) was a longish one, extending over three hours as it did, and though in its case the darkness was very profound, nevertheless some other eclipses have been longer in duration, and during them both the atmosphere has been darkened and the stars have shone out as at night, yet they have never been intercalated as forming a single night. And that the day was single, and that the darkness as well as its light was included in it, had been prophesied by Zachariah<sup>1</sup>: 'On that day there shall not be light, and cold and frost shall there be, the one day, and that day known unto the Lord, neither day nor night, but toward evening there shall be light.'

And that the darkness was altogether (equivalent to)<sup>2</sup> three days' death is not true, for the darkness took place while he was still alive upon the tree; for he was nailed up at the third hour, as Mark<sup>3</sup> assures us: 'It was now the third hour and they crucified him.' But the three evangelists are also concordant in declaring that the darkness lasted from the sixth hour to the ninth, and that then the Lord with a cry gave up the ghost.

<sup>1</sup> xiv 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to lacunae in text the reading is not certain.

<sup>3</sup> xv 25.

And after a little :—

In spite of this uncertainty, we must recognize which (were) the three days : we have clearly the Sabbath fully composed of a night and a day. For as we said above, it was in order to refute and cast opprobrium on the Jews, that he enacted that their festival should become wholly a day of mourning. At least he associated death with each of the days, and accepted for one complete day part of a day, and for another part of a night, indicating that the night in importance pre(cedes)<sup>1</sup> day and that the day is to be (dated) by the night. For the part is in (the whole) and the whole is often named from the part. For a man has only to pass inside a city's gates, and he is said to have entered the city ; and another to have gone aboard a ship, if he only sets foot on the gangway (or ? bows) ; and one who transgresses a single rule, is a transgressor of the law. Again, a man is born in a single hour, yet we keep his birth-day, and pretend that what took place in a moment was done on that day. In the same way as we say that the passover is slain on the 14th, when it is only slain at its close, nights and days in a way passing into one another and along with one another,—So we say that the Lord fulfilled the type of Jonah by passing three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

## A LATIN MS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

AMONG the Harley MSS in the British Museum is a small quarto volume (No. 223) of 143 leaves of thin vellum, written in the thirteenth century, and containing the text of the Apocalypse in Latin with Bede's Commentary. The writer is of the French school ; but the spelling resembles that of the Spanish Perpignan MS (*p*) of the Catholic Epistles. Forms in *ae* are replaced by forms in *e*—*stelle*, *margarite*, *hec*, *celum* are constant. Also *c* is frequently used for *t* in such words as *tercium*, *sicient*, *gencium*, *dicencium*, *moncium*, *nacione*. *Mihi* appears as *michi*, *nihil* as *nichil*, and *sed* as *set*. With these exceptions the spelling is in accord with that of the text of the Apocalypse as edited by White in the Oxford Vulgate, *Editio Minor* 1912.

As MSS containing the Apocalypse only are rare in Latin, I have collated the text throughout with White's edition, and have found it good on the whole, but of no distinct family. Sometimes the text

<sup>1</sup> The brackets represent lacunae in the text and the sense is not quite clear.



agrees with F alone ; but it also has agreements with A and with V. In addition, it has some readings of its own of some interest. The scribe copied from an old copy with Vulgate corrections above its text. These in a few instances he omitted to substitute and mechanically copied ; but afterwards, finding his mistake, he erased them, though not beyond recovery (cf. xviii 6 and xx 8). Two later hands of the thirteenth (*m*<sup>1</sup>) and fourteenth (*m*<sup>2</sup>) centuries made a few corrections ; of these I have noted only the non-Vulgate readings. The second of these scribes wrote a curious extract at the end of the volume concerning the six ages of man and the eight ages of the world. As this may yield a clue to the provenance of our MS I have transcribed it.

The first six folios of the MS are mutilated, and only the following six fragments are now extant :—

- (1) proph[etie huius et] seruat ea que in ea scripta sunt. Tempus enim prope est.
- (2) asia. gracia uobis et pax ab eo qui est. et qui erat et qui uenturus est. Et a septem
- (3) Qui dilexit n[os] et lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo : et fecit nos
- (4) Ego sum alpha et ω : principium et finis. dicit dñs dñs : qui est et qui erat. et qui uenturus est omnipotens.
- (5) [part]iceps in tribulacione et regno et pacientia in (+ xpo *m*<sup>2</sup>) ihu : fui in insula que appellatur pathmos
- (6) [di]cen[tis. Quod uides] scribe in libro et mitte septem ecclesiis. ephesum. et smýrnam. et pergamum. et thiatiram. et sardis et philadelphiam. et laodiciam.

Folio 7 *incipit* Cap. I 14 lana alba et tanquam nix.

Cap. I 14 tanquam flam. 15 auricalco uox eius sicut  
16 ex utraque parte exibat 17 manum suam 18 om. et  
uiuus 20 quas : que cand. sept. : > septem cand. et + aurea

Cap. II 1 Et angelo dextra 2 temptasti apost. :  
+esse 4 aduersum 5 ueniam tibi cito 7 aures audiendi  
om. ei 8 smirme 9 ab hiis sathane 10 Nichil  
tempt. 11 aures 12 rumpheam ex utraque p. 13 sathane  
in diebus illis antiphas aput sathanas 14 aduersum  
pauca : +quia balach contra filios 17 aures om. ei  
18 thiatýre auricalco 20 aduersum iezabel idolotitis  
21 penitere 22 mechantur in tribulatione maxima erunt  
23 mortem 24 thiatýre altitudinem sathane 26 om. qui 2<sup>o</sup>  
ei 27 eas ferrea : +et 29 aures

Cap. III 1 > sardis ecclesie 8 om. meum 1<sup>o</sup> 9 sathane  
sciant 10 tempt. > uniu. orbem temptare 11 + Ecce

*ad init.* 12 faciam faciam (*sic*) columnnam ciuit. dei mei :  
*om.* mei ierus. 16 *om.* et nec frig. nec cal. 17 >et nudus  
 et cecus 18 collirio unge 20 intrabo 21 trono *bis*

Cap. IV 2 Et statim 3 —lapidis yris smar. 4 sedilia  
*in rasura* uiginti et quatuor *scripsit ipse scriba* tronos uiginti  
 et quatuor circumamicti corone auree 5 tron. *bis* qui  
 6 cristallo 8 non habebant die ac n. dñs dñs : + sabaoth *supra*  
*lin. ipse scriba* 9 illa : + quatuor tronum 10 procidebant  
 trono adorabant mittebant tronum

Cap. V 1 tronum 5 dixit septem : soluere 6 troni  
 7 accepit : + librum dextra super tronum 8 cýtharas  
 9 cantabant >cant. nouum es : + dñe dñs 10 eos : nos  
 regnabimus 11 troni >et seniorum (*in rasura* et animalium) et  
 quatuor anim. 12 diuinitatem : dignitatem 13 terram :  
 + et subtus terram et mare *om.* et quae sunt in mari ea : eo  
 trono potestas : + deo nostro 14 uiginti quatuor sen. cecid. :  
 + in facies suas ador. : + deum (*erasit et substituit* uiuentem in  
 secula seculorum *m*<sup>2</sup>)

Cap. VI 1 dicens *om.* tamquam uo. tonitruui Ueni : + et uide  
 3 Ueni : + et uide 4 ruffus illi : ei 5 Ueni : + et uide  
 6 *om.* tamquam dicencium ordei denario 2<sup>o</sup> : + uno  
 7 Ueni : + et uide 8 *om.* Et uidi <sup>in</sup> desuper : super eum  
 infernus illi : ei omnis potestas gladio et fam. 9 >sig.  
 quintum *om.* propter 2<sup>o</sup> testim. : + ihu xp̃i 11 >temp.  
 adhuc 12 *om.* uidi *om.* et 2<sup>o</sup> 13 a uento 15 in  
 petris 16 tronum

Cap. VII 1 flarent *et om.* uentus 4 *om.* signatorum 5 ex  
 ruben (*om.* tribu) milia (*et vv.* 6, 7, 8) : + signati *decies* 6 neptali *m*<sup>\*</sup>  
 7 ysacar 8 iosep 9 *om.* gentibus et tribubus tronum  
 stolis albis 10 tronum 11 troni throni 2<sup>o</sup> : troni et  
 seniorum 12 *om.* et ante honor 13 respondit : respondens  
 dicens : dixit hii 14 hii uenerunt 15 tronum trono  
 habitat 16 neque cad. 17 troni ex : ab eorum :  
 s̃corum (*sed correxit in* eorum *m*<sup>\*</sup>)

Cap. VIII 1 silentium : + magnum 3 thurib. t. aureum : + in  
 manu sua de orat. ante thronum : in conspectu dei 5 thurib.  
 >fulg. et uoces et ton. terremotus magnus 6 parau. *m*<sup>\*</sup>, pre-  
 parau. *m*<sup>2</sup> tubis 7 mixtus combusta est 2<sup>o</sup> : concremata est  
 8 et 2<sup>o</sup> : + ecce 9 cre. eorum habebant animas : + in mari  
 10 —magna 11 absinthium 12 tertia pars 3<sup>o</sup> *scripsit ipse in*  
*rasura* stellarum ita ut >tert. pars noctis 13 >ang. trium

Cap. IX 3 locuste 4 ullam arb. (ullam *faciens ex* omnem) *m*<sup>1</sup>  
 5 datum : preceptum ut : sicut 7 locust. prelium hominis

8 sicut 2<sup>o</sup>: + dentes    9 hab. loricam    10 aculei: + erant > quin-  
que men.    11 abadon    appollion    12 et ecce    13 — unam.  
(unum)    ex: + quattuor    14 eufraten    16 uigies    17 iacinc-  
tinas    equorum: eorum    — erant (*supp. in mg. m\**)    ipsorum:  
eorum    18 quod procedebat de ore    19 eore eorum    nam:  
+ et    habentibus    21 neque 1<sup>o</sup>: et

Cap. X    1 yris    cap. eius: + erat    ut: sicut    columpna  
2 > dex. ped. suum    4 dicentem: + michi    5 super *bis*  
7 — uocis    ceperit    canere: + tunc *m*<sup>2</sup>    mist.    8 uox quam:  
uocem    > it. loq. mecum de caelo    — et 2<sup>o</sup>    Uade: + et  
super *bis*    9 dixit    — librum    10 eum: illum    > dulce tan-  
quam mel    11 dixit    prophetare: predicare    > gent. et pop.  
quam mel

Cap. XI    1 calamus: + mensure    dicens: et dictum (+ est mihi  
*m*<sup>2</sup>)    2 autem: uero    ne meciaris illud    3 XL (*pro* LX)  
saccis    4 Hii    candelabra: + lucencia    5 uoluerit eis noc.  
illorum: eorum    eorum: illorum    6 Hii    ipsorum: illorum  
7 ascendet    aduersus illos: contra eos    uinc. eos    — illos 3<sup>o</sup>  
(*addidit m*<sup>2</sup>)    8 corp. eorum: + iacebunt    in platea    > spiritualiter  
uocatur    egyptus    — et 3<sup>o</sup>    *Two folios are mutilated after the*  
*words of verse 9 per tres dies et dimi . . . What remains of them*  
*contains as follows:—*

<sup>10</sup> [Et] inha[bitantes ter]ram gaudebunt super illis et iocundabuntur.  
et munera mittent inuicem quoniam hii duo prophete cruciauerunt eos  
qui habitant super terram. <sup>11</sup> Et post tres dies et dimidium sp̄s uite  
a deo intrauit in eos . . . . . <sup>12</sup> Et audierunt uocem magnam de celo  
dicentem illis. Ascendite huc. Et ascenderunt in celum in nube: et  
uiderunt illos inimici illorum. <sup>13</sup> Et in illa hora factus est terremotus  
magnus: . . . . . et rel[iqui in timo]re sunt missi et dederunt gloriam  
deo celi. <sup>14</sup> Ue secundum abiit: ecce tertium [et ecce ue terc. *m*<sup>1</sup>]  
ueniet cito . . . . . facte sunt uoces magne in celo dicentes. Factum  
est regnum mundi huius dñi (+ nostri *m*<sup>2</sup>) et xpi eius et regnabit in  
secula seculorum. <sup>16</sup> Et uiginti quatuor, *after which* Fol. 77 *begins with*  
*the next word* seniores.

Cap. XI    17 quia: et qui    om. et regnasti    19 est est (*sic*) *m*<sup>\*</sup>  
archa    terremotus

Cap. XII    2 et clamat: clamauit    3 ru magnus et rufus  
4 om. quae erat paritura    5 erat    tronum    6 pascat  
7 prelium magnum    michael    preli.    8 > eorum inuentus est  
9 > ille draco    sathanas    seducebat    13 proiectus esset  
14 om. in 2<sup>o</sup>    tempera    temperis    16 om. terra 2<sup>o</sup>    17 prelium  
xpi ihu    18 sedit et stetit (!) *m*<sup>2</sup>    arenam

Cap. XIII    1 mari    3 Et 1<sup>o</sup>: + uidi    suis: eius    morte  
om. mortis    4 qui ded.    5 ei: illi    blasphemiam    illi: ci

6 blasphemiam ad : contra *m\* in mg* 7 illi : ei > fac. bell.  
 8 habitant > nom. non s. scrip. 9 Qui habet aures audiat  
 10 in cap. 1<sup>o</sup> : + duxerit in gladio occidi 11 ut 12 > omnem  
 pot. pri. best. omnes hab. 13 aciam (= etiam) — in terram  
 14 hab. in terram ymaginem 15 ymag. *ter* > et ut faciet  
 16 caracterem 17 posset > uend. aut em. caracterem  
 bestiae aut nomen aut num. 18 > est sap. sexcenti

Cap. XIV 1 super syon 2 uox quam aud. cithared.  
 4 hii *ter* — sunt qui 2<sup>o</sup> secuntur ierit 5 ipsorum *in*  
*rasura* eorum sunt : + ante tronum 7 dicentem uoce magna  
 dñm — et (*ante* mare) 8 babilon magna : + ciuitas  
 potauit 9 Et tertius angelus (— alius) > uoce magna dicens  
 ymag. carac. : + eius 10 quod mixtum est — irae 2<sup>o</sup>  
 cruciabuntur et in conspectu agni 11 ascendet habebunt  
 ymag. 12 Hec est pat. s̄orum 13 dicentem michi secuntur  
 15 nubem : + dicens hora : + metendi 16 messuit terram  
 18 angelus : + exiuit habebat po. super 19 — in terram  
 20 sexcenta

Cap. XV 1 > mag. et mir. in celo > sept. plagas 2 igni  
 ymag. eius super cytharas 3 moysi *hiat MS ab magni-*  
*vers. 4 usque ad septem 1<sup>o</sup> vers. 6*

Cap. XVI 1 irae : iracundie 2 habebant ymag. 6 fude-  
 runt quoniam digni sunt 7 > eciam altare dicens 8 quartus :  
 + angelus affligere igne 9 habentes 10 quintus :  
 + angelus comederunt 11 ex : de 12 sextus : + angelus  
 — illud aquas regibus : + uenientibus 13 pseudopro. :  
 + exisse 14 > sp̄s enim demon. sunt ad prelium > omnip. dei  
 15 Et ecce 16 congregabunt hermageden *m\** 17 septimus :  
 + angelus trono 18 terremot. *bis* 19 babilon > ante  
 deum in mem. eius : dei

Cap. XVII 1 dampna. 2 omnes qui habitant terram 4 ab-  
 hominacione 5 — nomen misterium babilon abhom.  
 7 huius mulieris 8 > nom. non sunt scripta 11 — et (*ante*  
*ipsa*) uadit 12 accipient 13 hii habebunt > suam  
 et potest. 14 hii et electi 15 aquas *m\**, aque *m'*

16 et bestiam : in bestiam hii 17 dabit > illi plac. est  
 XVIII 1 illumi. 2 babilon 5 deus 6 reddidit uobis eius :  
 + et in poculo quod miscuit | uobis miscete | *rescripsit m\* secundis*  
*curis. Primum dedit* ds in | poculo quod mis|cuit uobis miscet |  
 10 et dicentes — magna babilon quia 12 mercedem *m\**,  
 merces *m'* bissi thinum ferro : + et uitro *m'* 13 cynamomum  
 thuris 14 — tua anime tue discesserunt preclara — iam  
 14, 15 inuenient merc. horum. Qui diuites *ita distinguit* 16 bysso

17 omnis nauigat naute qui in mare op. 18 et dicentes  
 19 et dicentes 20 Exultate super eam celi *m*<sup>2</sup> et scī apostoli  
 21 mari babilon — iam cŷthared. 22 artis : ars *m*<sup>2</sup>  
 23 quia 2<sup>o</sup> : et

XIX 1 tubarum salus : laus 2 > uera sunt et iust. iud.  
 4 > xxxiii sen. cecid. et + in facies suas tronum amen et allel.  
 5 trono 6 tube 7 quia : quoniam 8 byssino splendente  
 candido 9 dixit *bis* 10 dixit 11 — uocatur in iusticia  
 13 ueste aspersa uocabatur 14 byssino albo mundo

*Totum vers.* 15 *ponit post vers.* 16 *librarius noster cuius rei gratia*  
*nescio, nec mutavit ordinem corrector* 15 eas ferrea : + et  
 tanquam uas fictile confringentur — irae 17 unum : alium  
 qui uol. 18 et et carn. eq. et mag. 19 cum cū illo  
 20 appre. cum illa adorauerunt ymag. hii 21 ore eius

Cap. XX 1 alium angelum cathenam 2 appre. sathanas  
 3 super eum tempere 4 ymag. neque accep. 5 Ceteri non  
 m. non (*sic*) 6 om. et sanctus (*suppl. m*<sup>1</sup>) hiiis 7 sathanas  
 8 diabolus et sed. *m*<sup>\*</sup>, *quod ipse correxit in* et seducet (— diabolus)  
 prelium arena 9 circui. Et exiuit ignis de celo a deo  
 10 pseudoprophete sunt 11 tronum conspectu *quod ipse cor-*  
*rexit in* aspectu in eis 12 troni hiiis 13 mortuos 1<sup>o</sup>  
 + suos infernus om. mortuos (*supplevit m*<sup>1</sup>) ipso *m*<sup>\*</sup>, ipsis *m*<sup>1</sup>  
 14 > Et mors et infernus om. stagnum ignis 2<sup>o</sup>

Cap. XXI 2 ierus. om. nouam de celo : a deo para. *ita disting.*  
 3 trono cum illis > eorum erit 4 > cla. erit ultra neque  
 dolor quia : que 5 trono dicit : dixit michi 6 om. Factum  
 est alpha et ω 8 fornicariis ydolatriis 9 uenit : + ad  
 me *m*<sup>2</sup> 10 ierus. 11 lapis iasp. cristallum 12 angelos *m*<sup>\*</sup>,  
 angulos *m*<sup>2</sup> 14 duodecim *alt.* : scripta et agni 15 arundinem  
 metiret 16 om. Et 1<sup>o</sup> om. et mensus *lapsu, supplevit m*<sup>2</sup> arund. :  
 + aurea *m*<sup>2</sup> om. milia 17 muros 18 — iaspide mundo 1<sup>o</sup> :  
 + erat *m*<sup>2</sup> similis *m*<sup>2</sup> 19 et fund. (*sed et erasum*) ornata *in*  
*rasura scriptum : primum fuit* formata terceus *m*<sup>\*</sup>, tercius *m*<sup>1</sup>  
 calcedonius quatus *m*<sup>\*</sup>, quartus *m*<sup>1</sup> smar. crisolitus berillus  
 crissoprassus iacinctus ametistus 21 platee 22 om. deus  
 23 neque : et illuminabit 24 in lumine affer. 26 affer.  
 27 in illam aliquid abhom. et agni

Cap. XXII 1 flumen uiue *m*<sup>\*</sup>, uite *m*<sup>2</sup> cristallum procedens  
 2 affer. fruct. xii. Per menses sing. *ita disting.* 3 et *sec.* : set  
 illi : ei 4 nom. eius : + scriptum eorum : suis 5 > non  
 erit ultra — lumine *alt.* illuminabit 6 > sunt et uera  
 7 — Et uelociter : uelo. *in rasura alterius* uenio uerba prophete  
 (*corr. ipse -tie*) huius (— libri) 8 > hec michi 9 dixit feceris :

+ quia 10 dixit 11 noceat noceat *m*\* iustificetur 13 Ego  
 sum alpha et ω 14 per portas 15 > facit et amat 16 > splen.  
 stella 17 spiritus: sponsus 18 ego: enim appo. *bis*  
 19 > prophetie libri ligno: libro 20 eciam amen. Uenio  
 cito amen (*sic*) 21 omnibus: + uobis *Non est subscriptio.*

At the end of the work of Bede, a hand which I have designated *m*<sup>2</sup>, and which has glossed the text throughout, writes the following:—

Gradus etatis sex sunt. infanciam. puericiam. adolescenciam. Iuuentus. grauitas. senectus. Infancia tendit usque ad vii annum. Puericia usque ad xiiii. Adolescencia ad xxviii. Iuuentus ad l. Grauitas ad lxx. Senectus que nullo annorum tempore finitur. sed post vi etates quantum cuique est uite senectuti deputatur.

Prima mundi etas ab adam usque ad noe continens annos iuxta hebraicam ueritatem M·DC·LVI. Secunda a noe usque ad abraham continens annos CC·XC·II. Tertia ab abraham usque ad dauid habens annos D·CCC·XLII. Quarta a dauid usque ad transmigrationem continens annos CCCC·LXX·III. Quinta a transmigratione usque ad aduentum xpi. habens annos D·LXXX·IX. Sexta etas que nunc nulla annorum serie certa. sed ut etas decrepita ipsa morte tocius seculi consummenda. Has erumpnosas plenasque la[bo]ribus mundi etates quicumque felici morte uicerint. septima iam sabbati perhennis etate suscepti. octauam beate resurrectionis etatem in quo cum dño perhenniter regnabunt expectant. M·M·M·D·CCCC·LII.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

## ON THE NON-GREEK ORIGIN OF THE *CODEX* *BEZAE*.

My friend, Dr E. A. Loew, has invited criticism on his theory, stated in the April number of the JOURNAL, 1913,<sup>1</sup> that the *Codex Bezae* is the product of a Greek *scriptorium*. I venture to set down here some difficulties which have occurred to me in a hurried inspection of the phototypic edition of the MS; difficulties which for the moment I cannot solve. I will content myself with mere statements and indications, and I feel sure that Dr Loew, who is an acknowledged master of Latin palaeography, will understand my meaning; while I shall be glad

<sup>1</sup> *J. T. S.* vol. xiv pp. 385 sqq.

to gain information from him as to the Greek parallels which I desire and for which I have racked my memory in vain.

(1) The ornamentation at the end of each Gospel and the arrangement of the *explicit*, *incipit* in the *Codex Bezae* recur in the most ancient Latin MSS, but not in Greek ones, where the style and shape and arrangement of them are quite different.

(2) Similarly, the terms of the subscriptions: *εὐαγγέλιον κατα . . . ετελεσθη, αρχεται εὐαγγέλιον* (without the article) *κατα . . .* do not belong to the Greek usage, but are more or less like the usual Latin *explicit*, *incipit*. The oldest Greek MSS have nothing like this: they use the simple title by itself. Again, it is not a Greek but a Latin custom to place the *incipit* . . ., not at the top of the first page of a book or text, but at the foot of the page before, in continuation of, and in fact joined on to, the subscription of the preceding book or text.

(3) I do not remember ever to have noticed in Greek MSS any such abbreviations of the titles as *κατ μαθθ*, *κατ λουκ*, &c., *πραξ αποστολ*, &c.; while such suspensions are very common in the head-lines of Latin MSS. If such forms as *seē*, *act*, *sec.*, *act.* are normal in Latin, such forms as *κατ.*, *πραξ.*, *κατ*, *πραξ* or *κατ*, *πραξ* (if the small line above and below is, as in the Vatican B, a mere ornament) are equally abnormal in Greek. Hence the Greek head-lines in the *Codex Bezae*, no less than the subscriptions and ornamentation, seem to me to shew that the copyist was not a real Greek but a Latin.

(4) Again, it is only in very ancient Latin MSS, and not in Greek ones, that we find the practice of numbering the quires at the inner corner at the foot of the last page, and of adding an ornament like the  $\sqrt{AB}$  of the *Codex Bezae*, ff. 256<sup>v</sup>, 302<sup>v</sup>, 462<sup>v</sup> &c. In the most ancient Greek MSS the number, when it occurs, is placed on the first page of each quire, either at the top (*Sin.*, *Sarrav.*, *Alex.*, *Freer Deut.*, *Marchal.*) or at the bottom (*Sarrav.*), and the ornamentation, if any is used, is very different. But if, in spite of these reasons, many still feel it impossible to resist the argument founded on the undoubted fact that the quires of the *Codex Bezae* are numbered in Greek and not in Latin ciphers, I would simply observe that the Latin MS of the Epistles of St Paul in sixth-century uncials, which can be seen under the later writing of the Bobbio MS, Vatican. lat. 5755, also has its quires numbered in Greek; and surely no one will on that ground be bold enough to suggest that this MS was copied in a Greek *scriptorium*. One might just as well ascribe to a Greek *scriptorium* the Brescian fragment and the *NR T* MSS of St Cyprian's *libri ad Quirinum* in which the chapter-numbers are Greek.

(5) If the script of the *Codex Bezae* on the Latin side is far from elegant and pure, that on the Greek side is much more unsteady, much

less spontaneous and flowing; I might even call it barbarous. Observe especially the letters  $\Xi$ ,  $\Upsilon$ ,  $\Psi$ ; observe also the B, which seems to me to have a form found only in Latin and not in Greek MSS; and notice again the peculiar form of B, K, P, with a long horizontal tail running back from the foot of their first member ( $\cdot B \cdot K \cdot P$ ). In the Latin the letters which extend below the line, viz. F P R S, have this addition, which gives their normal form to the letters; but in the Greek, with the exception of the P which is the Latin P, of the B which is also Latin and shaped like the R, and of the K which seems to me badly conformed to the B,<sup>1</sup> no other letter is so formed, not even the  $\Upsilon \Phi \Psi$  which in other undoubtedly Greek MSS (e.g. the *Vatic.*, the *Sinait.*, and those of *Freer*) usually have their lower limbs ending like the P. This want of uniformity and the barbarousness of form in the Greek script makes it very difficult to ascribe so ancient a MS to a Greek source; for, down to the seventh century and even later, handwriting among the Byzantines did not degenerate and become so uncultivated as it did among the Westerns. If we compare with this script that of, I will not say the Greek MSS assigned to cent. iv–vi, but that of some of the marginal additions to the *Codex Bezae*, viz. the Ammonian sections and some at least of the liturgical notes, we shall see that these latter though later in date are more Greek in character, and are due certainly, I believe, to a Greek hand. Hence, though I cannot bring myself to believe that the *Codex Bezae* came from a Greek *scriptorium* or from a hand more accustomed to writing Greek than Latin,<sup>2</sup> I have no hesitation in accepting the view that subsequently it found its way to some ‘centre (or centres) where Greek was the literary and ecclesiastical language’, perhaps some Greek convent in Italy or elsewhere.

(6) Besides, in Mark xiv 5 (f. 335 b), in the Greek as well as in the

<sup>1</sup> The letters B K do not extend below the line.—The reason why the copyist has adopted, in the Greek pages, the majuscule form B, and in the Latin pages the very common semiuncial form *b*, with the corresponding *d*, is perhaps the quite simple one, that the Greek script possessed such a majuscule form, while it did not possess the Latin *b*. Loving as he did, and as here appears, to make some distinction, it was obvious for him to confine the majuscule B to the Greek, and the semiuncial *b* to the Latin text.

<sup>2</sup> In saying this I do not mean to preclude all Greek influence, or the influence of the Greek archetype, on the copyist, who in the long run could not fail to be affected by it, and so perhaps was in fact affected by it in the manner of correcting, punctuating &c., and making additions, which is to be noticed in some cases; while at the same time I should not venture to assert it to be the fact without more precise researches in the most ancient Latin MSS. And accordingly I would ignore entirely certain faults in spelling, like *magika*, *qem*, since such faults, and still more serious faults, are found in the most famous MSS of Virgil, in *k* of the Gospels, and elsewhere. Every one has noticed in MSS and in inscriptions, such forms as *arkarius*, *kandidatus*, *karissimus*, *karilas*, &c.



Latin, *σηνάριον* is represented by the Latin sign, consisting of an X crossed in the middle by a horizontal straight line. Is it perhaps the case that other examples of this are found in manuscripts—I say, *manuscripts*<sup>1</sup>—which are certainly of Greek origin? Gardthausen, even in the last edition (1913) of his *Griechische Paläographie* ii 372, mentions only the *Codex Bezae*.

(7) Lastly, if I were not restrained by Dr Loew's assertion that 'there are several other errors which are manifestly attributable to copying from an interlinear' (p. 388), I should be inclined to say that the 'ras (Latin s) *χειρ*' of the scribe after '*laverint*' in Mark vii 3 is no sufficient proof of it; for I cannot see why such an error must necessarily be due to the eye of the copyist having 'happened to run down to the Greek beneath the Latin' of an interlinear exemplar. Why may it not have been due to some tiresome reminiscence of the Greek, copied a moment ago, in an instant of slackened attention? But I will go further. Since these two words '*ρας χειρ*' do not follow directly after '*laverint*' (after which there is half a line or more blank), but at the beginning of the next line, we may well suppose that the copyist, being perhaps accustomed to write one line of Greek and immediately after it the corresponding Latin, in that way may through distraction have begun to write *ρας χειρ* after '*laverint*' in the following line, intended for the Latin, instead of going back to the opposite Greek page; and, in fact, in order to observe and to get hold of the precise text and the language, such a procedure was incomparably more useful than to copy a whole page of Greek and then a whole page of Latin. If some explanation like this is by any chance applicable to the other cases indicated by Dr Loew, but without references, there is no need at all to postulate an interlinear, or even a bilingual archetype, whether of two pages, alternately Greek and Latin (like the *Codex Bezae*, the Verona Psalter, or the Copto-Greek MS Borgian. 109), or of two columns with texts side by side on one page (like the Graeco-Copt. palimpsest T<sup>m</sup> of the British Museum). Had interlinear biblical texts, the works of learned men, such ancient ancestors as Dr Loew supposes? It would not be labour lost to try to get more light on this point; for at least some of such MSS, and in fact exactly those of them which have been most studied (viz. Δ evv. and G paul), are derived, according to Corssen, from a non-interlinear archetype, which had its texts parallel, the one alongside of the other.

<sup>1</sup> For the usage found in inscriptions see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* ix 213.

### THE PLACE OF THE *PASTOR* IN THE *CODEX SINAITICUS*.

THE ancient numeration of the gatherings of the *Sinaiticus*, which, according to Dr Lake, p. xvi, is probably contemporary with the MS, and which has led Mr Turner to conjecture that the *Pastor* was originally written at the end of the Old Testament as part of the prophetic canon,<sup>1</sup> appears to me on the contrary to supply a strong argument in favour of its always having been where it now stands, i. e. at the end of the New Testament.

At the very beginning of the *Pastor*, f. 142<sup>r</sup>, we can see in their usual places, (1) on the right-hand side, the  $\eta\beta$  of the later numeration, and (2) on the left-hand a  $\eta$ , identical with the  $\eta$  of the preceding gatherings,  $\eta$  and  $\eta\alpha$  (ff. 134<sup>r</sup>, 140<sup>r</sup>); the only difficulty being that a tiny bit of its upper extremity has disappeared (yet without leaving it at all doubtful what the character is) in consequence of the cutting away of the larger part of the margin. This  $\eta$  is the relic of a longer number, probably  $\eta\Gamma$ ; for on f. 118<sup>v</sup> we have  $\pi(\theta)$ , and on f. 126<sup>r</sup> the  $\eta$  has been entirely erased, since neither of the figures could be retained before the new  $\pi\theta$ . Hence we may feel sure that the *Pastor* was written on quires which bore some number higher than 90; and Mr Turner's conjecture therefore is, not only destitute of foundation, but impossible.

We have therefore here one example among others of a copyist transcribing alternately with others a MS or distant parts of a MS; that is, of course, if we accept the view that the Prophets and the *Pastor* of the *Sinaiticus* are really written by the same hand.

As to the decay of the first and last pages of the quires of the *Sinaiticus* and of other ancient MSS (p. 404 n. 1), this was caused, not by the MSS being 'left unbound in sheets' (a condition which as a rule lasted only for a very short time, until the MS was completed, and even so care was taken that the quires should not be spoilt and consequently depreciated in market-value), but by the fact that these outside pages generally present the inner, softer side of the skins. And as a matter of fact not only the first and last leaves of a MS, but also the 4th and 5th, 8th and 9th, 12th and 13th pages and so on of each gathering, are generally more or less rubbed and spoilt, that is the whiter and softer pages, which were intentionally placed outside for the sake of their smoothness and beauty. These pages, whether because of their greasiness, or for some other reason, less easily absorb and retain the ink than do the pages which present the hair-side of the skins. Cf. Gardthausen *Griechische Paläographie* i<sup>2</sup> 95.

<sup>1</sup> *J.T.S.* vol. xiv pp. 404-407.

# NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS* USED IN THE EDITIO PRINCEPS.<sup>1</sup>

FR TURRIANUS, in the preface to the editio princeps of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (A.D. 1563), speaks of having had at his disposal three manuscripts. Of these the oldest and most accurate was the third, which had been presented to him by the eminent Spanish scholar Antonio Agostino, bishop of Herda and afterwards archbishop of Tarragona: if we can trust (which is perhaps doubtful) the witness of Zacharias Skordylios, the MS was of Cretan origin and had been previously in the possession of Andrea Doni, the writer (in 1515) of MS Barocci 200 at the Bodleian. That this 'oldest' MS of Turrianus is identical with the MS now numbered Vat. gr. 839 had already been made probable by Funk, and in fact an examination of this Vatican MS shews that it contains actual directions of Turrianus to the printers—it was in fact the copy from which the book was set up: see foll. 139–167, e.g. fol. 139 certain words are underlined, and these words are in larger type in the printed text f. 133 a; fol. 143 'per tutti questi spatii una lettera maiuscula', exactly as on f. 136 b of the printed text.

The second of Turrianus's codices came originally from Sicily, and like the last came through Agostino, though unlike the last it was lent only and not given. It is possible that, as Funk plausibly argues, it should be identified with Vat. gr. 2088; but it is perhaps equally likely that the two MSS were not identical but only nearly related, and that Agostino's MS went, with the greater part of his collection, to the Escorial and perished there.

With regard to the remaining MS found by Turrianus at the Calabrian monastery of Patire, Mr Turner would identify it with Vat. gr. 1506. Vat. gr. 1506, however, was not only already at Grottaferrata when P. Luca da Tivoli catalogued the MSS there in 1575, but it was then numbered, out of the 53 MSS, forty-seventh; whereas if it had been brought to Grottaferrata in the brief interval which elapsed between Turrianus's edition (1563) and P. Luca's catalogue, we should have expected it to bear the last number of all. Probably indeed P. Luca's MS 47 is identical (as P. A. Rocchi *De coenobio Cryptoferratensi*, 1893, p. 271 suggests) with no. 60 'Canones Apostolorum non copertos' of the earlier Grottaferrata catalogue drawn up under Bessarion about 1462, and if so of course it cannot well have been found in Calabria by Turrianus. In any case there is reason to think that the numeration of the Grottaferrata MSS by Arabic and by Greek numbers—Vat. 1506

<sup>1</sup> I have put this note together out of information, so valuable and precise that I think it ought to be made public, contained in letters sent me by Mgr Mercati under date of December 29, 1913, and January 24, 1914.—C. H. TURNER.

is numbered<sup>1</sup> both 47 and ψψ—is older than P. Luca, for there were already *lacunae* in that series when he drew up his new catalogue.

Can we then identify Turrianus's Calabrian MS with any other extant MS? If Turrianus left it, as he found it, at Patire—and there is no ground for thinking otherwise—then the MS would presumably have shared the fate of the other MSS of the Basilian monasteries of southern Italy, and would have entered the Vatican Library at the same time with them. We might therefore tentatively identify it with (the second part of) Vat. gr. 2089, a Basilian MS with a text of the same family as Vat. gr. 1506; though, if so, it must have suffered much loss since Turrianus used it, for it is now not much more than a fragment, lacking the first five books of the *Constitutions* at the beginning, and nearly all the *Apostolic Canons* at the end.

But though I do not think that Mr Turner is right in supposing Vat. gr. 1506 to have been one of Turrianus's three MSS, I have no sort of doubt myself, and I do not think that any doubt can exist, of the superiority of the text of Vat. gr. 1506 over the text of all other hitherto known MSS.

G. MERCATI.

#### A NOTE ON THE SIXTEENTH ODE OF SOLOMON.

THERE is in Philo an interesting parallel to verses 12–15 of this Ode. The verses run, in Dr Rendel Harris's translation (2nd ed. p. 113), as follows :—

<sup>12</sup> He measured the heavens and fixed the stars : and He established the creation and set it up : <sup>13</sup> and He rested from His works : <sup>14</sup> and created things run in their courses and do their works : <sup>15</sup> and they know not how to stand and be idle ; and His 'heavenly' hosts are subject to His word.

Philo *De Cherubim* 26 (ed. Cohn), says: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ "σάββατον" —ἐρμηνεύεται δ' ἀνάπαυσις—"θεοῦ" φησιν εἶναι Μωυσῆς πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας, οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπτόμενος φυσιολογίας ἀναγκαίας—τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀναπαύομενον, εἰ δεῖ τᾷ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἔν ἐστιν ὁ θεός—, . . . ἥλιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν τε καὶ κόσμον, ἅτε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτεξούσια καὶ κινούμενα καὶ φερόμενα συνεχῶς, θέμις εἰπεῖν κακοπαθεῖν . . . τὸ δ' ἀσθενείας ἀμέτοχον, κἂν πάντα ποιῇ, δι' αἰῶνος ἀναπαύομενον οὐποτε λήξει· ὥστε οἰκειότατον μόνῃ θεῷ τὸ ἀναπαύεσθαι.

It appears from Philo's protest in *De Migr. Abr.* 16 that a thoughtful Jew could reflect on the unceasing activity of the heavenly bodies, and yet keep the Seventh Day ; and this, in spite of the passage from Justin cited by Dr Rendel Harris, seems to make it doubtful whether any anti-Judaic polemic is to be detected in this Ode.

H. M. SLEE.

<sup>1</sup> The two numbers correspond : to the first 24 MSS were attached the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet, and with MS 25 commenced a series of duplicated numbers, αα ββ &c., so that ψψ = 47.

## REVIEWS

## AGNOSTOS THEOS.

*Agnostos Theos* is the name of a most stimulating, most provoking, and (unless I am very much mistaken) most wrong-headed book by Professor Eduard Norden of Berlin, which appeared early last year. It describes itself as 'Studies in the history of the form of religious speech', but it is really a bundle of four or five special theses, which are enforced with an amazing mass of learning in a most lively and interesting fashion.

Dr Norden is Professor of-Classical Philology in the University of Berlin, and is best known by his work on rhythmical Prose in Classical literature. Throughout *Agnostos Theos* one feels this. He is like one of the Athenians in the story: the Christian Missionary seems to him to be 'a setter forth of strange Gods' in a very barbarous speech. So much is this the case that I venture to think he has mistaken some things at the very beginning, which, when properly taken account of, would have given a different turn to the whole investigation and materially modified his conclusions. But before entering on any criticism, let me give an account of the work itself.

The book is divided into two distinct portions, pp. 1-140 being occupied with St Paul's speech at Athens, while pp. 143-308 contain an investigation of the formulae of prayer and of speaking about God. These are followed by Appendices, pp. 311-387. Everywhere throughout the book there is displayed a wonderful knowledge of the most various kinds of Greek literature and style: the mere theologian feels after reading it like the Queen of Sheba at the sight of Solomon. Even now I wonder that there is any spirit left in me to tackle such a prodigy of learning.

In what follows I confine myself to the first part, that about the speech of St Paul at Athens. This was, in fact, the origin of the book. It seems that in the winter of 1910/11 the Acts of the Apostles was being read among the Professors in Berlin, and when they came to Acts xvii and Mars' Hill the *Philologen* outran the *Herren Theologen* their colleagues. It seems to have been taken for granted that the well-known speech of St Paul, whether genuine or fabricated, was the formulation of the essence of early Greek Christianity—in any case, Norden's book is the outcome of the discussions of the Berlin Professors.

Norden leads off with an analysis of the speech itself. He dis-

tinguishes in it two strains, to wit, the main Jewish-Christian theme, and the Stoic accompaniment. The Jewish-Christian theme Norden declares to be essentially similar to what we get in 'Poimandres', in the 33rd Ode of Solomon (here regarded as Jewish), in the *Kerygma Petri*, and in the Preaching of Barnabas from the Clementine *Recognitions*. The four *τόποι* are (a) the announcement of the One, True, but hitherto Unknown, God, whom the Athenians have hitherto ignorantly worshipped; (b) this God is to be worshipped not by images but in spirit; (c) the times of ignorance God has overlooked, but now men must everywhere change their opinions (*μετανοεῖν*); and (d) all this is guaranteed to you by the resurrection of Christ. Of these, the only new element introduced by Christianity is (d), but in essence it existed before, and has its most simple expression in Poimandres, in the single word Immortality, *ἀθανασία*. The writer of the Athenian speech substituted a reference to the resurrection of Christ for the mere promise of immortality. That this writer did not in so many words use Christ's resurrection as a proof of a life beyond the grave (though the argument seems to lead up to this) is important, says Norden, for it follows that the fixed scheme had been already transferred over into specifically Christian missionary preaching, before this guarantee had come to be regarded as the kernel of the whole doctrine of resurrection (p. 5). I shall have more to say presently about the justice of this view of St Paul's speech: here it is enough to note that Prof. Norden makes it quite clear that this is the view *he* takes of it, and he does not seem ever to have imagined that any other view could be held.

From the main ideas he now turns to the Stoic accompaniment: as he himself says (p. 9), the Speech at Athens is illustrated by Stoic phrases and texts in the same way that the other speeches are illustrated by texts out of the Old Testament. Noteworthy is Norden's explanation of 'In Him we live and move and have our being': life, according to Posidonius, we share with plants as well as animals, the power of independent movement common to men and animals is a higher gift, while man alone has real and noetic existence<sup>1</sup> (p. 20).

Thus the speech at Athens is the conventional type of a missionary preachment, as such preachments were used in apostolic times, but individualized by the introduction of Stoic catchwords suitable for an

<sup>1</sup> Since Prof. Norden wrote, the statement of Theodore of Mopsuestia has come to light, according to which 'In Him we live and move and have our being' is not only genuine Stoic doctrine, but actually comes out of the *Minos* of Epimenides, the same poem that is quoted in Tit. i 12. The particular 'lie' that the Cretans told was that Zeus was dead and that the tomb of Zeus was in Crete. 'The lying Cretans, always liars, shew Thy tomb; but Thou, Thou dost not die, for Thou standest alive for ever, for in Thee it is we live and move and have our being' (*Th. Litig.* '13, 686).

Athenian audience. Now in all the Stoic commonplaces about the true invisible God who is known by His works He is never described as *ἄγνωστος*. He is *ἀόρατος*, *ἀθεώρητος*, *ἀφανής*, *ἀκατάληπτος*, but not *ἄγνωστος*. What brought the composer of the Speech to use the word *ἄγνωστος*? What brought him to use the 'motif' of an Altar-inscription? And why did he make an Altar to an Unknown God to be a sign of particular piety among the Athenians? Professor Norden asks these questions on p. 29 f, because he has a definite and positive solution. This is what we must now go on to consider.

In the first place he is able to shew a certain number of instances in which the starting-point is some Inscription on an Altar or the Tomb of a Hero. Later on (p. 118) he brings forward the very important statement of St Jerome to the effect that the Inscription at Athens was not really *ἄγνώστῳ θεῷ* after all: *Inscriptio arae*, says Jerome (on Tit. i 12), *non ita erat ut Paulus asseruit 'Ignoto Deo', sed ita:*

*'Diis Asiae et Europae et Africae, diis ignotis et peregrinis.'*  
*uerum quia Paulus non pluribus diis indigebat ignotis, sed uno tantum ignoto deo, singulari uerbo usus est.*

This statement is all the more probable, as elsewhere altars to Unknown Gods are mentioned (e.g. the *ἄγνῶστων θεῶν βωμός* at Olympia, *Paus.* v 14, 8), but no instance has come to light of 'an unknown God' in the singular. It is, however, the opinion of Professor Norden and also of Professor v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that the wording of Jerome's inscription is not older than Hadrian's time. Norden therefore supposes that the altar referred to in Acts xvii is really that at Phalerum mentioned by Pausanias, which also appears to have had upon it *ἄγνῶστων θεῶν*, like that at Olympia.

But all this does not give direct answers to the questions mentioned above. The answers, according to Professor Norden, are to be found in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, or rather in the actual visit of Apollonius to Athens about the year A.D. 50 and in the discourses and writings which the wandering sage produced during his stay there. This section about Apollonius is a corner-stone of Norden's work and deserves our very careful attention.

Our knowledge of Apollonius of Tyana, apart from a few scattered quotations in Eusebius, comes from the Life by Philostratus, published about 217. The chief source used by Philostratus was the memoir of Damis the Assyrian, who represents himself as the constant companion of Apollonius. The existence of Damis's memoir has been doubted, on insufficient grounds; but though a work of that professed authorship was Philostratus's source, Norden's own opinion (p. 36) is that 'Damis' is only a pseudonym and that his memoir as a whole is a falsification, and further, that it was couched in the 'we-form', like the 'we-sections'

of Acts (not of course that the author of either work had any historical right to pose as an eye-witness, but only because it was a recognized literary form). The proof would be slightly more cogent if Professor Norden had brought forward evidence that Damis's tales had ever been cast in the first person plural.

Norden goes on to point out that Apollonius travelled from city to city, from the Ganges to Cadiz, specially interesting himself in cults and religion. The words said to have been used by the Apostle at Athens *διερχόμενος καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα [ὑμῶν]* fit the intelligent curiosity of Apollonius far better than they do St Paul. 'But we need not confine ourselves to subjective judgements', says Norden, 'for we possess a remarkable account of Apollonius's visit to Athens. Philostratus iv 18 relates a conflict of Apollonius with the hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries, who had refused to initiate Apollonius as being a man *μη καθαρὸν τὰ διαμόνια*. After telling us of Apollonius's prophecy on that occasion, he goes on to say<sup>1</sup>:

"Many were the discourses which, according to Damis, the Sage delivered at Athens; though he did not write down all of them, but only the more important ones in which he handled great subjects. He took then for the topic of his first discourse the matter of rites and ceremonies, and this because he saw that the Athenians were much addicted to sacrifices; and in it he explained how a religious man could best adapt his sacrifice, his libation, or prayers to any particular divinity, and at what hours of day and night he ought to offer them. And it is possible to obtain a book of Apollonius, in which he gives instructions on these points in his own words. But at Athens he discussed these topics with a view to improving his own wisdom and that of others in the first place, and in the second of convicting the hierophant of blasphemy and ignorance in the remarks he had made; for who could continue to regard as one impure in his religion (*or*, not free from dabbling with demons) a man who taught philosophically how the worship of the Gods is to be conducted?"<sup>2</sup>

The resemblance to St Paul does not after all seem so very striking. Yet according to the theory it is this tale of the visit of Apollonius to Athens that has suggested St Paul's speech on Mars' Hill. But 'what follows is in any case decisive', says Norden (p. 41). 'On his journey up the Nile near the borders of Egypt and Ethiopia Apollonius, according to Philostratus, who is here definitely professing to take his account

<sup>1</sup> Philostr. iv 19, Conybeare's translation.

<sup>2</sup> I have quoted the passage from Philostratus in full, so that the reader who is not familiar with the work may gather how far removed its style is from that of Acts. Norden (p. 38) somewhat abridges the intolerable wordiness of Apollonius's biographer.



from Damis, meets with a young man from Naucratis who had left his father's house because he had been slandered by his step-mother, and was now a boatman on the Nile. They come into a conversation, in the course of which Apollonius asks him whether he sacrifices to Aphrodite. Pleased with his answer in the affirmative, Apollonius declares to his companions that the young man deserved a crown rather than that Hippolytus who neglected the cult of this Goddess and despised her, finishing with these words: "Never do I regard it as a sign of good behaviour to make disparaging utterances about any of the Gods, as Hippolytus did about Aphrodite; it is better to speak piously about all Gods, especially at Athens, where altars are placed in honour even of unknown demons (οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἴδρυνται)."

Professor Norden continues (p. 42): 'I suppose that all readers of these words will feel as I do; they will puzzle their heads why ever any one should begin to talk about Athenian piety on the Nile.' Of course he regards the story of the young man from Naucratis as mere invention: 'all the more', says he, 'are we struck by the contrast between the conventional speech and the surprising turn given in the concluding words. That they have been dragged in to this context every one must see: in Ethiopia (or, more accurately, on the borders of Egypt and Ethiopia), as part of a conversation with travelling companions, the appeal to Athens is all the more inappropriate, inasmuch as the young man from Naucratis has not neglected any of the Gods, but is praised for his piety. . . . The decisive words have been taken from some other context. Only in Athens is it sense to say "Such and such an infraction of the cultus has here taken place, and that in a city which is so pious that in it altars are erected even to unknown Gods".' But, says Norden, we know that Apollonius, when in Athens, did speak about the cultus, and further that he wrote a tract *περὶ θυσίων*, containing what he had said in Athens on that occasion. Therefore this passage from the *Vita* has been taken direct out of the *περὶ θυσίων*. It is a genuine sentence of Apollonius's discourse when at Athens in A.D. 50. This visit and the discourse were well known, and served as the model for the redactor of the Acts who wrote the speech on Mars' Hill. 'The coincidences between the *διάλεξις* of Apollonius in Athens and the Areopagus-speech in the Acts can in my opinion', says Norden (p. 46), 'be explained in no other way than by the view that the Editor either knew this very work of Apollonius, or knew some work in which a more full and accurate account of it was given than we find in Philostratus.'

Let me recapitulate the chain of reasoning backwards. St Paul's speech at Athens is forged out of Apollonius's speech *περὶ θυσίων* at Athens, because they are so much alike, especially in their reference to

the piety of Athens and the altars to unknown deities. We know that a reference to the piety of Athens and the altars to unknown deities stood in the *περὶ θυσίων*, because the passage is quoted in the *Vita* vi 3, the story of the young man from Naucratis. We know the passage in the story of the young man from Naucratis was taken from the *περὶ θυσίων*, because it does not fit the context.

But does it not fit the context? Following the advice given by Dr Routh to Dean Burgon, I took the precaution of verifying the reference. In Philostratus vi 3 the first time Hippolytus is mentioned he is called Hippolytus *τοῦ Θησέως*, and it is surely impossible to name the name of Theseus without thinking of Athens, where also Hippolytus was born. Moreover the Drama is itself Attic: the religion set forth or criticized by Euripides, from whom most literary persons such as Philostratus took their ideas of Hippolytus, was the religion of Athens. In the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, indeed, the action takes place at Troezen, but even in that play the fatal act of Aphrodite was accomplished at Athens, for Phaedra saw Hippolytus and fell in love with him when he had come to Athens from Troezen to see and be initiated into the Mysteries (*Hipp.* 24 ff).<sup>1</sup> At Troezen neglect of Aphrodite had brought no evil consequences, but no sooner does he come to Athens than the Goddess sees her chance: 'it is better', as Apollonius says, 'to speak piously about all Gods, especially at Athens.' The words are most appropriate, wherever they are spoken, when Hippolytus, the famous Hippolytus, is the subject of discussion. But how about Professor Norden's hypothesis, which was based on its inappropriateness? And what are we to think of Bousset's pronouncement (*Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 1913, col. 193) that 'Norden has succeeded in making it extremely probable that in Apollonius's *Dialexis περὶ θυσίων* a subject of the discourse was that in Athens there were altars to unknown Gods'?

Well, what *is* left? Very little of the parallel between St Paul's speech and the *περὶ θυσίων* of Apollonius. What is left is that it seems to have been known and remarked that an altar or altars to Unknown Gods existed at Athens. But once we recognize the appropriateness of the reference to Athens in the speech of Apollonius about Hippolytus the whole argument for connecting that speech with Apollonius's speech at Athens falls to the ground, and with it all the argument that Apol-

<sup>1</sup> In Seneca's *Phaedra* the whole action takes place at Athens. For Philostratus and 'Damis', whose sources are not archaeology but literature, the usages of poets are more important than the true *origines* of the legend. Other somewhat unexpected references to Athens and Attica occur in Philostratus ii 40 and vi 11. But indeed Apollonius says 'to the wise man Hellas is everywhere' (i 34, another passage where Athens is dragged in).

Ionius even mentioned in his Athenian speech the piety of the Athenians or their altars to Unknown Deities.

Let us now come back to Professor Norden's analysis of the speech itself. If it be not rude to suggest it, I cannot help feeling that the New Testament is to our Professor something of an unknown world.<sup>1</sup> And to put the matter into a single phrase, I do not believe that St Paul's speech at Athens is an announcement of *ἀθανασία*. And further, I do not think that this so-called 'speech' was planned by the author of the Acts to be a compendium of any religious theory whatever. On the contrary, I regard it as an extremely clever introduction to what the speaker wished to announce, an introduction most carefully worded so as to interest the audience and claim their sympathetic attention, but nevertheless the announcement itself was so distasteful, and the audience was so unsympathetic to it, that the speech was interrupted and never came to a conclusion at all. When the Athenians heard about *ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν* some mocked openly, and the rest said 'some other time—not now'. In the phraseology of the English Parliament the conclusion of St Paul's speech was put down to be heard that day six months.

And what is *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*? Not, surely, the story that Jesus had been seen alive again, as Clytemnestra was seen at Delphi by the Furies, but that God had appointed a Day in which He was about to judge the world, both the quick and the dead, and that this fantastic notion was the reason they were bidden *μετανοεῖν*, to repent. To entertain such a thought would indeed have been *μετάνοια* for a true Hellene. It would have been an entire change of view. And when it was joined with the idea that some one who had died not so long ago would be the Judge—well, we have St Paul's own word for what they thought of it. They called it *μωρία*, foolishness. They were disappointed to find that the Jewish talker was no Zeno *redivivus*, a Guide from Phoenicia, and they had better things to do than to listen to him.

So much for the story in the Acts. Is the speech genuine, in the sense of a report of St Paul's words? Here I should be inclined to say, frankly, No. On purely literary grounds it seems to me unlike St Paul: I imagine the wording to be entirely that of the writer of the Acts, i. e. the Third Evangelist, whom I believe to be St Luke. The cleverness is Luke's, the literaryness is Luke's—the man who could write the Preface to the Third Gospel and follow it up immediately

<sup>1</sup> See especially p. 66 note, where Norden tells us he has analysed the style of the Letter of Ptolemaeus to Flora, and has pointed out that Ptolemaeus in quoting Isa. xxix 13 has changed the wording to make it agree with accepted rhythmical canons, changing *διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας* into *διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων*, i. e. the very words of Matt. xv 9, Mk. vii 7! Did Mark also write *Kunstprosa*?

with the Infancy Story. I imagine the scene to be historical: that Paul came to Athens and was grievously impressed by the profusion of 'Aboda Sara, of objects of heathen worship; that some one, perhaps Dionysius the Areopagite, whoever he was, was struck by his talk, and had him up to give a *séance* to his friends, much as people nowadays come to listen to a 'Swami'; that he did his best to explain his message, but they would have none of it, especially belief in the Judgement to come here on this earth, and that he left Athens conscious of failure. The real talk of St Paul must have been longer, more diffuse, less comprehensible, warmer, more human, less dignified. I cannot believe that an Athenian audience would have stopped St Paul so soon, if he had begun by delivering the ingenious and eloquent Introduction to Christian Gnosis which we read in Acts xvii 22-31, an Introduction which, after all, only takes five minutes to pronounce.

The essential point where Professor Norden's view and the view here taken differ is not the question of the genuineness of the 'speech', in the sense of accurate reporting. Where we differ is that Norden understands the message to be primarily theological, I understand it to be primarily eschatological. The remarkable thing about the famous speech is that for all its wealth of pagan illustration its message is simply the Galilean Gospel—'The Kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe the tidings'. This is the Gnosis that Paul brings to Athens, not Eternal Life through participation in the Christian Mysteries, but the announcement of the impending Judgement, in which Jesus Christ is to be the Judge. On p. 11 Professor Norden comes very near to recognizing this: he recognizes here (and here alone in the book) how near in thought, though not in language, the Areopagus Speech is to Rom. ii 16: what he does not seem to recognize is that in proportion as it comes near to the passage in Romans it departs from the ideas and conceptions of *Poimandres* and the Preaching of Barnabas and other purely Greek-Christian literature. In a word its theology is the theology of the first generation of Christians, the men who had been Jews first, before they believed in Jesus.

One or two remarks may here be made about *γνῶσις*, about the announcement of an *ἄγνωστος θεός* and about *μετάνοια*. There is an essential difference between *γνῶσις* and philosophy. This is, in fact, one of those elementary truths or truisms which are often forgotten. Professor Norden has brought out very well that the Stoics did not set forth an *ἄγνωστος θεός*, or call men to *μετάνοια*. No: why should they? Neither they, nor the philosophers who went before them, especially from the days of Socrates onwards, made any claim to be the heralds of a Divine Revelation. They claimed to be the champions of reason, of good sense, of clear thought, of *natural* science. If their reason,

their good sense, their clear thought, led them to belief in God, or the Gods, their procedure was to declare that these Beings, though invisible to mortal eyes, might be to some extent known or inferred from their works or kinetic energy. The only command the philosophers had to deliver was 'clear your minds!', 'wake up!', *νήψατε!*

Essentially different from this is the message of all the Gnostics. They are all essentially revealers, bearers of a revelation about God, which would otherwise remain in darkness. The LORD Himself takes them from where they are and tells them 'Go, prophesy such and such things to My People!' Their message has been hitherto unknown, but God reveals His secret to His servants the Prophets. Not only Valentinus and Basilides, but also Paul and the Twelve, Jesus, John the Baptist, Enoch, Daniel, Jeremiah, are all Gnostics rather than Philosophers. Naturally there have been mistaken Gnostics and even fraudulent Gnostics; but they all have this in common, that they profess to have had access to special information. Something is known to them which is *ἄγνωστον* to their hearers.

About the words *μετάνοια* and *μετανοεῖν* Professor Norden makes some interesting remarks on p. 134 ff, which I venture to think need some supplementing from the Semitic side. The point of interest is this, that *μετάνοια* does not occur in certain writings where its presence might have been anticipated. Thus it does not occur in Epictetus, except once (diss. ii 22, 25), where the character admired by Epictetus is *μὴ μετανοῶν*, the Stoic is not lightly carried away to change his mind. Norden makes it clear on p. 134 that he is not denying that Greek philosophers and ethical teachers inculcated a change of view on the part of their hearers or a change of moral conduct from that practised by ordinary unthinking people. He is only concerned with the use of *μετάνοια* (and the allied word *μεταμέλεια*) to express this change.

Norden's view seems to be that *μετάνοια* is the specifically Jewish word, and that when we find *μετανοήσατε* in *Poimandres* (in the passage actually quoted by Norden as parallel with the Areopagus Speech) it must have come *aus orientalischen, besonders jüdischen Vorstellungskreisen* (p. 139), Christian influence in this Byzantine collection of old and new writings being *ex hypothesi* excluded. But the curious thing is, that *μετάνοια* and *μετανοεῖν* are absent from a good many Jewish works, where we might have expected to find them quite as much as in Epictetus. For instance, there is no *μετάνοια* in the Greek Psalter. 'The word *μετάνοια* is un-Jewish', says Wellhausen (on Mk. i 15), 'although it occurs two or three times in Sirach. The Aramaic equivalent is *tūb*, Heb. *shūb*' (i.e. 'return'). And against the absence of the word from Epictetus we might notice the occurrence of *μετάνοια* § 10 f and of *μεταμέλεια* § 35 in the so-called *Cebetis Tabula* (? 1st cent. A. D.).



Not only does his book shew throughout that he has taken adequate pains to acquaint himself with the literature of his subject, but in the first of two *Beilagen* he gives a complete bibliography of what has hitherto been written upon it. In the second of these *Beilagen* he has further equipped himself with an instrument which, while necessary for the particular purpose of his own study, would also by itself suffice to render his book indispensable for any future work on the Odes—namely a full Concordance to the Syriac text.

Kittel's view is that the Odes are wholly Christian in origin. He justifies himself in adopting this position from the outset on two *a priori* principles: (1) that a literary piece which comes to us as a unity should be regarded as such until it has been proved not to be so; (2) that our Odes, from the circumstances of their tradition—and of course the character of their contents—must be regarded as Christian poems so long as their non-Christian origin is not proven (pp. 7-8). It is true that the Odes come to us—through the *Pistis Sophia* and Lactantius—as a quasi-canonical Jewish work under the name of Solomon; but they are preserved only in the Christian Church, and many passages in them are expressly Christian. Moreover Lactantius ascribes to Solomon a passage (from Ode xix) which is the most obviously Christian in the whole collection. That a Christian pseudepigraph might, within the Christian Church, establish itself on the fringe of the O. T. Canon is neither unthinkable nor unexampled. It is, then, not the Christian but the Jewish origin of the Odes that needs to be formally demonstrated (pp. 8-10).

Kittel thus ranges himself directly against the champions of the various interpolation hypotheses; but adherents of the view that the Odes are Jewish, who still hold themselves independent of any interpolation hypothesis, are regarded as outside the hostile area (pp. 5-6).

The method of treatment is twofold: (1) to examine the thought, expression, vocabulary, and stylistic peculiarities of the supposed interpolations in comparison with those of the collection as a whole; (2) to try how far the Odes concerned hang together as single compositions, and how the suspected passages in them stand in relation to their context (p. 6). The work is then divided into two parts (not, however, answering quite exactly, as regards method, to the plan sketched on p. 6): I The Style of the Odes (pp. 12-44); II Criticism of the Interpolation Hypotheses (pp. 44-142).

Part I deals mainly with the external form of the Odes, or the peculiarities which mark their general structure. Here a large number of the Odes—both those suspected of containing interpolations and those of which the integrity is unquestioned—are examined with care and insight. It is shewn that most of the stylistic eccentricities which

have been seized upon as a basis for the interpolation theory are thoroughly characteristic of the whole collection: such are e.g. (a) abrupt change from descriptions of purely personal experiences to thoughts concerned with mankind or believers in general; (b) the sudden introduction of vivid imagery immediately upon passages containing reflexions of a personal or general character (cp. Odes vi and xxiii); or conversely, the same sudden transition from a startling figure in the opening verses to some religious theme not obviously connected with it (cp. Odes xxiv, xlii); (c) the often perplexing change of person or subject. Such features are shewn to run through the whole work in such a way that it becomes arbitrary to eliminate them in some cases by an appeal to interpolation, while in other cases acquiescing in them as germane to the style of the original author. It is this that has led some critics (notably Diettrich) to postulate a Jewish as well as a Christian interpolator. Kittel's conclusion from these phenomena is, in my opinion, fully justified: 'Man kommt beim Festhalten an der Interpolationshypothese auch hinsichtlich der formellen Seite zu demselben Resultat, das schon Harnack für das Inhaltliche zugeben musste: dass der Interpolator dem Ideenkreise des Dichters sehr nahe stand und ihm eigentlich zum Verwechseln ähnlich ist' (pp. 43-44). In style as well as in thought and ideas the openly Christian passages are indistinguishable from the rest, and the only ground for distinguishing them therefore lies in their Christianity.

To this part of the work would properly belong, so it appears to me, a separate and detailed treatment of the style of the Odes on the more strictly linguistic side—vocabulary, phraseology, the manner of giving expression to identical or similar ideas. But Kittel has utilized this argument mainly in Part II, where he discusses the relation of the definitely Christian, or 'interpolated', passages to the contexts in which they stand. It may be questioned whether a purely stylistic argument of this kind is logically quite relevant to the purpose of demonstrating the connexion of thought and argument in different parts of individual Odes, which is the author's task in Part II. On the other hand, a separate treatment of the style from a more directly linguistic point of view (and preferably in some sort of tabular form) would give a result the cogency of which few could fail to appreciate at sight. Such an analysis of the bricks and mortar (so to speak), as distinct from the architecture, of the style does seem a desideratum in a work which sets out to discuss the unity of the Odes on internal grounds; for it is only by such analysis that subjective impressions as to style can be traced to underlying causes, and thus become effective as a critical argument.

In Part II Kittel deals only with those Odes of which the unity has been questioned by one or other critic. His aim here, as already



stated, is to shew that the would-be interpolations hang together with their contexts—indeed, in some cases, that they are so essential to the argument that their removal renders an Ode unintelligible. In estimating the value of this part of the work it is necessary to keep in mind the results arrived at in the first part, and to remember that though there are sometimes difficulties connected with the Christian passages—the difficulties of abrupt transition, &c., noticed above—yet these are not confined to the Odes in which Christianity clearly shews itself, but are a characteristic feature of the whole collection.

In this part Kittel has many useful notes on the text in which he discusses the value of suggested emendations, or translations of the existing text, calculated to ease difficulties which occur in tracing the Odist's thought and argument. His treatment of the text appears to me to be characterized generally by good sense and a knowledge of what is possible or impossible in Syriac; but in some cases I should hesitate to follow him, or object altogether. His acceptance (pp. 45, 53, 57) of Nestle's conjecture, that in Ode vii 12 the original Greek had *οὐσία* and that this was read as *θυσία* by the translator, seems to me unsafe. If ܡܬܝܫܒܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܚܝܬܐ 'from His sacrifice' is impossible—which I think we should hesitate to lay down categorically in a work of this kind—I should rather suggest ܡܬܝܫܒܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܚܝܬܐ 'from His greatness' (cp. v. 4, and xxxvi 5), or even ܡܬܝܫܒܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܚܝܬܐ 'of His likeness' (cp. v. 6). It may be pointed out that the theme of vii 4-6, 12<sup>b</sup>—participation of man in the divine nature (cp. 2 Pet. i 4 *θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*)—is already adumbrated in iv 9: 'Thou hast given us thy fellowship' (*or* communion, *κοινωνία*). P. 58: Wellhausen's version of vii 14 (adopted by K), which takes ܡܠ as reflexive, is quite untenable, and the reference to Nöld. *Gram.* § 223 is not in point: ܡܠ ܕܩܪ, ܡܠ ܕܩܪ are commonly equivalent to ܡܠܦܐ, ܡܠܦܐ, but not so ܡܠ and ܡܠ standing alone. P. 63: I do not think ܡܠܦܐ in vii 21 can be taken as 'part. pass.' Passive participles from verbs *tertiæ alaf* are not much used in the emphatic state, and very rarely occur unless the noun to which they refer is actually expressed. The word here is almost certainly the adj. *hazzāyē*. P. 64: K favours Grimme's emendation of ܡܠܦܐ ܕܡܫܚܝܬܐ (in vii 27) to ܡܠܦܐ ܕܡܫܚܝܬܐ 'etwas Widerstrebendes'. This correction seems to me very mechanical: the sense 'oppose' is inappropriate to the context, and ܡܠܦܐ is not an obvious verb to express it. I now think that the text is sound, and that ܡܠܦܐ ܕܡܫܚܝܬܐ renders *ψυχικόν*: a comparison of the Syriac renderings of this adj. at 1 Cor. ii 14, xv 44, Jac. iii 15 (cp. also Aphraates ed. Parisot vol. i col. 305 ll. 25-26, col. 308 l. 14, col. 404

l. 18) seems to shew that such a rendering is possible, and the sense 'anything animal' is strongly commended by the context. P. 108: K prefers the reading of cod. N at xxviii 13, viz. ܕܠܚܝܬ 'I forgot': but a reference to xxxi 10 will shew that cod. H is probably right in reading ܕܠܚܝܬ 'I bore'. P. 121: for ܕܠܚܝܬ 'your judge' (in xxxiii 10) I would suggest as possible ܕܠܚܝܬ 'your armour', which would suit very well the following 'and they that have put me on'. P. 125: the translation of xxxiv 4 here adopted, 'Wer überall umgeben ist mit Schönerem, in dem ist nichts Geteiltes', seems to me quite impossible. The masc. ܕܠܚܝܬ cannot mean 'the beautiful': that would at least require the fem. The meaning is not τὸ καλόν, but ὁ καλός (ἀνὴρ). The above translation further necessitates emending ܕܠܚܝܬ to ܕܠܚܝܬ (not ܕܠܚܝܬ), and is even so inaccurate, since 'with' is not expressed in the Syr. and cannot be supplied. By translating literally we get a sense that is in perfect accord with the context: 'Where the good (man) is surrounded on all sides, there is in him nothing divided.' It has only to be observed that ܕܠܚܝܬ 'divided' frequently means divided in mind, doubtful, hesitating; so that the second clause may well mean 'he is nothing dismayed'. P. 140: I do not think that in xlii 3 ܕܠܚܝܬ is an appellation of Christ, 'der Aufgerichtete'. The expression ܕܠܚܝܬ ܕܠܚܝܬ is to be compared with ܕܠܚܝܬ ܕܠܚܝܬ in xxvii 3: as in the latter passage the meaning is 'the wood *that is* straight' (i.e. here, upright), so in the former the meaning is 'His way *that is* straight' (cp. xxxviii 7).

I have noticed a few slight errors in the Syriac Concordance at the end of the volume: ܕܠܚܝܬ (viii 24) should be classed as a verb, not as an adjective. Similarly ܕܠܚܝܬ in vii 7 is doubtless a verb, as in v. 12. The verb ܕܠܚܝܬ in xxiii 20 should be described as 'Af.', not as 'Pa.' The word ܕܠܚܝܬ (xviii 8) appears in both MSS as the Syr. equivalent of Gk. μὲν: this is not noticed. The adj. ܕܠܚܝܬ (xxiii 18) is given as if a part of the verb ܕܠܚܝܬ. There is no need to record the erroneous form ܕܠܚܝܬ (x 8), for Harris's second ed. has correctly ܕܠܚܝܬ.

Kittel has made a valuable contribution to the study of the Odes, and his book should be in the hands of all students engaged upon them.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

## THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

*Le Mouvement théologique du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Par J. DE GHELLINCK, S.J.  
(J. Gabalda, Paris, 1914.)

THIS book is a learned and valuable contribution to the history of mediaeval thought. In it Fr de Ghellinck sets forth the story of the movement which resulted in establishing the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard as the authoritative text-book of theology in the Latin Church. The first chapter traces the fortunes of theological learning in the west from the Renaissance under Charles the Great through the 'iron age' of the tenth century up to the dawn of a better time in the eleventh. Attention is especially called to the service which the canonists rendered to the theologians by their collections of extracts from the writings of the fathers and the decrees of councils. Justice is done to the pre-eminent authority enjoyed by St Augustine and St Isidore. In St Anselm the author, like most modern Roman Catholic writers who follow St Thomas in holding that reason can attain to the discovery of the Unity but not to that of the Trinity in the Godhead, is inclined to detect a lack of precision in defining the boundaries between the respective spheres of reason and of faith. (It is true that he does not make this criticism in his own person, but quotes it as made by Fr de Regnon.) But he recognizes that to understand the history of opinion on this subject we must pay more attention than has often been paid to the importance of the old doctrine, which the early middle ages learned from St Augustine, of a divine illumination even in the process of natural knowledge. Fr Mandonnet has pointed out in his work on Siger of Brabant that what has sometimes been considered as Averroism in Roger Bacon is for the most part no more than a repetition of this Augustinian thesis. In his second chapter Fr de Ghellinck investigates the history of the formation of such collections of extracts from the Fathers as were destined to be superseded at the end of the twelfth century by that of the writer whose work came to be known as *par excellence* 'The Sentences' and himself as the Master of the Sentences. In an interesting account of the various centres of theological learning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries our author has, when speaking of England, overlooked the remarkable reference in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis* (a book with which he elsewhere shews himself familiar) to the European reputation of St Anselm's pupil Gilbert Crispin, the fourth Abbot of Westminster, as a divine of greater authority even than the famous Lâon masters. Fr de Ghellinck is fully alive to the importance of Abelard and his *Sic et Non* in the pedigree of the Lombard's *Liber*

*Sententiarum*. We may observe that, if Abelard's rationalism has often been exaggerated by friends and foes alike, Fr de Ghellinck is possibly inclined to go to the opposite extreme. In this same chapter attention is called to a curious and characteristically mediaeval legend in which a sense of a really existing kinship between those famous textbooks of the same period, the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, the *Decretum* of Gratian, and the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, expressed itself in the assertion that the three authors were brothers.

The third chapter is devoted to an examination of the relation to Peter Lombard's book of the *Sententiae* of Gundulphus of Bologna which were re-discovered by Denifle and from which some have suspected Peter Lombard of plagiarizing. The conclusion reached is that Gundulphus and not Peter is the plagiarist. In the fourth chapter our author discusses the advent in the west during the twelfth century of the treatise of St John of Damascus *de Fide Orthodoxa*, and its utilization by the Master of the Sentences. The parallel between the two systematic expositions of theology most famous in the Greek and Latin churches respectively seems to have led to the title of *Sententiae* being frequently transferred in the west from the Lombard's work to the Damascene's. The translation of the latter, which was chiefly current in the Middle Ages, was that of Burgundio of Pisa; but, as Fr de Ghellinck tells us, there was another by Grossetête, used by Roger Bacon, which the copies lately found by the Provost of King's in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, shew to have been a version of Burgundio's corrected by the collation of Greek MSS. Fr de Ghellinck has also found fragments of a third translation independent of Burgundio's and probably of about the same date.

No part of the book before us will be found more useful than the fifth and final chapter, which deals with a subject already mooted in the first, namely the mutual relations of theology and canon law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the case of the two most successful compilers in these two departments of ecclesiastical lore, Gratian and Peter Lombard (they appear side by side, it will be remembered, in Dante's *Paradise*), Fr de Ghellinck shews that the obligation is on the side of the theologian.

This brief outline of the contents of Fr de Ghellinck's book gives but a very imperfect idea of the variety of matter interesting to students of mediaeval thought which it contains. It may be added that it is distinguished from another very excellent work, published four years ago on a kindred subject, M. Robert's *Les Écoles et l'enseignement de la théologie pendant la première moitié du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, by its recognition of the work of English scholars such as Dr Poole and Dr Rashdall. It also includes in its *aperçu bibliographique* a very just notice of Mr Osborn

Taylor's singular work *The Mediaeval Mind*, a book remarkable alike in its merits and in its defects; while (here again unlike M. Robert) Fr de Ghellinck does not disdain to mention the full and laborious if uncritical compilation of M. Peret on the history of the theological faculty of Paris.

C. C. J. WEBB.

## THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

*L'Église arménienne, son histoire, sa doctrine*, par Malachia Ormanian, ci-devant Patriarche arménien de Constantinople. (Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1910. pp. 192.)

MGR ORMANIAN'S work, originally written in Armenian, is here translated by a Frenchman, M. Bertrand Bareilles, whose name, however, does not appear on the title-page, though he contributes a sympathetically written preface. Written by so highly placed an ecclesiastic the work is more or less authoritative, and embodies the beliefs of the vast majority of Armenian Christians. It has also the merit of being clear and not overloaded with irrelevant facts. In appendices are given lists, firstly, of the *Catholici* or Patriarchs of the Church from the beginning who sat at Artashat, Dwin, and later on at Valarshapat; and secondly, of the Armenian Dioceses subject to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cilicia, Aghthamar and Etschmiadzine. These lists give the numbers of Churches and of the faithful in each diocese. The latter must be merely approximate.

All the chief facts concerning the organization of the Church, its hierarchy and orders, its calendar and hagiology, its liturgies and feasts, are admirably set forth. The weakest side of the book is the historical. In view of Tixeront's work on the Legend of Abgar and on the Teaching of Addai, not to mention Carrière and H. Gelzer, it is impossible to give one's assent nowadays to such a statement as the following:—

L'Église arménienne peut à bon droit se réclamer d'une origine directement apostolique. La chronologie généralement adoptée attribue à la mission de saint Thadée une durée de huit ans (35-43), et à celle de saint Barthélemy une durée de seize ans (44-60). . . . L'origine apostolique de l'Église arménienne constitue donc un fait irrécusable dans l'histoire ecclésiastique.

We are more inclined to agree with the author, when in the sequel he claims that the critical objections to Armenian tradition in this matter are not stronger or more cogent than the difficulties which lie in the way of similar claims raised in behalf of other apostolic Churches.

The same patriotic bias peeps out on p. 13 of the book where the

author denies that the sees of Caesarea, of Antioch, or of Constantinople, ever wielded authority or exercised jurisdiction in Armenia properly so called, and where he maintains that the references to Armenian jurisdiction apply only to bishoprics which, like Nicomedia and Satala, were within the provinces of First and Second, but not of Great Armenia.

This may be true as regards Antioch and Constantinople. But no one can read the fourth-century history of Faustus of Byzant or that of Agathangelus without realizing that all the early bishops of Great Armenia, known then and ever afterwards as *Catholici*, went to Caesarea of Cappadocia for ordination, and so were in a manner dependent on that see. It was felt to be a revolution when King Pap resolved about 350 to exclude Greek influence, and broke with the practice. It is therefore quite against the facts to write (l.c.) that 'in the history of the fourth and fifth century we can discern no change in the relations of Armenia and Caesarea'. On the contrary, the breach was keenly felt on both sides. The author infers that 'as we have no evidence of such a change the same system of independence had prevailed from the very beginning', and that 'the consecration of St Gregory by the Archbishop of Caesarea was a mere accident'. The evidence is all the other way, though it only does not exclude the probability that long before Gregory the Illuminator there was widespread in Great Armenia, especially in the southern and eastern regions, a somewhat primitive Christianity which came chiefly from Edessa and Nisibis. Syriac and Greek were the two Church dialects of Great Armenia until the fifth century, when Mesrop invented an Armenian alphabet, and the work of translating the Bible and liturgies in the dialect of Van was accomplished.

So far as the Armenian Church was for half a century or more subject to Caesarea, it was of course indirectly subject to Antioch; and the Georgians and Albanians, when they broke off from it in 608, at once put themselves under Antioch, the Georgians sending their patriarch thither for ordination.

The chapter on the Council of Chalcedon is judicious and true to the facts. So far as the Armenians knew anything about it during the fifth century, they only knew of it as a manifestation of Byzantine ambition directed against Alexandria, which almost more than Byzantium was the centre to which their Translators repaired. When they knew more of it early in the sixth century, they regarded it as Nestorius himself in his Heraclides regards it, as a reaffirmation of the doctrines that had been rejected and condemned at the Council of Ephesus; and on that ground the Armenians, Georgians, and Albanians all met in 506 in a council over which the Catholicos Babgen presided, and formally condemned Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. From that time on, no patriotic Armenian would join in communion with a Greek. It is interesting to

note that the Acts of Babgen's Council were redacted in Greek and, with the approval of all three nations, sent to Edessa, to be stored in the archives of that city, whence a hundred years later the Armenians procured them, their own copy having been lost in the burning of Dwin by the Persians in 571.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

## THE MISHNA.

*Die Mischna Joma*: by Dr JOHANNES MEINHOLD. *Die Mischna Baba gamma*: by Pastor WALTER WINDFUHR. *Die Mischna Middoth*: by Dr OSCAR HOLTZMANN. *Die Mischna Challa*: by Dr KARL ALBRECHT. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1913.)

THE Mishna presents so many curious and difficult problems, and its material is of such importance for the purposes of New Testament research, that the recent activity of scholars in this subject is very welcome. Despite the excellent editions which Dr Baneth, Dr Hoffmann, and others are producing, and the fine work accomplished by Dr Strack on certain tractates, there is certainly room for the edition commenced under the guidance of Drs G. Beer and Oscar Holtzmann. This new series, of which the above four tractates are a part, differs markedly from other studies of this subject in one important feature, namely in its relative disregard of Jewish tradition. Something can be said for this attitude. It is true that the Talmud is for the most part less primitive than the Mishna, and frequently its attempts to explain difficulties in the Mishna are mere conjectures. In such cases the opinions of the modern editor are more likely to be right. But there is also much in the Talmud which is probably as old as the Mishna, and therefore its interpretations deserve careful attention and are often worth recording. Similarly the work of some Jewish commentators repays study if used with discrimination. Rashi, no doubt, writes what is simply a commentary on the Mishna as part of the Talmud, and is apt to be content with a 'This is explained in the Talmud'. But Maimonides gives us a real commentary on the Mishna itself, perceiving that it requires to be treated as an entity distinct from the Talmud; and, of course, the work of modern Jewish scholars is an invaluable aid, to which the present series seems at times to have paid insufficient attention. Thus in Dr Meinhold's edition of Joma (the Day of Atonement) iii 8 we miss a reference to the interesting controversy concerning the variant reading *השם* for *בשם*. Whatever be the rights of the case, mention should have been made of Derenbourg's article in *R. É. J.* vi p. 70 ff. Again the lack of references detracts from the too brief

note on the curious legend of the foundation stone of the world—the *אבן שתייה* mentioned in v 2. Dr Meinhold includes in the Introduction a full and useful discussion of the Old Testament passages relating to the Day of Atonement, and concludes that the ceremony is a development of Judaism subsequent to the period of Ezra.

The tractate *Challa* deals with the regulation laid down in Num. xv 18–21, the heave-offering to be made from the dough. The subject is naturally less important than that of Joma, at any rate from the point of view of general scholarship. But as regards the life of the Jewish people the case is different. Herein lies our one criticism of Dr Albrecht's edition. We feel that the very short Introduction would have gained by the inclusion of a paragraph dealing with the continuity of the custom in Jewish circles to the present day. Reference might also have been made with advantage to the passage in Mishna Sabb. ii 6, where neglect of the *Challa* offering is one of three things for which, it is said, a woman may incur death in childbirth—a curious idea which nevertheless illustrates the stress laid by Judaism on the duties of the home, and has given this tractate no small ethical value.

The tractate *Middoth* on the measurements and arrangements of the Temple is very thoroughly treated by Dr Holtzmann. The information given in the Mishna forms a valuable supplement to the notices left by Josephus concerning the Herodian Temple. On the other hand Josephus records much which is not found in the Mishna. Unfortunately the evidence furnished by Middoth, Josephus, and archaeological sources is so conflicting that Dr Holtzmann concludes 'it is not possible as yet to present an accurate picture of the Herodian Temple'. He does not therefore enter into a full discussion of the divergences, but contents himself with giving in the Introduction a comparison of the passages common to Middoth and Josephus. Students will find it valuable to refer to the conclusions reached by Dr G. A. Smith from his use of the same material in vol. ii of his work *Jerusalem*.

In *Baba gamma* (The First Gate) we pass to a very different topic, that of Civil Jurisprudence. The principle underlying the regulations made by the tractate is that the various inquiries to be discussed should be brought under one of four main categories deduced from Exod. xxi 28–xxii 6 and known quaintly but succinctly as 'ox, pit, tooth and fire'. This procedure may seem pedantic when the method is applied to questions of ritual, but in the present connexion it is easy to recognize its soundness. No system of law is able to avoid the problem of drawing fine distinctions; and a thorough study of the Jewish system, so far from confirming the popular opinion that the Rabbis loved casuistry more than justice, impresses one rather with a sense of their fundamental desire for equity. A fuller discussion of the relations



between the Jewish and the Roman and Greek codes of law might have been given in the Introduction, although we agree with the opinion stated by Pastor Windfuhr that the Jewish code is essentially an independent growth.

We wish that the critical notes in this series could be given at the foot of the text, where they would be easily seen, instead of being placed in an Appendix at the end of each tractate. It is also a pity that the editors have not been able to collate the evidence for the text which is to be found in the MSS brought from the Cairo Genizah and now in the Cambridge University Library.

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*The Story of Aḥikar*: from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, and Slavonic versions. By F. C. CONYBEARE, J. RENDEL HARRIS, and AGNES SMITH LEWIS. Second edition. (Cambridge University Press, 1913.)

SINCE the first edition of this learned and important work appeared in 1898 unexpected light has been thrown upon the subject by Professor Sachau's discovery of fragments of the Story of Aḥikar among the Aramaic papyri found at Elephantine; and the present edition contains a translation of these fragments and a translation of a second Armenian recension, together with a text and translation of an Old Turkish version derived from the Armenian and an introduction to the Armenian and Turkish versions, of which all except the translation of the papyrus are the work of Mr Conybeare. Dr Rendel Harris's general introduction has also been amplified by the addition of chapters on the Aramaic version and on editions and discussions of the Story of Aḥikar which have appeared since the date of the first edition, especially the works of Smend, Vetter, and Nau,<sup>1</sup> and a few notes are added in other chapters, but the text seems to have been left unchanged. As, however, the question of the date and origin of Aḥikar has been completely revolutionized and a large portion of the introduction is therefore obsolete, it seems most unfortunate that it was not re-written. It is, for instance, there maintained that the Story of Aḥikar is a work of the second century B.C., similar in character to Daniel and the Wisdom books; but we now know that it cannot be later than the fifth century, and in the chapter on the Aramaic version Dr Harris follows Professor Sachau in placing it earlier than 450. Again, in the earlier introduction the hypothesis of a Hebrew original is maintained; but in the very next

<sup>1</sup> See *J.T.S.* xi 98. There is no mention of the Arabic text published by M. Leroy (*Rev. de l'Or. Chr.* xiii 367, xiv 50, 142), and the old Arabic text has been reprinted without reference to the MSS used by him.

chapter it is stated that the Aramaic contains no trace of Hebrew influence or suggestion of Judaism (p. xcii). Of course a Hebrew version might have been made in the second century and the later versions may be derived from it, but this solution is not suggested, and the questions which arise from the new discovery are dismissed in four pages. Could not some light on the original language be obtained from the saying about the wolf's alphabet? Mrs Lewis's translation of the Arabic should also have been revised before re-publication. In this translation the word which is elsewhere rendered 'little lads' or 'boys' (p. 148) is in three places (pp. 149, 152, 153) rendered 'young men', though it can hardly bear this meaning, and the reference is to little children hardly able to speak. Further, at p. 146 ll. 22-26 we have a sentence without a main clause, and at p. 144 l. 5 the word 'she' is ungrammatical. Why Mrs Lewis gave herself the trouble of transliterating the Karshuni into Arabic script I cannot understand. As she herself points out, the Syriac alphabet is poorer than the Arabic and the correspondence of the letters is not entirely regular, so that a transliterated text must to some extent be conjectural, and the reader has no means of knowing what is in the MS. The Armenian and Syriac texts would have been easier for reference if the editors had noted either the folios of the MS or the pages of the text in the margin of the translation. In the Arabic and Turkish texts assistance of this kind is given.

On the interesting question as to the real origin of the legend, whether it is Jewish or heathen, we have a few remarks at p. xxvii ff, but there is no real discussion of the matter, and Dr Harris does not arrive at any conclusion; and in the chapter on the Aramaic papyrus there is only a bare reference to the subject. The gibes at the conservative critics which occur in both the old and the new portions of the introduction (pp. lxxi, xciv, xcix) are very remotely connected with the subject and might well have been omitted.

The difficult question of the relation between the Armenian and Syriac versions is discussed by Mr Conybeare, who concludes that the Armenian is certainly a translation of the Syriac, but that the original text of the Syriac cannot be reconstructed without the help of the Armenian. This is what one would *a priori* expect; but, as the preceding arguments tell in favour of the priority of the Armenian, the conclusion is something of a surprise. There is a strange confusion on p. 182, where it is stated in the text that the Armenian has the form 'Nabusmaq', and in the note that the initial N has been lost in the Armenian. Of these two statements the latter is the correct one.

E. W. BROOKS.

## RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

### (1) ENGLISH.

*The Church Quarterly Review*, January 1914 (Vol. lxxvii, No. 154 : Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM The Emperor Constantine and the Edict of Milan—H. L. GOUDGE The Resurrection of our Lord and the relation of the Eucharist to the Mysteries—The separation of Church and State in France—W. R. MATTHEWS Mysticism and the Life of the Spirit—W. A. WIGRAM Severus of Antioch—R. DE BARY The natural fruitfulness of religion—H. HAMILTON The essentials of a valid ministry—A. C. HEADLAM Notes on reunion: the Kikuyu Conference—Short Notices—Index to vol. lxxvii.

*The Hibbert Journal*, January 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 2 : Williams & Norgate). F. C. S. SCHILLER Eugenics and politics—J. B. BAILLIE Self-sacrifice—E. MACADAM The Universities and the training of the social worker—M. D. PETRE The advantages and disadvantages of authority in religion—R. L. ORR The Scottish Church question—W. A. CURTIS The value of Confessions of Faith—H. HANDLEY Ought there to be a Broad Church disruption?—A. W. F. BLUNT The failure of the Church of England—J. A. HILL Changing religion—H. C. CORRANCE Bergson's philosophy and the idea of God—T. R. WILLIAMS Syndicalism in France and its relation to the philosophy of Bergson—C. W. COBB Certainty in mathematics and in theology—J. E. SYMES The Johannine Apocalypse—Discussions—Surveys—Reviews.

*The Expositor*, January 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 37 : Hodder & Stoughton). J. E. MCFADYEN The Old Testament and the Modern World—T. W. DAVIES The words 'witch' and 'witchcraft'—W. E. BARNES David's 'capture' of the Jebusite 'citadel' of Zion—B. W. BACON The Apostolic Decree against *πορνεία*—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The transmission of the Gospel—A. SOUTER Translation of the Pastoral Epistles: Titus—J. B. MAYOR Miscellanea evangelica—J. MOFFATT Exegetica.

February 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 38). H. A. A. KENNEDY St Paul and the conception of the 'Heavenly Man'—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian eschatology: 1. The Christian Hope—T. R. GLOVER Discipline in prayer—A. MENZIES Translation of the Epistle to the Galatians—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the fourth Gospel—R. HARRIS Some remarks on the text of Apocalypse iii 17—E. A. ABBOTT *Miscellanea evangelica*: a reply—T. H. BINDLEY A study in 1 Corinthians xv—C. A. SCOTT The early date of 'Galatians': a reply.

March 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 39). M. JONES Harnack on the dates of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology: 2. Objections on the Threshold—A. SOUTER The identity of the 'Ambrosiaster': a fresh suggestion—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the fourth Gospel—W. L. WALKER The Eternal Love and Christian Unity—R. H. STRACHAN The Appendix to the Fourth Gospel—B. W. BACON The 'single' eye.

## (2) AMERICAN.

*The American Journal of Theology*, January 1914 (Vol. xviii, No. 1 Chicago University Press). C. W. GILKEY The function of the Church in modern Society—D. D. LUCKENBILL The Hittites—E. D. BURTON Spirit, soul, and flesh II—R. H. STRACHAN The idea of pre-existence in the fourth Gospel—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature—Periodical literature—Books received.

*The Princeton Theological Review*, January 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 1: Princeton University Press). W. B. GREENE, Jr. The Bible as the Text-book in Sociology—W. H. G. THOMAS An evangelical view of Cardinal Newman—L. F. BENSON The hymnody of the Evangelical Revival—Reviews of recent literature.

## (3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

*Revue Bénédictine*, January 1914 (Vol. xxxi, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Qui est l'Ambrosiaster? Solution nouvelle—P. BLANCHARD Un monument primitif de la Règle cistercienne—U. BERLIÈRE Les évêques auxiliaires de Liège (*suite*)—G. MORIN L'opuscule perdu du soi-disant Hégésippe sur les Machabées—DE BRUYNE Une lettre inédite de s. Pierre Damien—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, October 1913 (N. S., Vol. viii, No. 4: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). M. CHAÎNE Répertoire des Salam et

Malke'e contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques d'Europe (*fin*)—J. BABAKHAN Essai de vulgarisation des 'Homélie métriques' de Jacques de Saroug (*suite*)—F. NAU Documents trouvés en Asie centrale : La mission russe—F. NAU Résumé de monographies syriaques : Barsauma ; Abraham de la Haute-Montagne ; Siméon de Kefar 'Abdin ; Yaret l'Alexandrin ; Jacques le reclus ; Romanus ; Talia ; Asia ; Pantaléon ; Candida (*suite*)—L. DELAPORTE Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale (*suite*)—F. C. CONYBEARE and OLIVER WARDROP The Georgian version of the Liturgy of St James—L. DELAPORTE Quelques textes coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris sur les xxiv vieillards de l'Apocalypse.—S. GRÉBAUT Mélanges éthiopiens : I Noms des femmes et enfants des fils de Jacob : II Les miracles du saint enfant Cyriaque : III Sentences ascétiques : IV La mauvaise passion de l'avarice selon Evagrius : V Recommandations aux évêques et aux prêtres : VI Le sixième jour de l'Hexaméron d'Épiphane de Chypre—Bibliographie—Courtes notices.

*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, January–February 1914 (Vol. v, No. 1 : Paris, 62 Rue des Écoles). P. ALFARIC Un nouveau biographe de saint Augustin—A. LAGARDE Saint Jean Chrysostome a-t-il connu la confession?—A. LOISY L'Évangile de Jésus et le Christ ressuscité—*Chronique bibliographique* : I Philosophie de la religion.

*Analecta Bollandiana*, January 1914 (Vol. xxxiii, No. 1 : Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). J. MANSION Les origines du christianisme chez les Goths—C. VAN DE VORST La Petite Catéchèse de S. Théodore Studite—P. PEETERS L'autobiographie de S. Antoine le néo-martyr—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

#### (4) GERMAN.

*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, February 1914 (Vol. xv, No. 1 : Giessen, A. Töpelmann). A. DELL Matthäus 16, 17–19—G. SCHLÄGER Die Ungeschichtigkeit des Verräters Judas—R. REITZENSTEIN Eine frühchristliche Schrift von den dreierlei Früchten des christlichen Lebens—Miscellen.

*Theologische Quartalschrift* (Vol. xcvi, No. 1 : Tübingen, H. Laupp). BELSER Zur Abfolge der evangelischen Geschichte—ADAM Zum ausserkanonischen und kanon. Sprachgebrauch von Binden und Lösen I—BIHLMAYER Das angebliche Toleranzedikt Konstantins von 312. Mit Beiträgen zur Mailänder Konstitution (313) I—W. KOCH Das Trienter Konzilsdekret de peccato originali III—MÜLLER Gedanken über die

allgemeinen Beziehungen zwischen unserer religiösen Weltanschauung und der Naturwissenschaft—Rezensionen—Analekten.

*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, February 1914 (Vol. xxxv, No. 1: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). KOCH Tertullians Laienstand—SCHULZ Der Einfluss der Gedanken Augustins über das Verhältnis von *ratio* und *fides* im 11. Jahrhundert—BÜNGER Studienordnungen der Dominikanerprovinz Saxonia (ca. 1363–1376)—SCHILLMANN Neue Beiträge zu Jacob von Jüterbock—WIEGAND August Vilmar—Analekten—Nachrichten.

# *The Journal of Theological Studies*

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## NOTES AND STUDIES

### THE WORK OF PORPHYRY AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS, AND ITS RECONSTRUCTION.

#### II

IN my previous article I discussed at some length the relation between the lost treatise of Porphyry *Karà Χριστιανῶν* and the attacks of a Neoplatonist philosopher preserved in the apology of Macarius Magnes. Dr Harnack was led to the conclusion that these attacks were the *ipsissima verba* of Porphyry, though he is compelled to suppose that Macarius only had them in the form of anonymous excerpts, of which he did not know the real author. If this be true, we have recovered enough of the treatise to form the basis of an edition. But my own investigation, the results of which I have already stated, has convinced me that these attacks are with much greater probability to be ascribed to Hierocles. The arguments, however, are borrowed so largely from Porphyry, that although we cannot claim to have recovered his actual words, we may be sure that we possess the substance of many of his attacks. This is in itself a valuable result, and though it is useless for the purposes of an edition, it forms a new and valuable aid towards a conjectural reconstruction of the lost work. Such a reconstruction of the argument is the object of the present article.

But before we proceed to try to fit in the *data* thus obtained, a collection must be made of the quotations from Porphyry's work and references to it which may be found in other writers. I have made a fresh investigation on my own account, although most of the references had already been brought together by others. I have then carefully compared their conclusions with my own, with the result that as many as forty-six fragments and references may be cited. I propose to give these *in extenso* as a further basis of the subsequent attempt to reconstruct the contents of the treatise. It is true that something of the kind has already been given by others, but it is nearly two centuries since it was done by Lardner in English, and the recent work of

Wagenmann, Kleffner, and Georgiades (who writes in Greek) is considerably less than my own. A word about each of them had best be inserted here, and reference to some of the suggestions they offered will be made in the course of my reconstruction.

Lardner, in *The Credibility of the Gospel Narrative* among his *Testimonies of Ancient Heathens*,<sup>1</sup> devoted much space to the consideration of Porphyry. He is the only author I have been able to find who has made an actual collection of the fragments of the *Katὰ Χριστιανῶν* and references to its contents. But there are several limitations to his work. The original citations are only given in foot-notes. Again, he has not placed the references either in the order they seem to have had in Porphyry or according to the authors from whom they are cited, but his list is founded on their Biblical sequence. This is natural in one whose object was evidential, but the interpolation of apologetics somewhat obscures the list. For instance, he devotes nearly a third of the whole to the consideration of the passages in Daniel which Porphyry had interpreted in his twelfth book. There are some references in his list where the name of Porphyry is not mentioned, and Lardner can only say that it is 'not unlikely' that Jerome meant Porphyry and Julian when he referred to *Gentiles canes* and *qui scripserunt contra Evangelia*.<sup>2</sup>

Of course he makes no reference to the fragments contained in Macarius, as he wrote long before the Athens MS was discovered.

Wagenmann, writing in 1878, in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*,<sup>3</sup> comes to the conclusion that Macarius has preserved for us important fragments of Porphyry's book, but suggests that he may have only possessed them in the form of excerpts. He devotes a page or two to the reconstruction of Porphyry's book, and concludes with a translation into German of the words of Macarius's opponent. Dr Harnack praises this translation, although he makes another himself.

A. Georgiades, writing in 1891,<sup>4</sup> follows the same line of argument, and discusses in fuller detail and with further references (pp. 20-30) the reconstruction of Porphyry's book, but is more brief in his treatment of Macarius.

A. I. Kleffner, writing in 1896, contributes a short essay,<sup>5</sup> in which he expands and for the most part follows what had been said by Wagenmann. He differs somewhat in his reconstruction of the book, and thinks the references to it found in the *Quaestiones Paganorum* of Augustine belonged to some of the last of the fifteen books.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Kippis, 1788, vol. viii pp. 176-251.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 209-210 on St Matt. xxi 21 and xxvii 45.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xxiii pp. 269-314 *Porphyrius und die Fragmente eines Ungenannten bei Makarius*.

<sup>4</sup> *περὶ τῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν Ἀποσπασμάτων τοῦ Πορφυρίου*. Leipzig, Bär u. Hermann, 1891.

<sup>5</sup> *Porphyrius der Neuplatoniker und Christenfeind*. Paderborn 1896.



I now proceed to give a collection of the quotations from Porphyry's book and references to it. The result of bringing together all such evidence as I can find is as follows:—

1. In his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, Jerome deals at length with the apparent discord of the Apostles in chapter ii, and refutes the theory that the Cephas there mentioned was not the same as the Apostle Peter. This theory seems to have been advanced in order to repel an attack by Porphyry, for he adds: 'Maxime cum Lucas scriptor historiae, nullam huius dissensionis faciat mentionem; nec dicat unquam Petrum Antiochiae fuisse cum Paulo et *locum dari Porphyrio blasphemanti*; si autem Petrus errasse, aut Paulus procaciter apostolorum principem confutasse creditur. Quibus primum respondendum, alterius nescio cuius Cephae 'nescire nos nomen etc. Ad extremum si propter Porphyrii blasphemiam, alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errasse, infinita de Scripturis eradenda divinis . . . Sed et adversum Porphyrium, in alio, si Christus iusserit, opere pugnabimus.'<sup>1</sup>

2. The above reference is from the text of his commentary, but he considers the attack of Porphyry of sufficient importance to require separate treatment in the Preface to his book.<sup>2</sup> Here he adds three further details, namely that the passage was from Porphyry's first book, that he had accused St Paul of impudence, as well as St Peter of error; and he also gives to Porphyry the disputed epithet Bataneotes. 'Quod nequaquam intelligens Bataneotes et sceleratus ille Porphyrius, in primo operis sui adversum nos libro, Petrum a Paulo obiecit esse reprehensum, quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelizandum: volens et *illi maculum erroris inurere, et huic procacitatis* et in commune *ficti dogmatis accusare mendacium*, dum inter se Ecclesiarum principes discrepent.'

3. In his Commentary on Isaiah liii 12, Jerome suggests<sup>3</sup> that Christ divided the spoil of the strong, when the Apostles of the circumcision and of the uncircumcision 'Sub uno Domino in diversa starent acie', and he goes on to speak of those 'qui dispensatoriam *inter Petrum et Paulum contentionem vere dicunt iurgium fuisse atque certamen, ut blasphemanti Porphyrio satisfaciant et veteris caeremonias in ecclesia Christi a stirpe credentis Israel esse credendas*'.

4. Again, in his Epistles, in commenting on the fact that St Paul behaved as a Jew, and thus did himself that which he had reproved Peter for doing, he says that others have written to defend the Apostles, and 'blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coercerent, qui Paulum et Petrum puerili dicit inter se pugnasse certamine: immo *exarsisse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri*, et ea scripsisse iactanter, quae vel

<sup>1</sup> Hier. *Comm. in Ep. ad Galat.* Migne t. xxvi p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Migne vol. vii p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. *Comm. in Isaiah liii 12.* Migne *P. L.* t. xxiv p. 513.

non fecerit, vel si fecerit procaciter fecerit *id in alio reprehendens quod ipse commiserit*'.<sup>1</sup>

In the same Epistle he speaks of answering Porphyry 'qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem Apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere, et arguere in faciem, ac ratione constringere, quod male fecit, id est, in errore fuerit: in quo fuit ipse, qui alium arguit delinquentem'. The reference is plainly to the incident at Antioch recorded in Gal. ii 11, and the allusions to what St Paul did himself suggest his own statement in 1 Cor. ix 20 'Unto the Jews I became as a Jew', and also such actions on his part as the circumcising of Timothy, the vow at Cenchreae, and his following of the advice of St James at Jerusalem.

5. A further reference to St Paul's treatment of St Peter is found in Jerome's words on Gal. i 16 ('I conferred not with flesh and blood'). 'Nam et Porphyrius obliicit, quod post revelationem Christi non fuerit dignatus ire ad homines et cum iis conferre sermonem: ne post doctrinam videlicet Dei a carne et sanguine instrueretur. Sed absit ut ego Petrum et Iacobum et Iohannem carnem et sanguinem putem.'<sup>2</sup>

Possibly this part of Galatians was commented on in detail by Porphyry, but the intention seems always the same, and it is to be noted that in the above fragment St John is introduced as well as St Peter as spoken of slightly by St Paul.

6. Jerome also refers to Porphyry's attacks on St Peter, whom he accused of bringing about the death of Ananias and Sapphira by his imprecation. His words, contained in the Epistle to Demetriades,<sup>3</sup> are as follows:—

'Denique et Apostolus Petrus nequaquam imprecatur eis mortem, ut stultus Porphyrius calumniatur; sed Dei iudicium prophetico spiritu annunciat, ut poena duorum hominum sit doctrina multorum.'

Concerning the above six references which we owe to Jerome, one or two points suggest themselves for comment. As they are all concerned with an attack on St Peter, and one of them is explicitly stated to come from Porphyry's first book, it is natural to conclude that all of them come from the beginning of his work. He seems therefore to have begun (unlike the philosopher of the *Apocriticus*)<sup>4</sup> with an attack, not on Christ, but on His first followers, as being quite unworthy of credence.

And in the question of the relations of St Peter and St Paul at Antioch, it is not only the inconsistency of the former that is blamed (as in the *Apocriticus*), for St Paul receives an equal share of blame.

7. The largest and most important fragment is preserved in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.<sup>5</sup> The author is speaking of Origen,

<sup>1</sup> Jer. Ep. 112. 11. Migne P. L. t. xxii p. 923.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. Comm. in Gal. Migne t. xxvi p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> P. 156 of Semler's edition of Ep. Pelag. ad Demetr.

<sup>4</sup> See frag. of ch. vi bk. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Euseb. H. E. vi 19.

and mentions the unconscious compliment paid to him by Porphyry, who, when unable to attack the doctrines, reviled and calumniated their interpreters, especially Origen, finding fault with his allegorical method of interpreting the Old Testament.

He then makes two quotations from Porphyry, stating afterwards that they occur in the third book of his work against the Christians. The words are as follows :—

Τῆς δὲ μοχθηρίας τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν Γραφῶν οὐκ ἀπόστασιν, λύσιν δέ τινες εὐρεῖν προθυμηθέντες, ἐπ' ἐξηγήσεις ἐτράποντο ἀσυγκλῶστους καὶ ἀναρμόστους τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, οὐκ ἀπολογία μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν θθνείων, παραδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ἔπαινον τοῖς οἰκείοις φερούσας. Αἰνίγματα γὰρ τὰ φανερώς παρὰ Μωϋσεὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι κομπάσαντες, καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ὡς θεσπίσματα πλήρη κρυφίων μυστηρίων, διὰ τε τοῦ τύφου τὸ κριτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καταγοητεύσαντες, ἐπάγουσιν ἐξηγήσεις.

He further quotes him as saying—

Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας, ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ καὶ γὰρ κομιδὴ νέος ὢν ἐτι ἐντετύχηκα, σφόδρᾳ εὐδοκίμησαντος, καὶ ἐτι δι' ὧν καταλείπειν συγγραμμάτων εὐδοκίμουντος παρελήφθω, Ὁριγένους, οὗ κλέος παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτων τῶν λόγων μέγα διαδέδοται. Ἀκροατὴς γὰρ οὗτος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ πλείστην ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις ἐπίδοσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐσχηκότος γεγονώς, εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν, πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκτήσατο, εἰς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ βίου πορείαν ἐποίησατο. Ἀμμώνιος μὲν γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἀνατραφεὶς τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἤψατο, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο, Ὁριγένης δὲ Ἑλλῆν ἐν Ἑλλῆσι παιδευθεὶς λόγοις, πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἐξώκειλε τόλμημα· ᾧ δὴ φέρων αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἕξιν ἐκαπήλευσεν, κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον, Χριστιανῶς ζῶν καὶ παρανόμως, κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἑλληνίζων τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς θθνείοις ὑποβαλλόμενος μύθοις. συνὴν τε γὰρ αἰὶ τῷ Πλάτῳ, τοῖς τε Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου, Ἀπολλοφάνους τε καὶ Λογγίνου καὶ Μοδεράτου Νικομάχου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν ὠμίλει συγγράμμασιν, ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ, Κουρνούτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις. παρ' ὧν τὸν μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλῆσιν μυστηρίων γνούς τρόπον, ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσήψε γραφαῖς.

Concerning this fragment it is to be noted that the condemnation of the allegorical method of Old Testament interpretation by Porphyry plainly shews that he was himself dealing in his third book with the contradictions and discrepancies of the Pentateuch. For he would naturally condemn a method of interpretation which took all the force out of his criticisms of the literal meaning, by contenting itself with allegorical explanations of difficult passages. His reference to Origen

is of considerable interest, but he is plainly mistaken in saying he was a convert from heathenism.

8. That Porphyry dealt thus with the Pentateuch is shewn by a reference contained in a homily of Severian of Gabala on the creation of the world, where the question is raised (suggested by Gen. iii 5) why God forbade the knowledge of good as well as evil.<sup>1</sup>

Λέγουσι πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῷ θεοστυγεῖ Πορφυρίῳ ἀκολουθήσαντες, τῷ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν συγγράψαντι, καὶ τοῦ θείου δόγματος πολλοὺς ἀποστήσαντι· λέγουσι τοίνυν· Διὰ τί ὁ θεὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν γινῶσιν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ; Ἔστω, τὸ πονηρὸν ἀπηγόρευσε· διὰ τί καὶ τὸ καλόν; εἰπὼν γάρ, Ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ εἰδέναι καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν μὴ φάγητε, κωλύει, φησὶν, αὐτὸν τοῦ εἰδέναι τὸ κακόν· διὰ τί καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν;

9. Of the fourth book a fragment is preserved to us by Eusebius, most of it being also quoted by Theodoret.

In the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, in order to maintain the antiquity of Moses, Eusebius twice refers to the words of Porphyry that the truest historian of the Jews was Sanchuniathon.

The words of Porphyry are as follows, quoted as ἐν τετάρτῳ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως.

Ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ συμφωνότατα, Σαγχουνιάθων ὁ Βηρυτίος, εἰληφὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου τοῦ ἱερέως θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰενῶ· ὃς Ἀβιβάλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Βηρυτίων τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀναθεῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐξεταστῶν τῆς ἀληθείας παρεδέχθη. Οἱ δὲ τούτων χρόνοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πίπτουσι χρόνων, καὶ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μωσέως πλησιάζουσιν, ὥς αἱ τῶν Φοινίκης βασιλείων μηνύουσι διαδοχαί. Σαγχουνιάθων δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην διάλεκτον φιλαλήθως πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν συναγαγὼν δὴ καὶ συγγράψας ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέγονε τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος, ἣ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν, ἣ κατ' αὐτοῦς γε τοὺς χρόνους γενέσθαι ἀναγέγραπται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἡρμήνευσεν Φίλων ὁ Βύβλιος.<sup>2</sup>

The same quotation is made by Theodoret, as far as the reference to Semiramis, with only one or two verbal differences,<sup>3</sup> while Eusebius himself, later in the same work, when dealing again with the antiquity of Moses, introduces these words of Porphyry a second time.<sup>4</sup>

This fragment is enough to prove that, if Porphyry dealt with detailed criticisms of the language of the Old Testament in Book III, he probably proceeded in Book IV to consider the history of the Jews as a whole.

<sup>1</sup> Sever. *De Mundi Cr. Hom.* 6 ap Chrys. Migne P. G. t. lvi p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* p. 31 a and b.

<sup>3</sup> Theod. *Graec. Affect. Curatio* p. 28, i. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. *l. c.* p. 485 b.

In setting up Sanchuniathon as their true historian, he is probably denying the truth of their history as recorded in their own scriptures. Eusebius introduces the quotation with the remark that he reviled not only the Christians but also the Jews, and Moses, and the prophets after him, and all by the same kind of blasphemies.

10. A very similar reference is contained in the Chronicle of Eusebius (preserved in the Latin translation of Jerome), which deals with the date of Moses.

‘Ex ethnicis vere impius ille Porphyrius, in quarto operis sui libro, quod adversum nos casso labore contexuit, post Moysem Semiramim fuisse affirmat.’<sup>1</sup>

Evidently Porphyry had made an elaborate computation and comparison of dates, and had drawn conclusions with regard to the place of the Jews in the world’s history which had to be seriously considered. For this false version is given as the reason for setting forth the true in the sentences which follow. ‘Cum haec ita se habeant, necessarium duxi veritatem diligentius persequi. Et ob id in priore libro quasi quandam materiam futuro operi omnium mihi regum tempora praenotavi.’

Two more references are preserved in the same work of Theodoret, which may well have also come from Porphyry’s fourth book, as they evidently form part of an argument about the Hebrews and their scriptures.

11. In speaking of the great Greek philosophers, he says: *φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οὐ μόνον παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ’ Ἑβραίων τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος διδαχθῆναι θεοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτα διδάσκει . . . Πορφύριος ὁ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας λυττήσας.*<sup>2</sup>

12. Elsewhere, when speaking of the sacrifices enjoined in the Old Testament, he declares that Porphyry failed to grasp the real meaning of the Scriptures, but like an ape was only able to imitate up to a certain point. He introduces this statement by saying: *Τούτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐντυχὼν ὁ Πορφύριος (μάλα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνδιέτριψε, τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν τυρεῶν γραφὴν), καὶ ἀλλότριον εὐσεβείας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνει τὸ θύειν, παραπλήσιόν τε τοῖς πιθήκοις καὶ δρῶν καὶ πάσχων.* He further describes him as *τὰ θεῖα λόγια κεκλοφώς, καὶ ἐνίων τὴν διάνοιαν τοῖς ξυγγραμμάσιν ἐντεθεικῶς τοῖς οἰκείοις.*<sup>3</sup>

13. One more quotation is found in both Eusebius<sup>4</sup> and Theodoret,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. in Lib. ii. *Chronicorum Prooemium. Hier. Interprete.* Migne P.G. t. xix p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Theod. *op. cit.* p. 6. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Theod. *op. cit.* p. 108. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. *op. cit.* p. 179 d.

<sup>5</sup> Theod. *op. cit.* p. 179. 41. He adds that this *ὡμολόγησεν ὡς πιστευόμενος Ἰησοῦ φροῦδους ἀπέφηνε τοὺς θεοὺς.*

evidently drawn from quite a different part of Porphyry's book, for it is a statement that the gods have given up helping men since the honouring of Jesus began. His actual words are given thus: *Νυνὶ δὲ θαυμάζουσιν, εἰ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν κατέειληφεν ἡ νόσος τὴν πόλιν, Ἀσκληπίου μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μηκέτι οὔσης. Ἰησοῦ γὰρ τιμωμένον, οὐδεμιᾶς τῆς τῶν θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας ἥσθετο.*

We know nothing that remains of Books V to XI, but they must have contained criticism of the New Testament. We may therefore place here the reference to this subject by Jerome.

14. In his *Dialogus Adv. Pelagianos*, bk. ii p. 761,<sup>1</sup> he speaks of the apparent contradiction involved in St John vii 8 and 10 with regard to the visit of our Lord to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. 'Iturum se negavit, et fecit quod prius negaverat. Latrat *Porphyrius, inconstantiae ac mutationis accusat*, nesciens omnia scandala ad carnem esse referenda.'

15. The accusation that the Evangelists had falsified their records is referred to in *Epist. 57 ad Pammach.* c. 9.<sup>2</sup> 'Haec replico non ut *Evangelistas arguam falsitatis* (hoc quippe impiorum est, Celsi, Porphyrii, Iuliani) sed ut reprehensores meos arguam imperitiae.'

16. At the beginning of his commentary on Daniel, Jerome is speaking of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, and says that in the genealogy given by St Matthew one generation seems to have been missed out where these names occur 'quia secunda *τεσσαρακαίδεκάς* in Ioacim desinit filio Iosiae, et tertia incipit a Ioachin filio Ioacim'. He goes on to say that Porphyry misunderstood the facts when he charged St Matthew with error. 'Quod ignorans Porphyrius, calumniam struit Ecclesiae, suam ostendens imperitiam, dum evangelistae Matthaei arguere nititur falsitatem.'<sup>3</sup>

Porphyry evidently attacked *seriatim* the difficulties to be found in the first Evangelist, and his criticisms were so well known as to be remembered by one who was engaged on Old Testament work, and was dealing with the two kings about whom the difficulty in the genealogy was raised.

17. Again Jerome, in commenting on Genesis i 10, refers to Porphyry's accusation against the Evangelists, that in order to manufacture a miracle on the lake of Gennesaret, they called it a 'sea'.

'Frustra igitur Porphyrius, *Evangelistas* ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum, eo quod Dominus super mare ambulaverit, *pro lacu Genezareth, mare appellasse calumniatur*, cum omnis lacus et aquarum congregatio maria nuncupentur.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Migne vol. ii p. 553.

<sup>2</sup> Migne vol. i p. 575.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. *Comm. in Daniel* i 1. Migne t. xxv p. 495.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. *Quaest. in Genes.* i 10. Migne t. xxiii p. 939.

This is an attack which is made by the opponent of Macarius.<sup>1</sup> The parallel is certainly close, even to the expression ὡς ἐκ τούτου ὡς μέγα τι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνεργήσαντα σημείον εἰσαγάγει, which corresponds to 'ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum'. But this is just the kind of attack which would be passed on from one writer to another.

18. In writing against Vigilantius on the credit to be given to miracles, Jerome refers to Porphyry as follows:—

'Nisi forte in morem gentilium, impiorumque Porphyrii et Eumomii, praestigias daemonum esse confingas, et non vere clamare daemones, sed sua simulare tormenta.'<sup>2</sup>

The reference is probably to the miracle of the demons and the swine, as that is the only place in the Gospels where the word 'torment' is used by the demons. The importance of this passage lies in the fact that, although the opponent of Macarius deals with this miracle at great length, he does not introduce this detail. This I have referred to elsewhere as an indication that he is an abridger of Porphyry and not a copyist.

19. Jerome makes mention of Porphyry's objection to the call and response of Matthew in St Matthew ix 9.<sup>3</sup>

He says: 'Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Iulianus Augustus, vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum qui statim secuti sint Salvatorem, quasi irrationabiliter quemlibet vocantem hominem sint secuti.'

20. Theophylact in commenting on the first words of St John's Gospel, has not only recorded the fact that that Gospel likewise was the subject of Porphyry's attack, but he has preserved a few of his actual words.

ὥστε διαπέπτωκε τοῦ Ἑλλήνος Πορφυρίου τὸ σόφισμα. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀνατρέπειν πειρώμενος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τοιαύταις ἐχρήτο διαιρέσεσιν. εἰ γὰρ λόγος, φησὶν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἥτοι προφορικός ἐστιν, ἢ ἐνδιάθετος· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε τοῦτο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνο. οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ λόγος ἐστίν.<sup>4</sup>

We know from Jerome that the opening words of St Mark's Gospel were also attacked, but this was in a later part of Porphyry's book, and with a somewhat different purpose (see Fragment 38).

21. We may place here a reference to the way the Apostles tricked their hearers when they argued in favour of the faith.

Jerome is commenting on Joel ii 28-31 (the words quoted by St Peter on the day of Pentecost), and in speaking of the Apostle's way of arguing he says:—

<sup>1</sup> *Apocr.* iii 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Jer. Contra Vigil.* Migne t. xxiii p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Jer. Comm. in Evangl. Matth.* Migne t. xxvi p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Theophylact *Enarr. in Ev. Ioann.* Migne P. G. t. cxxiii p. 1141.

'Non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitia, ut impius calumniatur Porphyrius.'<sup>1</sup>

Porphyry's words refer specially to Pentecost. It suggests that his attack on the Gospels was followed by a series of objections to the Acts of the Apostles. But it is to be noted that Jerome makes no reference to St Peter's speech at Pentecost, but completes his sentence with the words 'sed iuxta apostolum Paulum, praedicarent opportune, importune'. Further, when he shortly does make reference to *Acts*, it is to the passage in Acts xix where the men are perfected who had only received John's baptism.

The references that follow seem also to belong to a part of Porphyry's work earlier than the twelfth book.

22. Jerome, in his Epistle to Ctesiphontes, in refuting Pelagius, refers to the objection of Porphyry to the fact that God allowed the heathen to be without a knowledge of His commands.<sup>2</sup>

'Et ad externum (quod solet nobis obicere contubernalis vester Porphyrius) qua ratione clemens et misericors Deus ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et a Moyse *usque ad adventum Christi passus sit universas gentes perire ignorantia legis* et mandatorum Dei.' This objection of Porphyry is also mentioned by Augustine in his Epistle to Deogratias.<sup>3</sup> The second of the six questions which he then faces is stated to be as follows:—

'Si Christus se (inquiunt) salutis viam dicit, gratiam et veritatem, in seque solo ponit animis sibi credentibus reditum (Ioan. xiv 6); quid egerunt tot saeculorum homines ante Christum? Ut dimittam (inquit) tempora ante Latium regnatum, ab ipso Latio quasi principium humani nominis sumamus. In ipso Latio ante Albam dii culti sunt. In Alba aequae religionis ritusque valere templorum. Non paucioribus saeculis ipsa Roma, longo saeculorum tractu sine Christiana lege fuit? Quid (inquit) actum de tam innumeris animis, qui omnino in culpa nulla sunt; siquidem is cui credi posset, nondum adventum suum hominibus commodarat? Orbis quoque cum ipsa Roma in ritibus templorum caluit. Quare, (inquit) Salvator qui dictus est, sese tot saeculis subduxit? Sed ne (inquit) dicant lege Iudaica vetere hominum curatum genus, longo post tempore lex Iudaeorum apparuit ac viguit angusta Syriae regione, postea vero prorepsit etiam in fines Italos; sed post Caesarem Caium, aut certe ipso imperante. Quid igitur actum de Romanis animabus vel Latinis, quae gratia nondum advenientis Christi viduatae sunt, usque in Caesarum tempus?'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jer. *Comm. in Joel*. Migne t. xxv p. 975.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. *Epist.* 133. 9. Migne t. xxii p. 1157.

<sup>3</sup> Aug. *Ep. ad Deogratias* Ep. 102. Migne t. xxxiii p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> L. c. *Sex Quaestiones contra Paganos expositae, Liber Unus, seu Epist.* 102.



The first thing to note about the above extract is the diffuseness with which the objection is stated, and the extreme brevity with which it is referred to by Jerome. This indicates that Porphyry filled his fifteen books by elaborating in many words the attacks of which we only know by means of brief references.

The elaborate reference to Rome is quite in accord with the fact that Porphyry had stayed there, and wrote his book in Sicily. But a further study of the Epistle to Deogratias suggests that it is not only the second of the six questions which has been extracted from Porphyry.

The first question is not referred to its author, but the second is introduced by 'Item *alia* proposuerunt, quae dicerent de Porphyrio contra Christianos tanquam validiora decerpta'. Before the fifth question we are told 'Post hanc quaestionem, qui eas ex Porphyrio proposuit, hoc adiunxit'. This suggests that the third and fourth objections are also derived from Porphyry.

Further, the sixth is said to be 'proposita de Iona, nec ipsa quasi ex Porphyrio, sed tanquam ex irrisione Paganorum'. This seems to indicate that the fifth was also derived from Porphyry. If this be the case, we may feel justified in adding at least three more items to our list of Porphyrian remains, as given in the third, fourth, and fifth questions.<sup>1</sup>

Whether they are his actual words is uncertain, but their brevity suggests that this was not the case. In this respect they are in strong contrast with the second question, which has just been quoted at length. These further extracts are as follows:—

23. The third question is: 'Accusant (inquit) ritus sacrorum, hostias, thura, et caetera, quae templorum cultus exercuit; cum idem cultus ab ipsis (inquit) vel a Deo quem colunt exorsus est temporibus priscis, cum inducitur Deus primitiis eguisse.' This objection follows so naturally from the previous one that it may well have belonged to the same part of Porphyry's treatise.

24. The fourth question is in regard to the words of Christ in St Matthew vii 2.

'*Minatur* (inquit) *Christus sibi non credentibus, aeterna supplicia* (Ioan. iii 18); *et alibi ait: In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis*. Satis (inquit) ridicule atque contrarie: nam si ad mensuram redditurus est poenam, et omnis mensura circumscripta est fine temporis, quid sibi volunt minae infiniti supplicii?'

25. The fifth question seems to have little point except as giving

<sup>1</sup> Wagenmann only refers four of the *Quaestiones* to Porphyry, but Klefner says the second, third, and fourth are certainly his, and perhaps the first and sixth. Georgiades (*op. cit.* 28) only accepts the second, third, and fourth.

Augustine opportunity to explain that Christ is the Wisdom spoken of by Solomon. It is as follows : 'Sane etiam de illo (inquit) me dignaberis instruere, *si vere dixit Salomon, Filium Deus non habet.*'

26. The first question, which is about the difference in the Resurrection of Christ and of Lazarus, may be with slightly less certainty referred to Porphyry.

'Si Christi, inquit, quomodo potest haec convenire resurrectioni natorum ex semine eius qui nulla seminis conditione natus est? Si autem Lazari resurrectio facta sit de corpore nondum tabescente, de eo corpore, quo Lazarus dicebatur; nostra autem multis saeculis post ex confuso eruetur. Deinde si post resurrectionem status beatus futurus est, nulla corporis iniuria, nulla necessitate famis, quid sibi vult cibatum Christum fuisse, et vulnera monstravisse? Sed si propter incredulum fecit, finxit: si autem verum ostendit, ergo in resurrectione accepta futura sunt vulnera.'

27. The sixth question probably comes from the same source, in spite of its being introduced by the statement that it is 'nec ipsa quasi ex Porphyrio, sed tanquam ex irrisione Paganorum'.

He proceeds to give it as follows:—

'Deinde quid sentire, *inquit*, debemus de Iona, qui dicitur in ventre ceti triduo fuisse; quod ἀπιθανόν est et incredibile, transvoratum cum veste hominem, fuisse in corde piscis. Aut si figura est, hanc dignaberis pandere. Deinde quid sibi etiam illud vult supra evomitum Ionam cucurbitam natam; quid causae fuit ut haec nasceretur?'

The introduction of *inquit*, as before, and the occurrence of *deinde* at the beginning of the quotation, seem to suggest the probability that this question is also derived from Porphyry. Perhaps the statement that it is scarcely his, only means that it is part of the stock in trade of every heathen opponent, for Jerome proceeds to remark, 'Hoc enim genus quaestionis, multo cachinno a Paganis graviter irrisum animadverti', as though to explain what he meant by 'nec ipsa quasi de Porphyrio'.

The above six *Quaestiones Paganorum* cannot be said to form in any way a homogeneous whole. Not only are there varying degrees of certainty with which the various objections may be ascribed to Porphyry, but their subjects are so different that they can scarcely have been taken from the same part of his attack. If some have been culled from one book and some from another, we see exactly the same kind of treatment of his work as I imagine it to have received at the hands of Hierocles. And there may be a parallel in another respect also, if the language has been altered and the argument abbreviated in most cases, while in one of them (the second of the series) it seems likely that there has been little change in the original wording.

We pass on to some certain references to the twelfth book.

28. Jerome in his *Comment. in Daniel. Proph.*<sup>1</sup> begins his preface by facing the statement made by Porphyry in his twelfth book that the book of Daniel is not prophecy but history.

‘Contra prophetam Daniele[m] duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens eum, ab ipso, cuius inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum : *sed a quodam qui temporibus Antiochi qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Iudaea, et non tam Daniele[m] ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse praeterita.* Denique quidquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere : si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum.’

He considers it sufficient that others have answered this attack, particularly Eusebius ‘tribus voluminibus, id est octavo decimo et nono decimo, et vicesimo’.

But he adds that Porphyry had brought arguments to prove that the original language of the Book of Daniel was Greek.

‘Sed et hoc nosse debemus inter caetera, Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis obicere, idcirco *illum apparere confictum, nec haberi apud Hebraeos, sed Graeci sermonis esse commentum,* quia in Susannae fabula contineatur, dicente Daniele ad presbyteros, ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίνου σχίσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι, quam etymologiam magis Graeco sermoni convenire, quam Hebraeo.’<sup>2</sup>

This etymology dates back to Origen, but it is worth noting that Porphyry is thus shewn to have discussed etymologies in his work against the Christians. In his extant works this was a noteworthy characteristic,<sup>3</sup> and thus the lost work is seen to be in line with them. But there is not a word about etymologies in the opponent of Macarius, to whom such points evidently did not appeal.

As Jerome proceeds with his commentary, he frequently mentions Porphyry’s interpretations. The passages are as follows :—

29. In Dan. ii 44, Jerome says of the stone which should break the kingdoms : ‘Quod Iudaei et impius Porphyrius male ad populum referunt Israel, quem in fine saeculorum volunt esse fortissimum, et omnia regna contere[n]te, et regnare in aeternum.’

30. Again on v 46, and the respect paid by Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel, he says : ‘Hunc locum calumniatur Porphyrius, quod nunquam superbissimus rex captivum adoraverit.’<sup>4</sup>

31. In ch. v 10, where the queen enters the banquet hall and praises Daniel, Jerome objects to his opponent’s theory that she was

<sup>1</sup> Migne vol. xxv p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* p. 492.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *De Antro Nympharum* ch. x ναῖδες, αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ναμάτων οὕτω κέκληνται. Ch. xv δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ τιθαιβώσσειν, τὸ τιθέναι τὴν βύσιν. Ch. xxiii, Januarius as the θυραῖος μὴν, ἰάνουα being equivalent to θύρα.

<sup>4</sup> *L.c.* p. 504.

Belshazzar's wife, saying: 'Evigilet ergo Porphyrius, qui eam Bathasaris somniatur uxorem, et illudit plus scire quam maritum.'<sup>1</sup> One is reminded of the mockery which Porphyry has elsewhere for the high position of women in the Christian Church.

32. Porphyry seems to have been active in his speculation concerning the kingdoms and the beasts, for concerning Dan. vii 7-14 Jerome says<sup>2</sup> 'Porphyrius duas posteriores bestias, Macedonum et Romanorum in uno Macedonum regno ponit et dividit: Pardum volens intelligi ipsum Alexandrum: bestiam autem dissimilem caeteris bestiis, quatuor Alexandri successores, et deinde usque ad Antiochum cognomento Epiphanen decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt saevissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni, verbi gratia, Macedoniae, Syriae, Asiae et Aegypti, sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regnum ordinem, ut videlicet ea quae scripta sunt: Os loquens ingentia, non de Antichristo, sed de Antiocho dicta credantur'. He adds 'Frustra Porphyrius cornu parvulum, quod post decem cornua ortum est, Epiphanen Antiochen suspicatur, et de decem cornibus tria evulsa cornua, sextum Ptolemaeum cognomento Philometorem septimum Ptolemaeum Evergetem, et Antartxiam regem Armeniae'.

In his comment on v 14 he asked Porphyry, if Antiochus were the small horn, who it was that broke him, and suggests his replying 'Antiochi principes a Iuda Machabaeo fuisse superatos'.<sup>3</sup>

From these extracts it is quite plain that Porphyry dealt in detail with the words of Daniel, in order that he might shew that they were fulfilled in other ways than by the coming of Christ, and of Anti-Christ. Several more references are contained in the rest of Jerome's commentary.

33. In ch. ix 1 Jerome declares that the Darius mentioned is not 'illum Darium, cuius anno secundo templum aedificatum est (quod Porphyrius suspicatur, ut annos Danielis extendat)'.<sup>4</sup>

Here again Porphyry is charged with bringing down the date of Daniel.

34. Likewise in Dan. xi 20 we are told of the one here referred to 'Porro Porphyrius non vult hunc esse Seleucum sed Ptolemaeum Epiphanen'.<sup>5</sup> (Cf. also his words on v 36.)

In the verses which follow with regard to Antiochus, Jerome states that there is no contention 'inter Porphyrium et nostros', but he has occasion to answer him again in commenting on v 34, saying that Porphyry thinks the 'parvulum auxilium' to be Mattathias 'de vico Modin' the smallness of the help being explained by the fall in battle of Mattathias, and of his son Judas Maccabaeus.

<sup>1</sup> *L. c.* p. 520.

<sup>2</sup> *L. c.* p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> *L. c.* pp. 530 and 533.

<sup>4</sup> *L. c.* p. 539.

<sup>5</sup> *L. c.* p. 565.

<sup>6</sup> *L. c.* p. 569.

A further reference to this expression is found in Jerome. In commenting on the word *fortitude* in Isaiah xxx 3 he discusses the Hebrew word for the 'strength' of Pharaoh. 'Pro fortitudine Pharaonis, quae in hoc loco bis ponitur, in Hebraico scriptum habet *Maoz* (מעוז). Hoc annotavimus, ut quod in Danielis extrema legimus (Dan. xi) visione Deum *Maozim* (מעוזים) non, ut Porphyrius somniat, Deum *viculi Modim* (al. *Moden*) sed *robustum* Deum et *fortem* intelligamus.'<sup>1</sup>

35. There is a special interest in the next two references, for they appear to be an actual citation of the words of Porphyry, who attributes the language of Dan. xi 44, 45 to Antiochus.

'Et in hoc loco Porphyrius tale nescio quid de Antiocho somniat: Pugnans, *inquit*, contra Aegyptios, et Libyas Aethiopasque pertransiens, audiet sibi ab Aquilone et ab Oriente praelia concitari, unde et regrediens capiet Aradios resistentes, et omnem in littore Phoenicis vastabit provinciam. Confestimque perget ad Artaxiam regem Armeniae, qui de Orientis partibus movebitur, et interfectis plurimis de eius exercitu, ponet tabernaculum suum in loco Apedno, qui inter duo latissima situs est flumina, Tigrim, et Euphratem.' Jerome breaks off to express his indignation that 'inter duo maria' in Daniel should be interpreted as 'flumina'.<sup>2</sup>

36. In Dan. xii 1, Jerome declares that Porphyry passes all bounds by still seeing a reference to Antiochus when Michael the great prince is spoken of.

'Et hoc, *inquit*, de Antiocho scriptum est, qui vadens in Persidem, Lysiae qui Antiochiae, et Phoeniciae praeerat, reliquit exercitum, ut adversus Iudaeos pugnaret urbemque eorum Ierusalem subverteret; quae omnia narrat Iosephus historiae auctor Hebraeae, quod talis fuerit tribulatio, qualis nunquam, et tempus advenerit quale non fuit ex quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad illum tempus. Reddita autem victoria, et caesis Antiochi ducibus, ipsoque Antiocho in Perside mortuo, salvatus est populus Israel: omnes qui scripti erant in libro Dei, hoc est, qui Legem fortissime defenderunt, et e contrario qui deleti sunt de libro, hoc est, qui praevaricatores exstiterunt Legis, et Antiochi fuerunt partium. Tunc, *ait*, hi qui quasi in terrae pulvere dormiebant, et operati erant malorum pondere, et quasi in sepulcris miseriarum reconditi, ad insperatam Victoriam de terrae pulvere surrexerunt, et de humo elevaverunt caput, custodes Legis resurgentes in vitam aeternam, et praevaricatores in opprobrium sempiternum. Magistri autem et doctores, qui Legis notitiam habuerunt, fulgebunt quasi coelum, et qui inferiores populos exhortati sunt ad custodiendas caeremonias Dei, ad instar astrorum splendent in perpetuas aeternitates.'

Jerome then adds: 'Ponit quoque historiam de Machabaeis, in qua

<sup>1</sup> Jer. *Comm.* in Isaiah xxx 3. Migne t. xxiv p. 339.    <sup>2</sup> Migne t. xxv p. 573.

dicitur multos Iudaeorum sub Mattathia et Iuda Machabaeo ad eremum confugisse, et latuisse in speluncis, et in cavernis petrarum, ac post victoriam processisse (1 Mach. ii). Et haec μεταφορικῶς quasi de resurrectione mortuorum esse praedicta.’<sup>1</sup>

The above extract is certainly one of the most interesting which Jerome has preserved, for it reveals the anxiety of a heathen opponent to find another explanation for Old Testament passages which the Christians used as prophecies of the resurrection from the dead.

37. The rest of Dan. xii was likewise interpreted literally by Porphyry. We may collect the references thus. The ‘time, times and half a time’ of v 7 ‘tres et semis annos interpretatur Porphyrius’.<sup>2</sup> The scattering of the people (in the same verse) refers to the persecution of Antiochus.<sup>2</sup> The 1,290 days of v. 11, he says were fulfilled ‘in tempore Antiochi, et in desolatione templi’.<sup>4</sup> The 1,335 days of v. 12 shews ‘victoriae contra duces Antiochi tempus’ (i.e. in the 45 days by which the earlier number is exceeded) when Judas succeeded in cleansing the temple. Finally v. 13 is again referred to the time of Antiochus.

38. We also find a reference to Porphyry’s next book, for it is stated by Jerome in his commentary on St Matt. xxiv 15 that in his thirteenth book Porphyry dealt fully with ‘the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet’, and that Eusebius answered him more fully still.

‘De hoc loco . . . multa Porphyrius tertio decimo operis sui volumine contra nos blasphemavit, cui Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus tribus respondit voluminibus, decimo octavo, decimo nono et vicesimo. Apollinaris quoque scripsit plenissime: superflueque conatus est uno capitulo velle disserere, de quo tantis versum millibus disputatum est.’<sup>5</sup>

39. In the fourteenth book, Porphyry seems to have seized upon some of the passages where Old Testament prophecy was quoted by the Evangelists, to shew how little they knew about what they were quoting. We may set down the next two references as belonging to this book.

Among the works once regarded as Chrysostom’s are contained fourteen homilies on St Mark’s Gospel. The first of these discusses the difficulty contained in its first verses, where the words of Malachi’s prophecy are ascribed to Isaiah. The author makes the following statement:—

‘Locum istum impius ille Porphyrius in quarto decimo volumine disputat, et dicit; Evangelistae tam imperiti fuerunt homines, non solum in secularibus sed etiam in scripturis divinis, ut testimonium, quod alibi scriptum est, de alio ponerent Propheta.’<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. c. p. 575, 576.

<sup>2</sup> L. c. p. 577.

<sup>3</sup> L. c. p. 578.

<sup>4</sup> L. c. pp. 579.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. *Comm. in Matth.* xxiv 15. Migne t. xxvi p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Chrys. Paris ed. of 1614, t. ii p. 968.

We have also a plainer allusion to the same passage contained in Jerome, which may reckon as part of the same reference to Porphyry.

The former, in commenting on Matt. iii 3 (the prophecy of Isaiah 'The voice of one crying' &c.), says that Porphyry compared this with the statement in Mark i 2, that the previous words 'Behold, I send my messenger before thy face' were also from Isaiah.

'Porphyrius istum locum Marci Evangelistae principio comparat: in quo scriptum est: sicut scriptum est in Isaia propheta etc. . . . Quum enim testimonium de Malachia Isaiaque contextum sit, quaerit, quomodo velut ab uno Isaia exemplum putemus assumptum. Cui Ecclesiastici viri plenissime responderunt.'<sup>1</sup>

This is perhaps the best instance of the care with which Porphyry studied the Gospels in order to find points of attack. He plainly here possessed the older reading. Can this very objection of his have had any influence on the text?

40. In the *Breviarium in Psalmos*, the writer<sup>2</sup> speaks of Ps. lxxviii 2, which was entitled 'A Psalm of Asaph', being ascribed to Isaiah in Matt. xiii 35 ('that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet [Isaiah] saying, I will open my mouth in parables &c.'). He adds:—

'Hoc Isaías non loquitur, sed Asaph. Denique, et impius Porphyrius proponit adversum nos hoc ipsum et dicit; Evangelista vester Matthaeus tam imperitus fuit, ut diceret, quod scriptum est per Isaíam prophetam.'

The form of the last sentence indicates that the actual words of Porphyry are quoted. This must therefore count as another fragment of his work. And here then is again the same kind of textual interest as in the previous reference. If one of them belonged to the fourteenth book, certainly the other is to be placed with it.

41. There is still one more source from which references may be obtained, for a few pages have been preserved of the lost work of Methodius in answer to Porphyry.<sup>3</sup> By means of the references contained therein, and with the aid of the titles prefixed to each of the five fragments in the MSS in which they are found, we are able to add five more to the list of objections brought by him. Whether these titles depend on further information than the actual contents I do not know.

The first fragment is stated to be an answer to the question, τί ὠφέλησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ σαρκωθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος; καὶ διὰ τί τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ σχήματι ἠνέσχετο παθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλη τινὶ τιμωρίᾳ; καὶ τί τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ σταυροῦ;

The chief interest of the answer is that it deals with Christ's action

<sup>1</sup> Jer. *Comm. in Matth.* Migne t. xxvi p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap. Jer. Brev. in Psalt.* Migne t. xxvi pp. 1045-1046.

<sup>3</sup> Bonwetsch *Methodius von Olympus* pp. 345-348 'Εκ τῶν κατὰ Πορφυρίου.

specially in relation to the world of demons, thus indicating that this was a point discussed by Porphyry in the *Adv. Christianos* as well as in the *Philosph. ab Orac. Haur.*, and the *Ep. ad Anebo*.

42. The second extract seems to be dealing with the same subject, but the earlier part is lost, and it begins in the middle of a sentence. The inscription of the MS gives the question as Πῶς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν βραχεί τε καὶ περιωρισμένῳ χρόνῳ διαστολαῖς σώματι ἐπεχώρητο; καὶ πῶς ἀπαθὴς ὢν ἐγένετο ὑπὸ πάθος;

43. The third fragment deals with a similar subject, the title of the MS being πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαισχυνομένους ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. It unites the contents of the two earlier fragments by giving the reason why ἔπαθε σαρκὶ τῷ σταυρῷ προσπαγείς ὁ λόγος, and explaining how ἦν ἐν τῷ παθητῷ μένων ἀπαθής. In none of the three, which evidently all come from the same source, is Porphyry referred to by name. But a sentence of the third is quoted in another MS as τοῦ ἁγίου Μεθοδίου, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Πορφυρίου. This is sufficient to prove that the other two fragments are also from the work of Methodius against Porphyry.

The remaining two fragments are quite brief, but in each case they are specially quoted as from Methodius's book against Porphyry.

44. The fourth deals with the conditions of the forgiveness of sins, and the extent of the effects of repentance. The words of Methodius are as follows: Μετάνοια τότε ἁμαρτήματος παντὸς γίνεται ἀπαλειπτική, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ψυχῆς σφάλματι ἀναβολὴν μὴ δέξηται, μηδὲ παραπέμψῃ τὸ πάθος εἰς χρονικὸν διάστημα· οὕτω γὰρ οὐχ ἔξει καταλείψαι ἵχνος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ κακόν, ἅτε ἅμα τῷ ἐπιβῆναι ἀποσπασθὲν δίκην φυτοῦ ἀρτισυστατικοῦ.

Evidently Porphyry had gone deeply into the ethics of repentance.

45. The fifth fragment seems likewise to be dealing with the relation of ethics and religion, for it lays down that κακόν consists in distance from God and ignorance of Him, and the things which come from ourselves, whereas ἀγαθόν consists in likeness to God and faith, and a movement towards that which is immortal.

These abstract questions plainly belonged to quite a different part of Porphyry's book from anything else that remains to us, and seem to form part of a section on the doctrines of Christianity. Possibly this was the climax which he reached in the last books of his great work, but it is quite as likely that this attack formed a section in the lost books in the middle of his work.

46. One more reference remains, which is made by Jerome in commenting on Isaiah iii 12.<sup>1</sup>

'Caveamus ergo nos ne exactores simus in populo, ne iuxta impium Porphyrium matronae et mulieres sint noster senatus, quae dominantur

<sup>1</sup> Jer. *Comm. in Isa.* Migne t. xxiv p. 66.



in ecclesiis et de sacerdotali gradu favor iudicat feminarum.' Here Porphyry's reference to the high position of women in the Church may form part of a scathing satire on the Christian society and organization, a theme which he may perhaps have reached near the close of his treatise.

The forty-six quotations or references given above are all that I can find, and they represent all that can be regained of the lost fifteen books unless use is made of the *Apocriticus*.<sup>1</sup> And this we are, I believe, justified in using as a second source for the arguments, though not for the language, of Porphyry himself.

I proceed to an attempt to reconstruct provisionally the whole work with the help of the above sources.<sup>2</sup> It must be understood that the *order* is often a matter of conjecture.

*Book I.* The *first book* was an attack on the credibility of the New Testament, the quarrels and inconsistencies of the Apostles being adduced to prove that they were unworthy of credit.

From the commentary of Jerome on Galatians we know of three points of attack :—

1. When at Antioch Paul withstood Peter to his face, it shewed both the impudence of the former and the inconsistency of the latter (also in *Apocr.* iii 22).

2. When Paul says he 'conferred not with flesh and blood', he means to degrade Peter, James, and John by calling them thus.

3. Peter brought death upon Ananias and Sapphira, by his imprecation on them (also in *Apocr.* iii 21).

From the *Apocriticus* we may add three more attacks upon Peter, and nine upon Paul :—

(a) Attacks upon Peter.

1. He cut off the ear of the high-priest's servant instead of forgiving until seventy times seven, as he had been bidden (iii 20).

2. He made his escape from prison when Herod had seized him (iii 22).

3. He claimed the right to have a wife, and so brought himself under the condemnation of Paul's words in Cor. i 9 'Such are false apostles' (iii 22).

(b) Attacks upon Paul.

These are chiefly in the form of inconsistencies.

<sup>1</sup> Lardner *op. cit.* p. 226 n., refers to Macknight *The Truth of the Gospel History*, p. 319, as having stated, without giving the reference, that Porphyry blamed Christ for encouraging fraud by the Parable of the Unjust Steward. He considers that Macknight was mistaken, and certainly the reference cannot be found.

<sup>2</sup> In each case the references which come from the *Apocriticus* will be placed last, as having a less degree of certainty.

1. He said he was 'free' and yet was 'the servant of all' (iii 30).
2. He abused circumcision as being merely *κατατομή*, and yet he himself circumcised Timothy (iii 30).
3. He said at one time that he was a Roman, and at another that he was a Jew of Tarsus (iii 31).
4. He shewed his greed by applying to himself and his own support what Moses said about the oxen in the law (iii 32).
5. He declared that the whole law must be kept, for it is spiritual, and the commandment holy (Rom. vii 14), and yet he said that those under the law are under a curse, in Gal. iii (iii 33).
6. Again, he quoted the law to help his argument, but called it the strength of sin, which entered that grace might abound (iii 34).
7. He said it was wrong to sacrifice to demons, and yet he declared that there is no idol in the world (iii 35).
8. He said 'meat will not present you to God', and yet he told them to eat whatever was sold, for 'the earth is the Lord's'.
9. He not only contradicts himself, but also the present teaching of Christianity, for instead of honouring virginity, he said that deceivers forbid to marry (1 Tim. iv 3), and that concerning virgins he had no command (iii 36).

To the first book there may perhaps be added the objection implied in the fragment of Book V of the *Apocriticus*, which is to be found in the writings of the Jesuit Turrianus.<sup>1</sup> It is concerned with the difficulties with regard to the relation of faith and works, and may possibly have formed part of an attack based on the discrepancies between Paul and James. This is the more likely, as in the second of the attacks quoted above from Jerome in *Galat.*, Paul's contempt for James as well as Peter seems to have been shewn.

*Book II.* The *second book* is entirely lost, and its contents can only be a matter of conjecture.<sup>2</sup> But a guess may be made with some probability in the light of the contents of the books which follow. For Book III contained detailed criticisms of the Old Testament, and Book IV went on to discuss generally the history of the Jews. As Book I began to deal similarly with the New Testament, it seems probable that Book II proceeded in the same way, and dealt with the unhistorical basis of Christianity on more general lines than Book I.

*Book III*, as already mentioned, consisted of an attack on the Old Testament, and gave examples of its inconsistencies and absurdities, largely drawn from the Pentateuch.

(a) The fragment preserved by Eusebius attacks Origen's allegorical

<sup>1</sup> See *J.T.S.* (July 1907).

<sup>2</sup> Neither Wagenmann nor Kleffner offers any suggestion.

method of interpretation, for Porphyry required the language of the Mosaic books to be taken literally, if he was to ridicule it effectively.

(b) The reference in Severian raises the question why in Gen. ii 17 God forbade the knowledge of good as well as evil.

(c) Two objections to later books of the Old Testament<sup>1</sup> (other than the prophecies of Daniel) are preserved by Augustine,<sup>2</sup> which may possibly have belonged to the third book.

1. The language of Solomon (presumably in Proverbs) contradicts the Christian idea that God has a son.

2. The story of Jonah is absurd and incredible.

*Book IV.* The *fourth book* discussed the history of the Jews, shewing that the story as possessed by the Christians was quite untrustworthy, and that the true history had been preserved by Sanchuniathon.

The reference to the Hebrews in another fragment, side by side with the Egyptians and other nations, suggests that Porphyry was proving them to be an ordinary nation, and not a chosen and peculiar people with a special revelation from heaven.

Nothing remains of the following books from the fifth to the eleventh. But, as we know that the later books contained both a detailed attack upon the prophecies of Daniel and a reference to the Christian hope as contained in the New Testament, the intervening books must have consisted of an attack on the Christian's God, their Saviour and His claims, the doctrines of the Church, and the language of the New Testament itself. The deadliness of Porphyry's polemic seems to have consisted largely in his merciless ridicule of the Gospels, and this fact makes it probable that in reverting to Christianity in Book V after his digression on Judaism in the two previous books, he began with this detailed form of attack.<sup>3</sup> He would deal first with the life of Christ, His deeds and miracles, and then fasten on His sayings, and the inconsistent accounts of the Evangelists. This would lead to the Christian idea of God, and His relation to the heathen gods, which would itself suggest the relation of the Christian rites to those of paganism. From rites he would pass to doctrines, such as Baptism and the Resurrection, and would end this section of his work with objections to the whole theory of salvation through the Incarnate and Crucified Christ. The above seven topics correspond to the number of the lost books. It would of course be foolish to pretend that we

<sup>1</sup> Wagenmann speaks of the third book as concerned with scripture commentaries, and Georgiades gives it as *περὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν Γραφῶν*, but Kleffner appears to narrow it to the Pentateuch.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Quaestiones Paganorum*.

<sup>3</sup> Kleffner says he seems to have criticized all the books of the New Testament almost verse by verse.

can reconstruct the order of the books accordingly. But besides the references contained in other works, some of the above topics are dealt with in various parts of the *Apocriticus* in such a way as to suggest that they are selected from the arguments in different books of Porphyry.

I therefore tentatively suggest a reconstruction something like the following one :—

*Book V.* The life of Christ, with objections to His deeds and miracles.

1. In John vii 6–10 Christ said He would not go up to the feast, and then stultified Himself by going (Jer. *Dial. adv. Pelag.*).

2. Objections are brought to the Miracles of healing. The single fragment that is preserved by Nicephorus of Book I of the *Apocriticus* is an answer to an attack upon the healing of the woman with an issue of blood.

3. Objections to Christ's behaviour found later in the *Apocriticus*.

(a) Why did He not appear to Pilate and Herod and other trustworthy witnesses after the Resurrection, and not merely to women and peasants? He had told the high-priest, &c., that they would see Him in His glory. Had He shewn Himself, it would have caused belief, and saved persecution (ii 14).

(b) Why did He allow Himself to be mocked and crucified not saying anything worthy for the benefit of His judge or His hearers, but tolerating insults like the meanest of men? (iii 1).

(The reference to Apollonius is omitted as introduced by Hierocles.)

(c) Why, after saying 'Fear not them that kill the body', did He pray in His agony that His suffering might pass from Him? (iii 2).

(d) Why did He not cast Himself down when the tempter told Him to? Did He fear the danger? (iii 18).

4. The miracle of the demons and the swine is discussed in detail. The length of this passage as given by Macarius is in such contrast with the usual brevity of the objections, that it seems likely that in this case the original words of Porphyry are preserved, but not all. For not a word is said of the saying repeated by Vigilantius, which is to the effect that when the demons cried out, they only made pretence of torments, so that miracles may be the result of their trickery.

The points contained in the *Apocriticus* are as follows. Not only are the Evangelists shewn to disagree, but Christ is blamed for letting the demons extend their dominion to the sea. He shewed His wickedness by doing much harm in order to cure one man, and His partiality in only driving the enemy from one place to another. Besides, other objections make the account impossible (iii 4).

*Book VI.* The sayings of Christ, and their many inconsistencies.

1. The words of Christ recorded in Matt. vii 2 (the fourth question

answered by Augustine in his *Ep. ad Demetr.*). He said 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again', and yet He threatened (in John iii 18) eternal punishment for those who did not believe on Him.

(2) In the opening words of St John's Gospel Christ is not the Word either in the outward or the inward sense. Therefore He is not the Word at all.

3. Five series of objections contained in Books II and III of the *Apocriticus*.<sup>1</sup>

(a) A series of objections which are not extant, but only the answers are preserved.

Matt. x 34-38 'I came not to send peace on the earth but a sword', &c. (ii 1).

Matt. xii 48-49 'Behold My mother and My brethren' (ii 2).

Mark x 18 'Why callest thou me good? None is good', &c. And yet He says elsewhere 'A good man out of the good treasure', &c. (ii 3).

In Matt. xvii 15 how is it that the man asked Christ, 'Have pity on my son, for he is a lunatic', and yet 'it was not the doing of the moon but of a demon?' (iii 4). [N.B. This objection is not quite of the same kind as the rest.]

In John v 31 Christ said 'If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true'; and yet He did bear witness of Himself, as when He said 'I am the Light of the world' (ii 5).

(b) No sense can be found in such sayings as that in John xii 31 'Now is the judgement of this world; now the ruler of this world shall be cast outside' (ii 15).

In John viii 43-44 He said 'Ye are of your father the devil'. But it is quite obscure who this devil is, and what is the slander which gave him his name, and who were the parties in it (ii 16).

(c) In John v 44 He said 'If ye believed Moses, ye would believe Me, for he wrote concerning Me'. But the stupidity of the saying is shewn, firstly, in that no writings of Moses have been preserved; and secondly, in that, even if Moses did write them, they cannot be shewn to speak of Christ as God (iii 3).

In Matt. xix 24 He said 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom'. But if this is the case, all practical morality disappears, and salvation depends, not on virtue but on poverty. The words must really be those of some poor woman in distress (iii 5).

In Matt. xxvi 11 He said 'Me ye have not always', but elsewhere He said the exact opposite, 'Lo, I am with you always' (iii 7).

<sup>1</sup> Each series occurs in a different set of attacks in Macarius.

(d) The saying in John vi 54, about eating His flesh and drinking His blood, beats the savages in its savagery. No hidden meaning can excuse the outward significance. The first three Evangelists probably suppressed it because of its unseemliness (iii 15).

Note the saying in Mark xvi 18 about the signs following believers, the healing of the sick, and receiving no harm from deadly drugs. If it were true, it ought to be made the test of belief, and of appointing church officers (iii 16).

Similarly in Matt. xvii 19 He said 'Ye shall say to this mountain, Be thou lifted up', &c. Therefore those who cannot use their faith thus are not worthy of the name of Christian. But not even the clergy can do it (iii 17).

His words to Peter in Matt. xvi 18 are utterly inconsistent, for first He said 'Get thee behind me, Satan'; and then 'On this rock will I build my Church' (iii 19).

(e) In Matt. xiii 31 Christ compares the kingdom of heaven to mustard seed, to leaven, to a merchant seeking goodly pearls. Such comparisons are unintelligible, in spite of having been written for babes (iv 8).

In Matt. xi 25 He thanks the Father that these things were revealed unto babes. If so, they certainly ought to have been spoken more plainly. If His object was to hide them from the wise, and reveal them to fools, it must be better to seek after ignorance than knowledge (iv 9).

In Luke v 31 He says 'They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick'.

He refers to His own coming to save these sick with sin, but did not other ages of the world equally need healing? Besides, if (as St Paul says in 1 Tim. i 15), He 'came into the world to save sinners', the more a man turns away from the healing which a Christian needs, the more righteous he will be (iv 10).

This last objection is stated in much fuller form in the second of the six *Quaestiones Paganorum* in Augustine's *Ep. ad Demetr.* It is very possibly a translation of the original words of Porphyry.

*Book VII.* The untrustworthiness of the Evangelists. This must have formed a much larger subject than the few examples which remain to us would suggest. Jerome's statement (*Ep. ad Pamm.*) that the Evangelists were accused of falsehood, and elsewhere that they were charged with making up miracles, indicates that this was an important item in Porphyry's attack.

1. Matthew is wrong in the genealogy which he gives in ch. i (Jer. in *Dan. init.*), for one generation seems to have been missed out at Jechonias at the end of the second fourteen.

2. In Matt. ix 9 the account of the call of Matthew is most improbable, and makes him follow the first man he casually meets. Either the Evangelist is untruthful or the Saviour's first followers had no sense (*Jer. in Matt.*).

3. The Evangelists, in their desire to make the miracle of Christ walking on the Sea, wilfully called Genezareth a 'sea' though it was a mere lake (*Jer. in Gen. i 10*).

The account in Mark vi 48 is attacked in detail in *Apocr.* iii 6. It was merely a small lake where the river widens by Tiberias, which a boat could cross in an hour or two. Mark exaggerated by making them sail all night and pictured storms and waves, to which the lake was not subject, in order to represent Christ as calming them (iii 6).

Also the miracle of the demons and the swine cannot be true, for so many swine could not have been drowned in so small a lake (iii 4 *fn.*).

4. There is a great discrepancy about the Crucifixion. Mark says some one offered Christ ὄξος, and He uttered the cry 'My God', &c. Matthew says it was οἶνος μετὰ χολῆς, which He tasted and refused. John says they gave Him ὄξος μεθ' ὑσσώπου, which He took and said 'It is finished', and died. Luke says the great cry was 'Father into Thy hands', &c. These discrepancies shew that it is not history, and that therefore all the narrative is untrustworthy (ii 12).

5. Another proof that the accounts are only guesswork lies in the statement of John alone (xix 33 f) that the soldier's spear brought forth 'blood and water', adding that this is the true statement of an eye-witness (ii 13).

Possibly in this part of the work, the attack on the Gospels was followed by a series of objections to the contents of the Acts of the Apostles. The reference to Peter's treatment of Ananias and Sapphira might be placed under this head. Also the charge that in their arguments the Apostles abused the simplicity of their hearers. It may be noted here that it is possible that these lost books were in part arranged as a consecutive commentary, in the same way as we find to be the case with the Book of Daniel in Book XII. Thus one book would contain attacks on the First Gospel, another on the Second, and so forth. But this seems a less likely reconstruction than the one I am attempting, especially in view of the sequences found occasionally in the *Apocriticus*, which would thus become meaningless.

*Book VIII.* The Christian idea of God, and His relation to the heathen gods.

A series of four objections on this subject follows in *Apocr.* Book IV, after the completion of the detailed attack upon the New Testament.

1. God is called a 'Monarch' in contrast with the other gods. But

this very title proves that He has other gods to rule over, as may be shewn from its use when applied to men (iv 20).

2. The difference between the gods and the angels is only in name. The words in Matthew about being 'as the angels' prove their divine nature. Images are only reminders of the gods, and are naturally in the form of man, God's fairest work. God Himself is said to have 'fingers' in Exodus xxxi 18. Heathen temples are imitated by the Christians (iv 21).

3. If the Greeks do think that the gods dwell in statues, at least it shews a purer mind than the belief that the deity went into the virgin's womb (iv 22).

4. God is not angry if the title 'god' is applied to others, for it is even used of men, as in Exodus xxii 28 'Thou shalt not revile the gods' (iv 23).

*Book IX.* The Christian rites, and their relation to those of heathenism.

It is natural that the author of the *Philosophia de Oraculis Haurienda* should speak at length on this subject, though scarcely any references to it remain.

The third of the *Quaestiones Paganorum* in Augustine (*Ep. ad Demetr.*) says that the Christians abuse the sacrifices and worship of the heathen temples, but they represent their own God as having needed them once. If God appointed them, why did Christ abrogate them?

In the latter part of *Apocr.* iv 21 (which has been already referred to), it is stated that the Christians imitate the heathen temples with their great houses of prayer, which are not needed, if the Lord is everywhere.

*Book X.* The Christian doctrines, and their unreasonableness.

1. Baptism. It is strange that in that Baptism of which Paul says 'But ye were washed, but ye were cleansed', a man should be made clean from the stains of a lifetime. Such teaching is subversive of all law and order, for it encourages a man to commit sins, if he knows he can be freed from them (*Apocr.* iv 19).

2. The Resurrection of the body. The first of the *Quaestiones Paganorum* in Augustine (*Ep. ad Demetr.*) asks how the resurrection of ordinary men can be like that of the Virgin's Son. Or will the resurrection be like that of Lazarus? Again, if there is no hunger or pain after it, how did Christ eat, and shew His wounds?

The same subject is continued in *Apocr.* iv 24 (where it has not been mentioned previously, but the attack begins *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀφηγητέον*).

Why should God overthrow His own arrangement for the preservation of the nations? How absurd for men of all epochs to rise together! How can bodies rise which have been devoured by beasts, &c.? It



is no good saying 'All things are possible with God', for He cannot undo what is done, nor make Himself evil.

It is unreasonable to destroy the beautiful earth, and preserve men's corrupted bodies. And if all shall rise again, how is the world going to contain them?

As Book IV of the *Apocr.* breaks off abruptly in the middle of the answer to this attack, it is quite likely that other similar objections to Christian doctrines immediately followed. It is possible that the fragment of Book V preserved in Turrianus about 'faith and works' belongs to the same category.

The last two of the fragments which remain of Methodius's answer to Porphyry may also be added here, as follows:—

3. The effects of Repentance. How can it wash away all sin, and how far is it moral that it should do so? (Method. *Karà Πορφ.* Frag. 4).

4. The ethics of the Christian religion. How can faith in God, and approach to Him, or the reverse, be said to have anything to do with the moral duties as regards what is 'good' and what is 'bad'? (*ibid.* Frag. 5).

*Book XI.* Special objections to the doctrine of the Incarnate Christ.

The following objections are preserved in the fragments of the work of Methodius:—

1. What was the use of the Son of God becoming man? (Frag. 1).

2. Why did He choose to suffer by means of the cross? And what is its use? (The question is discussed specially in relation to the world of demons.) (*Ibid.*)

3. How did Christ become subject to change and suffering, although He could not suffer? (Frag. 2).

4. What but disgrace was brought by the cross? (Frag. 3).

The arrangement of the foregoing books, beginning with Book V, has been purely a matter of conjecture. In the next two books we return to surer ground, and our knowledge of Book XII is far fuller than of any other.

*Book XII.* An investigation of Old Testament prophecy, and the Christian claim of its fulfilment. The Book of Daniel studied in detail, almost in the form of a commentary.<sup>1</sup> The general conclusion is (a) that Daniel wrote about what had already happened, and not about what was to come, (b) that the references are not to Christ and Anti-Christ, but to the Jews and Antiochus Epiphanes, (c) that the original language of the book was Greek.

Jerome refers to some ten or twelve passages where the text of Daniel has been interpreted accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> Kleffner suggests that this twelfth book must have been one of the most important in the treatise, since Daniel, being so full of Messianic prophecies, was specially valuable to the Christians.

*Book XIII.* The Christian hope. The prophecy of the Old Testament leads to that of the New.

Jerome, in commenting on Matt. xxiv 15, shews that the thirteenth book has dealt at great length with 'the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet'. Probably reference is made to the conclusions of Book XII about Daniel, and then Christ's apocalyptic discourse is attacked.

A sequence of seven attacks in Book IV of the *Apocriticus* deals with the same subject, and may with some certainty be also placed in the thirteenth book.

1. What does Paul mean by saying that 'the fashion of the world passeth away'? (1 Cor. vii 31). What passes away, and why? If the Creator does it, it shews that, even if the change is a good one, He made it imperfect to begin with.

Can Paul mean in the words that follow that 'He that hath' the world (viz. the Creator) 'must be as He that hath not', because of the coming change? (iv 1).

2. What can the passage mean in 1 Thess. iv 14-16 'We that are alive shall be caught up together with them in a cloud', &c.? Even the wonder-working Word of God would not so pervert nature as to make men fly like the birds. It says 'We that are alive', but no one has been caught up yet, though 300 years have passed (iv 2).

3. In Matt. xxiv 14 (the verse preceding that in which Porphyry is said by Jerome to have written at length about the abomination of desolation) it was said 'The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, and then shall come the end'. And yet, though the whole world has received the Gospel, there is no end, nor ever will be (iv 3).

4. Paul was promised 'No man shall harm thee' (Acts xviii 9) and was to judge angels, but he was soon afterwards beheaded at Rome. Peter was given authority to feed the lambs, but he was crucified. It is unworthy of God that these and many others of His servants should end thus (iv 4).

5. Christ said in Matt. xxiv 5 'Many shall come in my name', &c. But no one has come in 300 years, unless it be Apollonius (iv 5).

6. In the Apocalypse of Peter it is said that the earth is about to be judged 'together with the heaven that contains it'. But though earth suffers change, heaven does not. And will it be proved to have done wrong, or be slandered as such? (iv 6).

7. The same book also says that 'the heaven shall be rolled up as a scroll', &c. This is like Christ's boast in Matt. v, about which it is hard to see how His words could stand if heaven and earth had passed away.

As Christ called God 'Father of heaven and earth' it would be like a man destroying his own children. Elsewhere heaven is magnified, and called God's throne and dwelling-place. But where will He live, and what will be His seat and His foot-stool, when heaven and earth have passed away? (iv 7).

*Book XIV.* The subject of the two previous books (Prophecy in the Old Testament and in the New) leads to the proof that the Evangelists themselves did not know and understand the Prophets properly.

The first of the two following attacks is known to have been from Book XIV.

1. Mark, in his opening verses, confuses two quotations from Malachi and from Isaiah, and quotes them as if Isaiah wrote them both.

2. In Matt. xiii 35 Christ is said, in speaking by parables, to have fulfilled the words of the prophet Isaiah, 'I will open my mouth in parables', &c. But really the words are Asaph's, in the seventy-eighth Psalm.

Other passages were doubtless similarly discussed.

*Book XV.* No more references to the books remain, but two passages have not yet been inserted which may best be placed here.<sup>1</sup> For after speaking of the Church's future, it is natural to turn to its present state, and then to pass to the present state of the *world*, as the climax of the treatise, shewing how evil an effect Christianity had upon it.

Thus the suggested contents of the last book would be:—

1. The Christian Church: its present state. The high position of women in the Church is a matter of ridicule. They really are the assembly, they are paramount in the churches, and the honours of ministerial office depend upon their favour (Jer. *in Isa.* iii 12).

This was probably one of many such satires on the Christian society and organization.

2. The present state of the world, as the result of Christianity.

The gods have given up helping men since the honouring of Jesus began.

The few words of the fragment, preserved by Eusebius and Theodoret, state:—

(i) The plague raging so long in the city is the result of Asclepius and the other gods no longer having their abode within it.

(ii) Men wonder at this, but the reason is that, owing to the cult of Jesus, no public benefit has come from the gods.

The plague then troubling Rome is thus represented as one of the

<sup>1</sup> Kleffner (unlike Wagenmann and Georgiades, the former of whom he for the most part follows exactly) inserts in these later books (XII–XV) three, and possibly five, of the *Quaestiones Paganorum* found in St Augustine, and inserted already above under Books V–XI.

results of Christianity. Such practical changes would form a fitting finale to the *Katà Χριστιανῶν*.

It is now time to note any conclusions which may be drawn either with regard (1) to Porphyry's work itself, or (2) to its use by the opponent of Macarius Magnes, whom I venture to speak of now as Hierocles.

1. The *Katà Χριστιανῶν* was the work of a man who knew the language of the Bible from one end to the other, and annotated a great deal of it with the shrewd and biting criticisms of a sceptical common sense. It was here that his chief force lay, and he made no attempt to play the philosopher, or anything but the destructive critic, in dealing with the passages which he ridiculed.

He followed the same course in dealing with Christian doctrines, but when he spoke of God, he was led to discuss His relation with demons, and to express something of the polytheistic attitude.

In spite of his own ideas on the miraculous, he relentlessly attacked the Christian miracles as not resting on sufficient evidence. His objections anticipate much that modern criticism has repeated. It is worthy of note that nothing is said about any later miracles among Christians; the attack is confined to those recorded in Scripture. He seems to have regarded these as merely made up to glorify Jesus, whom he considered a good but weak enthusiast, who often said and did what was inconsistent and unwise.

He laid the chief blame for the propagation of a false religion upon the followers of Jesus, who were both fools and knaves at once, and gave themselves up to unworthy quarrels and jealousies. That he regarded this as the first essential of his attack is seen by the fact that he placed it in Book I in the forefront of his argument. And yet it is really one of its weakest parts, for he has to admit the extraordinary success of the Apostles in spite of their blighting animosities.

When he ventured to deal with earlier history his judgement was warped and untrustworthy. This is seen in what he says about Jewish history, and his preference for what purported to be the work of Sanchuniathon.

As a higher critic he forestalled many modern revolts against the traditional Christian standpoint. This is specially noteworthy with regard to the Book of Daniel, which he strips of its mystery, and regards as a *vaticinium post eventum*. His detailed treatment of prophecy was due to the insistence upon it always shewn by Christian apologists. The story of Jonah he cannot rationalize, so he sets it aside as legend. The Pentateuch cannot be the original work of Moses, which had certainly perished. The eschatology of the Gospels

was a weak basis for the Christian hope, the great difficulty being that it had not been fulfilled.

He shewed the evil effect of Christianity upon the world, not only by the change in society made through its exaltation of women, but also by its effect in the spirit world. Here his argument reaches a climax, when he explains away the fact that the ancient gods of heathenism were no longer shewing their work in the world, by saying that this was caused by the Christians' action, and that their active benevolence to the world had ceased ever since the honouring of Jesus had begun.

2. We pass finally to the consideration of the work answered in the *Apocriticus*. Its unlikeness to the structure of the *Katà Χριστιανῶν* has been already noted, but sundry conclusions may be drawn therefrom.

The author seems to have altered the whole plan of the work, so as to place the more direct attack upon the Founder of the faith in the earlier part, and the absurdities and inconsistencies of the accounts in which His words and deeds are preserved. He then made a division of his subject (at iii 19) in order to divide his work into two books, and in his second book he proceeded to attack the first Christian teachers and writers. This arrangement seems a very great improvement on Porphyry's work, for it is both a more logical order, and an avoidance of the objection to the first book of the *Katà Χριστιανῶν* mentioned above. He seems to have left the consideration of the Christians' God, and their chief doctrines and religious rites until the end, laying stress (as Porphyry had done in his thirteenth book) upon the futility of the Christian hope.

He decided to confine himself to an attack upon Christianity itself, and to omit Porphyry's elaborate consideration of the Old Testament and Jewish history generally, which had occupied at least a fifth of his work.

All through his treatise he merely made selections from the abundant attacks which he found in each section of Porphyry's work, and he greatly reduced the length of those he chose to incorporate, omitting some of the points, and putting most of the rest into his own language. It is absolutely necessary to draw these inferences, in order to explain the rarity of the coincidences in the extant parts of the two works, and the differences of style and language.

If Macarius is to be trusted in his grouping of the objections which he answers, they frequently shew a sequence of about half a dozen attacks, mostly on the same subject, but not always so. In some cases they have obviously been taken from the same part of Porphyry's book; in others the connexion is harder to trace; while in one at least the copyist has incorporated the second of two objections without giving the first.

If in the foregoing considerations I have rightly interpreted the problem of the relation of the *Katà Xριστιανῶν* and the objections quoted by Macarius, the latter assume a double importance. For they give us the contents of the lost *Philaethes* of Hierocles, and at the same time they have provided us with many of the arguments in the book which he copied, and have enabled us to reconstruct its contents far more fully than would be the case, if we only relied upon the quotations from the *Katà Xριστιανῶν* and the references to it, which I have collected from other sources.

T. W. CRAFER.

## THE HERMETIC WRITINGS.

THIS article aims at giving (i) a brief statement of the history of the Hermetic writings, so far as it can be gleaned from the scanty external evidence at our disposal; (ii) some account of the contents of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and allied Hermetic fragments, together with a discussion of recent literature (mostly German) on the subject; and (iii) an attempt to estimate the significance of the writings for the history of religion.

## I

The most considerable remains of the Hermetic writings are contained in a collection which is generally known as *Poemander*, after the title of its first piece. The MSS of this *Corpus Hermeticum* are derived from one tattered copy which perhaps owes its preservation to Michael Psellus,<sup>1</sup> the Platonist Theologian, who commented on the book at Constantinople in the eleventh century. After the capture of Constantinople in 1453 a MS was secured by Cosimo Medici, and the collection, which was much prized by the Florentine Platonists, was translated into Latin in 1463. The Greek text was first edited by Adrian Turnebus in 1554; the edition of François Foix, based upon the text of Turnebus, followed twenty years later. The somewhat uncritical edition of Patricius—published in 1591—underlies the text of Parthey (Berlin 1854).<sup>2</sup> Dr Reitzenstein's volume *Poimandres* (Leipzig 1904) contains a fresh edition of the text of nos. I and XIII of the collection, together with the text of the three concluding numbers, which are not included in Parthey's edition.<sup>3</sup> Fragments of Hermetic writings

<sup>1</sup> The comment of Michael Psellus on *Poimandres* 18 αὐξάνεσθε ἐν αὐξήσει καὶ πληθύνεσθε ἐν πλήθει, in which he affirms his belief that Poimandres is the Devil, quoting Scripture for his own purpose, is printed in Parthey's edition of *Poemander ad loc.* I am indebted to Dr Armitage Robinson for the following reference of Psellus to the Hermetic writings: Τὴν δὲ Ἑρμαϊκὴν μονάδα (*Corp. Herm.* iv) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου συγγράμματα ἃ δὴ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα τὰτ ὑπηγόρευσεν, ἐν οἷς μὴ καθαρῶς ταῖς ἀληθείαις δόξαις ἐναντιοῦται, προσέειπε· κρεῖττονα γὰρ ἢ κατὰ τὴν Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφίαν καὶ χρησιμοῖς ἀκριβῶς εἰκότα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης ἀνάγοντα, καὶ τὸν Ποιμάνδρην τούτου (οὕτω γὰρ τὸν οἰκείον λόγον ἐπέγραψεν) ὡς δυνειώττοντα διαπτύετε. Psellus ed. Boissonade Πρὸς μαθητὰς ἀμελοῦντας p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, quotations are from Parthey's edition.

<sup>3</sup> These three numbers are found in all the MSS except the Florentine (Laurent. 71, 33) and three closely allied MSS. Dr Reitzenstein suggests that the omission was due in the first place to a fear that the pagan apologetic motive which these

are preserved by Stobaeus; a Latin translation of a Hermetic book, entitled λόγος τέλειος, is to be found among the works of Apuleius under the title *Asclepius*. Hermetic writings are contained among the works of the Greek alchemists, and finally Hermetic writings are extensively quoted by Lactantius and Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> The works of 'Hermes' on medicine and astrology need not detain us here.<sup>2</sup>

The *religionsgeschichtliche Forschung* of the present century has brought this literature into fresh prominence, and it is suggested that light will be thrown on the origins of the Christian faith by the 'pia erga Deum philosophia, fidei dogmatibus ut plurimum consona' of the collection, which led Patricius at the end of the sixteenth century to declare that the doctrines of Hermes would be a suitable substitute in the schools for those of Aristotle.<sup>3</sup>

The literary fiction which attributed all Egyptian science and literature to 'Tat' was known to Plato: Ἦκουσα περὶ Ναύκρατιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου γενέσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖ παλαιῶν τινα θεῶν, οὓς καὶ τὸ ὄρνεον τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἴβιν, αὐτῷ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ δαίμονι εἶναι Θεῦθ· τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτον ἀριθμὸν τε καὶ λογισμὸν εὐρεῖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, ἔτι δὲ πεττείας τε καὶ κυβείας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα.<sup>4</sup> The Egyptian Tat was identified with the Greek Hermes. Cicero distinguished five Mercurys, and says that the fifth, who was worshipped by the Pheneatae of Arcadia, was related to have slain Argus, and to have fled to Egypt, where he gave the Egyptians laws and letters. 'Hunc', adds Cicero, 'Aegyptii Theuth appellant, eodemque nomine anni primus mensis apud eos vocatur'.<sup>5</sup> Hence also Strabo, speaking of the astronomical activities of the priests of Egyptian Thebes, says ἀνατιθέασι δὲ τῷ Ἑρμῇ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην σοφίαν.<sup>6</sup> Clement of Alexandria gives an account of forty-two books of Hermes on a variety of subjects including geography, astronomy, theology, and medicine.<sup>7</sup> Iamblichus (*de Mysteriis* viii 1) relates that Hermes had made a complete exposition of the universal essences (τὰς ὅλας οὐσίας) in 20,000 books, as Seleucus declared, or as Manetho said, in 36,525.<sup>8</sup>

numbers betray would discredit the entire collection. Cf. *Poimandres*, appendix *Die Texte*, p. 319 foll. of which the paragraph above is a summary.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* ed. Harles, vol. i p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> A short account of these, some of which are extant in Latin translations from the Arabic, will be found in art. 'Hermes Trismegistos' by Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa *R. E.* vii pp. 797 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Praefatio* apud Parthey *op. cit.* p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> *Phaedr.* 274 C, cf. also *Phileb.* 18 B.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *de Nat. Deorum* iii 56 and Mayor *ad loc.*

<sup>6</sup> Strabo xvii 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Strom.* vi 4. 35 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also *De Myst.* i 1 Θεὸς ὁ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμὼν, ὃ Ἑρμῆς πάλαι δέδοκται καλῶς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἶναι κοινός . . . ὃ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, τὰ αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας εἰρήματα ἀνέριθεσαν, Ἑρμοῦ πάντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συγγράμματα ἐπονομάζοντες.



These allusions prove that the device of attributing Egyptian literature to Hermes was widely recognized, at any rate by the first century B.C., but they prove nothing as to the date of the Hermetic literature with which we are dealing. The books referred to by Manetho and Seleucus, and those of which Clement speaks, were perhaps not written in Greek, and 'Hermes Trismegistos' does not seem to have appeared in Greek or Roman literature before the last quarter of the second century A.D., when he was referred to by Athenagoras the Christian apologist. His allusion, however, is too vague to give any idea of the nature of his source.<sup>1</sup> Philosophic literature under the name of Hermes Trismegistos was certainly current in the first decade of the third century. Tertullian (*adv. Val.* 15)<sup>2</sup> refers to 'Mercurius Trismegistos' as 'magister omnium physicorum' and complains that not even he has given a satisfactory account of Creation. A few years later in the *De Anima* he speaks of 'Mercurius Aegyptius, cui praecipue Plato insuevit' (§ 2), and quotes him (*ib.* § 33) as saying that when the soul leaves the body, it is not reabsorbed into the soul of the universe, but remains determinate, that it may render an account to the Father of its deeds in the body.<sup>3</sup> Hermes Trismegistos is also quoted in the *Quod idola dii non sint* attributed to Cyprian.<sup>4</sup>

Lactantius seems to be the first writer whose quotations from 'Hermes' can be identified with passages in the Hermetic writings which have survived. He is an important witness, for his references to 'Hermes'—of whom he had a high opinion<sup>5</sup>—prove the existence of a body of Hermetic writings in the early years of the fourth century which included the Greek original of the pseudo-Apuleius *Asclepius*, some, though probably not all, of the numbers of the surviving *Corpus*, together with other works that have perished. The *Asclepius* is quoted under the title 'λόγος τέλειος'.<sup>6</sup> Now the ninth number of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, from which Lactantius also quotes,<sup>7</sup> opens with the following words:

<sup>1</sup> Athen. *Leg. pro Christ.* 28 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὁ τρισμαγίστος ἐπικαλούμενος συνάπτων (Otto συνήπτων) τὸ ἴδιον (MSS αἰδίων) αὐτοῖς (i. e. Osiris and Horus) γένος καὶ ἄλλοι μύριοι ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον καταλέγοιμι, οὐδὲ λόγος καταλείπεται βασιλεῖς ὄντας αὐτοὺς μὴ νενομήσθαι θεούς. Harnack (*Chron.* i p. 318) dates the book A. D. 177–180.

<sup>2</sup> Date shortly before A. D. 208, Harnack *Chron.* ii pp. 282–285.

<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to identify the quotation in any of the surviving Hermetic writings. The editor of Tertullian in the Vienna Corpus refers to *Corp. Herm.* x, but there is nothing in that number which can have been the original of Tertullian's words 'uti rationem, inquit, patri reddat eorum quae in corpore gesserit'.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 6 'Hermes quoque Trismegistos unum deum loquitur eumque incomprehensibilem atque inaestimabilem confitetur'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lact. *Instit. Div.* iv 9 'Trismegistos, qui veritatem paene universam nescio quo modo investigavit . . . '.

<sup>6</sup> *Instit. Div.* iv 6; vii 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* ii 15. Cf. *Corp. Herm.* ix 4.

Χθές, ὃ Ἀσκληπίε, τὸν τέλειον ἀποδέδωκα λόγον, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι ἀκόλουθον ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸν περὶ αἰσθήσεως λόγον διεξελθεῖν. From this it may be concluded that in the Hermetic writings as known to Lactantius, the Greek original of the *Asclepius* stood in close relation with no. IX of the present *Corpus*.<sup>1</sup> Lactantius also quotes no. XII. External evidence thus proves what internal evidence will be found to confirm, that the *Corpus* is not a complete collection and cannot have been known to Lactantius in its present form.

The Hermetic writings seem to have had a considerable vogue about the time of Lactantius, for they are also cited by the author of the pseudo-Justin λόγος παραινετικός πρὸς Ἑλληνας,<sup>2</sup> whom Harnack assigns

<sup>1</sup> Zielinski (*Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* viii p. 335 n. 1) challenges the identification of the λόγος τέλειος, referred to in *Corp. Herm.* ix, with the Greek original of the *Asclepius*. He regards the latter as 'pantheistische Hermetik', while *Corp. Herm.* ix—and therefore also the λόγος τέλειος there referred to—is 'platonisierend-dualistische'. Reference will be made later to Zielinski's attempt to distinguish between a Peripatetic, a Platonic, and a Pantheistic Hermetic (p. 523 n. 2 *infra*). It will be enough here to examine the particular grounds on which he rejects this identification: (1) He claims that the following words in IX § 4, τὴν γὰρ κακίαν ἐνθάδε δεῖν οἰκεῖν εἶπομεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς χωρίῳ οὖσαν, must refer to the λόγος τέλειος alluded to in § 1, and that there is no parallel in our *Asclepius*; (2) Lydus, *de mensibus* iv 32 and 149, quotes a passage from a λόγος τέλειος of Hermes, giving an account, in Platonic manner, of the future of the souls of evil men. Wünsch *ad loc.* refers to *Ascl.* xxviii which Zielinski declares is no parallel. Accordingly Zielinski thinks we must assume a second (Platonizing) λόγος τέλειος, to which *Corp. Herm.* ix 1 refers, and from which, in all probability, Lydus is quoting. In answer to (1) it may be pointed out that both the *Asclepius* and *Corp. Herm.* ix have clearly always belonged to a considerable collection, and that there is no reason to suppose that εἶπομεν in *Corp. Herm.* ix 4 refers to the λόγος τέλειος of § 1. (2) Lydus *ib.* iv 7 again quotes the λόγος τέλειος of Hermes, and the Greek original of *Asclepius* cc. xix and xxxix was unmistakably his source (though perhaps he had a different recension from the Latin translator). Moreover, we know from passages of the Greek original preserved in Lactantius that the translator treated the Greek with great freedom, omitting and inserting whole sentences; thus, though the verbal parallel between Lydus *de mens.* iv 32 and 149 and *Ascl.* xxviii is not very close, there is no difficulty in supposing the Greek original of the *Ascl.* to have been the book known to Lydus. In both passages the sense is the same.

Lactantius (*Instit. Div.* ii 15) refers to another λόγος τέλειος, written by 'Asclepius' and addressed to 'the king'—*sermo perfectus, quem scripsit (Asclepius) ad regem*. This must in any case be distinguished from the λόγος τέλειος of 'Hermes'. A fragment of the λόγος τέλειος πρὸς βασιλέα is probably preserved in *Corp. Herm.* xvi and xvii (Reitz. *op. cit.* pp. 348-354) under the title Ὅροι Ἀσκληπίου cf. *infra* p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit. fin.* Ἀρμῶνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις πάγκερυφον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζοντος, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ σαφῶς καὶ φανερώς λέγοντος· Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν ἔστι· χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον. The passage, which is also quoted by Lactantius (*Epit. Instit.* 4), Cyril of Alex. (*c. Iul.* i p. 31, Aubert), and Stobaeus (*περὶ θεῶν* ii 9) is an adaptation of Plato, like so much of the literature, cf. *Tim.* 28C τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.

to this same period; and Arnobius refers to Mercury, along with Plato and Pythagoras, as a recognized classic in philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

Our Latin paraphrase of the λόγος τέλειος was probably written sometime in the fourth century: it is freely quoted by St Augustine in the eighth book of the *De Civitate Dei* (cc. 23, 26) A. D. 413.

Cyril of Alexandria's reply to Julian's polemic against Christianity was written between the years 432 and 444, the year of Cyril's death.<sup>2</sup> It contains a number of quotations from Hermes Trismegistos,<sup>3</sup> two of which are to be found in our *Corpus*; <sup>4</sup> two others are parallel to quotations by Lactantius; <sup>5</sup> the rest come from a collection of which we have no further trace.

Stobaeus, who is generally assigned to the latter half of the fifth century, has preserved a large number of excerpts from Hermetic writings of varying character. Among them are quotations from nos. II, IV, and X of our *Corpus*.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that in each case the text of Stobaeus is very different from that of the *Corpus*, so that he affords evidence of an entirely different tradition.<sup>7</sup>

The Hermetic literature then was varied and extensive. The collection used by Lactantius in the fourth century, that used by Cyril, and that used by Stobaeus in the fifth, were all of them far larger than our

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Nat.* ii 13.

<sup>2</sup> Hauck *R.-Encycl.* art. 'Cyrill v. Alexandrien'.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 31-35, 52-57, 63, 130, 274, ed. Aubert.

<sup>4</sup> *c. Iul.* ii p. 52, cf. *C. H.* xi 22; *id. ib.* p. 63, cf. *C. H.* xiv 6 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *c. Iul.* i p. 31, cf. *Lact. Instit. Div.* ii 8; *c. Iul.* iv 130, cf. *Lact. op. cit.* ii 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Phys.* 384 sqq. (Heeren), cf. *Corp. Herm.* ii; *ib.* 68 and 306, cf. *C. H.* iv; *ib.* 766, 770, 774, 1000, 1004, cf. *C. H.* x.

<sup>7</sup> A classification of the fragments in Stobaeus can only be tentative:—

*Physica* 134, 162, 182, 188 (Heeren), deal with *εἰμαρμένη*, *ἀνάγκη*, and *πρόνοια*. The last two at any rate are addressed to Ammon, and they may possibly be some of the works referred to in pseudo-Apuleius *Asclepius* c. 1 (cf. *infra* p. 519 n. 3).

*Physica* 384 sqq. (cf. *Corp. Herm.* ii), 398, 698-710, probably all belong to the *Asclepius* tradition (cf. *infra* p. 519 n. 3).

*Physica* 256 is addressed to Tat, and deals with the nature of Time.

*Physica* 316 treats of ὕλη as the ἀγγεῖον γενέσεως.

*Physica* 468 and 754 are astrological. (For the δέκανοι mentioned in these fragments cf. *De Myst.* p. 266; *vide* also Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* pp. 33, 118.)

*Physica* 718, 726, 740, 744, 800, deal for the most part with the nature of body, soul, and perception.

There is a Hermetic fragment in the *Περὶ ἀληθείας* 23 on the nature of Truth.

In the *Ἑρμῆος θανάτου* a passage is quoted from Hermes maintaining that death is merely the 'dissolution of the body and the disappearance of bodily sensation' (§ 27).

The longest fragment (*Phys.* 928 sqq.) is from the *Κόρη Κόσμου*, and contains an elaborate cosmological doctrine related by Isis to her son Horus, and formerly revealed to Isis by Hermes. The teaching here is quite distinct from that of any other surviving Hermetic writing.

*Corpus*, and all of them embodied some at any rate of the numbers we possess. The composite character of our collection suggests that it was compiled at a comparatively late date from various strata of Hermetic writings.<sup>1</sup> The alchemist Zosimus, who flourished early in the fourth century, clearly knew of 'Poimandres' (*Corp. Herm.* i) and 'baptism in a bowl' (cf. *Corp. Herm.* iv), but we cannot be sure that he used our *Corpus*. Our *Corpus* was almost certainly in existence, approximately in its present state with perhaps nos. XVI, XVII, and XVIII (Reitz.) complete, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. About that date Hermippus in his work *περὶ ἀστρολογίας* embodies quotations without acknowledgement from nos. I, X, XVII (R.) and possibly XVIII (R.);<sup>2</sup> and Fulgentius, who is assigned to the same period, quotes *Poimandres*: 'Unde et Hermes in Opimandrae libro ait: ἐκ κόρου τροφῆς ἢ ἐκ κούφου σώματος' (p. 26. 17 ed. Helm).<sup>3</sup> Other allusions to Hermes in Fulgentius (85. 21; 74. 11) may refer to lost fragments of the last three numbers of the collection. These are the only clues to the history of the *Corpus* before the eleventh century.

## II

In attempting to analyse the *Corpus Hermeticum*, it will be well to start from the narrow but firm foothold with which the external evidence has supplied us. Lactantius used a collection of Hermetic writings in the early years of the fourth century, which included the Greek original of the pseudo-Apuleius *Asclepius*,<sup>4</sup> and nos. IX and XII of the *Corpus*. What, so far as we can judge from his quotations and references, was the character of the collection used by Lactantius? And what other numbers of the *Corpus* may we assign with reasonable probability to the same source?

To Lactantius as to Tertullian, Hermes was a wise man, who had lived in the distant past and whose doctrines were often in striking

<sup>1</sup> Mr Granger's article in this JOURNAL, April 1904, *The Poimandres of Hermes Trismegistus*, appeared shortly before Dr Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*. The concluding numbers of the *Corpus*, which Reitzenstein has printed in an appendix to his book, prove conclusively that the *Corpus* cannot be both homogeneous and of a Christian origin, as Mr Granger then supposed. No. XVII (R.) is a frank apology for paganism. Nor, again, does Mr Granger's theory that the *Asclepius* is of an entirely different character from the other Hermetic writings seem to be borne out either by external or by internal evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein *op. cit.* p. 210. Hermippus (ed. Kroll and Viereck) p. 9. 3, cf. *C. H.* i 5; Hermip. 21. 5, cf. *C. H.* x 12; Hermip. 70. 17, cf. *C. H.* x 6; Hermip. 25. 10, cf. *C. H.* xvi 12 (R.); and for Hermip. 12. 21 and 14. 13 cf. *C. H.* xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Poim.* i ἐκ κόρου τε καὶ τροφῆς ἢ ἐκ κούφου σώματος. The text in Fulgentius is obviously corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> Text edited by Thomas *Apulei Opera* vol. iii, Teubner, 1908.

agreement with Christian revelation. Both Plato and Empedocles were probably indebted to him.<sup>1</sup> 'Some', says Lactantius, 'will reckon him among the philosophers, and allow him no more authority than they would to Plato and Pythagoras, although in Egypt he is regarded as a god, and worshipped under the name "Mercury"',—accordingly Lactantius proceeds to prove his point by quoting Apollo Miliesius, an unmistakeable god.<sup>2</sup> The quotations from Hermes in Lactantius are of a philosophical character, and account for, if they do not justify, that Father's high estimate of their author.

The pseudo-Apuleius *Asclepius* was one of a collection, for Hermes declares at the beginning of the dialogue that he intends to write this book in the name of Asclepius, since he has already composed a number of books in the name of Hammon, and to his dearly beloved son, Tat, he has written 'multa physica, exoticaque<sup>3</sup> quam plurima'.

A brief analysis of the Theology of the *Asclepius*<sup>4</sup> will form the best introduction to an examination of the Greek Corpus; some of the numbers in the latter will be found to be in close agreement with the general trend of thought in the *Asclepius*, while in other numbers the inconsistencies with the *Asclepius* will point to a different tradition. Other numbers again will not fall easily under one category or the other.

The doctrine of God and the World in the *Asclepius* is adapted from the *Tymaeus*, and often expressed in the language Plato had used. At the head of all stands God, the father, the lord, 'qui est unus omnia, vel ipse est creator omnium' (c. ii). This statement of the transcendence and the immanence of the supreme God at once in the same breath, without any apparent consciousness of the metaphysical difficulties involved, is characteristic of the writer's shallow philosophy. 'This Lord and Maker of all', he tells us,<sup>5</sup> 'made a second god, visible and sensible. . . . When then he had made this god, first, alone, and one, and when his god appeared to him fair and full of all good things,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lact. *Instit. Div.* i 6; ii 12; *Epit.* 42. Tert. *de An.* 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lact. *Instit. Div.* vii 13.

<sup>3</sup> So MSS. Thomas ingeniously suggests *diexodica*. Cf. Cyr. Alex. *c. Iul.* ii p. 56 'Ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς (Ἑρμῆς) ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὰς διὰ διεδοτικῶν λόγων πρώτῳ, φησὶν. The fragments on *εἰσαγωγή*, *ἀνάγκη*, and *πρόνοια*, preserved in Stob. *Phys.* 134, 162, 182, 188, of which the last two were addressed to Hammon, may have belonged to the collection here referred to as written in the name of Hammon. Cf. also Stob. *Phys.* 398 and 698-710, where the teaching is similar to that of the *Asclepius* and allied writings in the *Corpus Hermeticum*.

<sup>4</sup> For a learned and exhaustive account of Hermetic teaching *vide Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos* (Münster in Westfalen, 1913) by Dr J. Kroll. This book, however, does not discriminate between the various strata of Hermetic writings.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. viii Greek preserved *apud Lact. Instit. Div.* iv 6.

he marvelled, and loved him greatly as his own son (τόκος).'<sup>1</sup> In a later chapter (xxix) the world is described as an 'animal' in the style of the *Timaeus*. At the cost of consistency the sun is here introduced as the 'secundus deus omnia gubernans omniaque mundana inlustrans'. The relation of the sun to the world is not made clear. To return to chapter viii—Hermes then proceeds to relate that 'God, being so great and good, willed that there should be another who could behold Him, whom He had made from Himself, and therewith He makes man to imitate His wisdom and His care (*diligentiae*)'. So then 'the lord of eternity is the first God, the second is the world, man is the third' (c. x).

Man is an *animal duplex*: one part of him is οὐσιώδης, the form of the divine likeness; the other ὑλικός, that is to say, the body in which the divinity of the mind is enclosed. To the question why man was put into the world, instead of passing his time in bliss, where God is, Hermes answers that 'when God had created man οὐσιώδης, he observed that he could not love all things, unless he were covered with a worldly (*mundano*) covering. Accordingly God clothed him with a bodily tabernacle (*domo*? = σκῆναι), and ordained that all men should be so, and taking [a part] from each nature, he fused and combined them into one, as far as should serve his purpose. Thus God fashions man from a nature of soul and a nature of body, that is to say, an eternal and a mortal nature, in order that an animal thus fashioned should be able to satisfy both of its sources, to marvel at, and worship things celestial, and inhabit and govern things terrestrial' (c. viii, p. 43). The reward of those who 'live piously with God and lovingly with the world' is to be 'loosed from the bonds of mortality and to be restored, pure and holy, to the nature of their higher part, to wit the divine'. To the wicked 'a return to heaven is denied, and there is ordained a migration into other bodies, foul and unworthy of a holy soul'.

Epicurean physics are repudiated: there is no such thing as void; that which appears to be void is full of spirit and air (c. xxxiii p. 72).

The dialogue concludes with prayer and praise to the supreme God. While they are praying, Asclepius asks Tat in a whisper whether they ought not to suggest to their father that they should burn incense during prayer. Hermes overhears the question and reproves Asclepius. 'It is like sacrilege', he declares, 'to burn incense while praying to God. . . . The highest offerings (*incensiones*) to God are the thanks of men.' After prayer, in which they ask God to keep them in the

<sup>1</sup> The language here is closely parallel to *Tim.* 37 C ὡς δὲ κινηθὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐνόησε τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα ὃ γεννήσας πατὴρ ἡγάσθη τε καὶ εὐφρανθεῖς. . . .

love of His knowledge,<sup>1</sup> they 'turn to a repast—pure and without animal food'.

The last paragraph contains the key to the book; the writer's interest is rather religious than philosophical, and he uses his metaphysics as an intellectual justification for the pagan revival. His theory of the gods of mythology is interesting: God, the Lord and Father, is Creator of the heavenly gods whom He makes like Himself; the gods who are contained in temples are fashioned by man after his own likeness. The forms of the gods, made by man, are of two natures—a divine and a material. Statues have feeling and breath; they can foretell the future by dreams and other means; they can cause and cure human ills. A lament on the decay of Egyptian religion follows; soon the gods will leave the earth, which will be given over to the *πονηροὶ ἄγγελοι*, and things will go from bad to worse, until at length the supreme God 'will recall the world to its ancient form' (c. xxiii foll.).

As it stands, the *Asclepius* is the longest Hermetic writing that we possess, but Zielinski is probably right in distinguishing four loosely connected numbers as follows:—

(1) cc. i–xiv, ending 'et de his sit huc usque tractatus' (p. 49 l. 16, Thomas).

(2) cc. xiv–xxvii, beginning 'de spiritu vero et de his similibus hinc sumatur exordium', and ending 'et haec usque eo narrata sint' (p. 65 l. 17, T.).

(3) cc. xxvii–xxxvi, beginning 'de immortalis vero aut de mortali modo disserendum est' and ending 'sed iam de talibus sint satis dicta talia' (p. 76 l. 15, T.).

(4) cc. xxxvii to end, beginning 'iterum ad hominem rationemque redeamus' (cf. *Corp. Herm.* viii 1 *περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὃ παῖ, νῦν λεκτέον*).<sup>2</sup>

These divisions correspond, more or less, in length to the numbers of the *Corpus*. It should be added that Lactantius himself knew the Greek original as one whole under the title *λόγος τέλειος*.<sup>3</sup>

It has already been mentioned that at least two of the numbers in our collection (IX and XII) were associated with the Greek original of the *Asclepius* in the Hermetic writings as known to Lactantius.<sup>4</sup> No. IX opens with an allusion to the *τέλειος λόγος*, and the phraseology

<sup>1</sup> The Greek original of this prayer is preserved in the Mimaut Magical papyrus, cf. *infra* p. 533 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. f. Rel.* viii p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> He quotes cc. viii, xxvi, and xli (*Instit. Div.* iv 6; vii 18; vi 25) as from the *λόγος τέλειος*. His quotations prove the Latin to be a very loose paraphrase.

<sup>4</sup> Lact. *Instit. Div.* ii 15, cf. *Corp. Herm.* ix 14; Lact. *Instit. Div.* vi 25, cf. *Corp. Herm.* xii *fn.*

and the line of thought in both are strikingly similar. There is the same doctrine of the nature of man, and the same antitheses of αἰσθησις and νόησις, ὑλικός and οὐσιώδης. No. XII, the other number from which Lactantius quotes, treats of νοῦς κοινός. νοῦς is one with the essence of God (ὁ θεός), as light is one with the sun. In men it is 'god' (θεός without the article)<sup>1</sup>—and some men may be said to be 'gods'—and in animals it is φύσις. The argument is developed in a different way from that of the *Asclepius*, but the two are not inconsistent. The description of the Universe as 'the great God and image of the greater' is quite in keeping with the Theology of the *Asclepius*, and the doctrine of the immutability of the κόσμος (§ 18) and of the godlike nature of man (§ 19) recalls similar passages in the other work (cf. *Ascl.* 35 and 36).

How many of the other numbers in the collection may be referred to the same cycle? No. II (πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν λόγος καθολικός) is similar both in matter and style. The phraseology of the opening discussion on σῶμα and ἀσώματον, κινεῖν and κινούμενον is closely related to no. XII 11, and the repudiation of void in §§ 10, 11 recalls *Asclepius* 33. No. V, ὅτι ἀφανὴς ὁ θεὸς φανερώτατός ἐστιν, is addressed to 'Tat', and may well be one of the *physica ad Tat* to which reference is made in the opening scene of the *Asclepius*. It is an elaboration of the cosmological argument for the existence of God. It clearly belongs to the same group. πάντα δίδως καὶ οὐδὲν λαμβάνεις, πάντα γὰρ ἔχεις καὶ οὐδὲν δ' οὐκ ἔχεις (§ 10 *fin.*) may be compared with no. II 16 *fin.* ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἅπαντά ἐστι διδούς καὶ μηδὲν λαμβάνων. ὁ οὖν θεὸς πάντα δίδωσι καὶ οὐδὲν λαμβάνει; while the concluding words ὕλης μὲν γὰρ τὸ λεπτομερέστερον ἀήρ, αἶρος δὲ ψυχὴ, ψυχῆς δὲ νοῦς, νοῦ δὲ ὁ θεός are found word for word in no. XII 14. No. VIII treats of God, the World, and Man in a manner closely resembling the *Asclepius*. Here, as there, the World is described as δεύτερος θεός, and ζῶον ἀθάνατον. Man is the third animal: κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κόσμου γενόμενος, νοῦν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχων παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπίγεια ζῶα, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεὸν συμπάθειαν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔννοιαν τοῦ πρώτου.

No. VI, addressed to Asclepius, maintains that there is good in nothing save God. This does not agree with the doctrine of no. IX, as will be shewn in the next paragraph. But the general similarity of phraseology and style<sup>2</sup> justify us in considering it with these numbers.

We may then fairly regard nos. II, V, VI, VIII, IX, and XII of the *Corpus* and the *Asclepius* as closely related in style, phraseology, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Origen's distinction: *In Joh.* ii 2 πᾶν δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὸ αὐτόθεος μετοχῇ τῆς ἐκείνου θεότητος θεοποιούμενον οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ θεὸς κυριώτερον ἂν λέγοιτο.

<sup>2</sup> We may e.g. compare vi 4 ἡ οὐσία τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ γε οὐσίαν ἔχει, τὸ καλὸν ἐστι with xii *init.* ὁ νοῦς, ὦ Τάτ, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐσίας ἐστίν, εἰ γε τις ἐστὶν οὐσία θεοῦ.



subject-matter. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that they are all by the same hand: indeed, the contrary seems more probable. Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup> points out that no. IX contains a polemic against the teaching of no. VI: no. VI 4 declares that ὁ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς κακίας, to which no. IX 4 replies that χώριον αὐτῆς (i. e. κακίας) ἡ γῆ, οὐχ ὁ κόσμος, ὡς ἐνίοι ποτε ἐροῦσι βλασφημοῦντες. Zielinski makes this difference of teaching a ground for distinguishing between a 'peripatetic-dualistic' and a 'Platonist-dualistic' Hermetic, and accordingly associates no. IX with parts of no. I and with no. VII as Platonic. As we shall see later on, I and VII are of a very different character from both VI and IX, and the difference lies not so much in actual divergence of teaching as in atmosphere and method of treatment. Nos. I and VII are hortatory, while nos. VI and IX are didactic. The controversy to which Reitzenstein and Zielinski<sup>2</sup> call attention provides a point of contact between VI and XI rather than a ground for separation.

Nos. XI and XIV are also of a philosophical character, but they do not betray any close relationship to the *Asclepius*. Αἰών and χρόνος play a large part in the cosmological doctrine of XI, and in both numbers a favourite antithesis is τὸ ποιῶν and τὸ γιγνόμενον—terms which are not prominent in the other numbers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Zielinski contributed two articles entitled *Hermes und die Hermetik* to the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* viii (1905) and ix (1906). In the second he severely criticizes the 'Ägyptomanie' of Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*, and comes to the conclusion that we may expect Egyptology to throw light on the 'lower' Hermetic (i. e. alchemy, &c.), but that the 'higher' Hermetic (i. e. the *Corpus Hermeticum* and similar remains) is entirely Greek.

The former article attempts to discriminate between the various strata of Hermetic teaching, and contains some valuable criticism though the main drift of the argument seems open to question. *Corp. Herm.* i (Ποιμάνδρης), it is assumed rather than proved, is the oldest Hermetic writing; in this number Zielinski finds a combination of Peripatetic and Platonic Hermetic; and then he groups the other numbers according to this distinction as far as possible; and lastly he finds a Pantheistic group (including the *Asclepius*).

It may perhaps be questioned in the first place how far it is legitimate to distinguish precisely between 'peripatetic' and 'Platonic' in a syncretic age like the second or the third century, and secondly the *Poimandres* itself seems to be of such a different character from the philosophic numbers of the *Corpus* that it is doubtful whether it is safe to base an analysis of the *Corpus* on divergences to be found within the *Poimandres*. Cf. *infra* p. 527.

<sup>3</sup> Both these numbers are quoted by Cyril of Alexandria (*Corp. Herm.* xi 22, cf. *Cyr. Alex. c. Iul.* ii p. 52, Aubert; *Corp. Herm.* xiv 6 sqq., cf. *Cyr. Alex. c. Iul.* ii p. 64). It is impossible to determine the relation of Cyril's collection of Hermetic writings to that of Lactantius. Twice they quote the same passage (*Lact. Instit. Div.* ii 8 and *Id. ib. Epit.* 4, cf. *Cyr. c. Iul.* i 31), but there is no extant Hermetic book from which they both quote. Cyril's collection at any rate must have been a miscellaneous assortment; it included an account of the creation given by δ μέγας

No. X is obviously composite: § 7 affirms, and § 19 denies the transmigration of the souls of the wicked into the bodies of animals. It is addressed to Tat, and professes to be an epitome of the *γενικοί λόγοι*, which had been spoken to him before. It is extensively quoted by Stobaeus,<sup>1</sup> who, however, used a very different text from that in the *Corpus*. The *γενικοί λόγοι* are referred to in an astrological fragment preserved by Stobaeus (*Phys.* 468), and again in another fragment on the soul (Stob. *Phys.* 806) which may well have come from the same source as part of this number. *Corp. Herm.* xiii contains the only other reference to the *γενικοί λόγοι* in our *Corpus*, and there are other parallels which suggest a connexion between X and XIII.<sup>2</sup> We shall probably not go far wrong, if we follow Zielinski<sup>3</sup> in regarding §§ 4-9 as distinct from the rest of the number, and closely related to XIII. Tat's exclamation (§ 4) ἐπλήρωσας ἡμᾶς, ὦ πάτερ, τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ καλλίστης θέας follows lamely on the preceding sections which have more in common with the *Asclepius* group. The reference to the *γενικοί λόγοι* in § 1 (they come again in § 7) will then be due to the compiler.

Nos. XVI and XVII (Reitzenstein)<sup>4</sup> do not resemble any of the preceding either in matter or in style. No. XVI is a philosophical discourse addressed to 'the king' by somebody who quotes Hermes as his authority. Its present title, Ὅροι Ἀσκληπίου, probably dates only from Byzantine times, and it may perhaps be part of the *sermo perfectus quem scripsit Asclepius ad regem* of Lact. *Instt. Div.* ii 15.<sup>5</sup> The cosmology of this number is entirely different from that of the *Asclepius*: God is the father of all, the sun is demiurge,<sup>6</sup> and the κόσμος is the instrument (ὄργανον) of creation. The intelligible essence (νοητὴ οὐσία) controls (διοικεῖ) heaven, and heaven the gods. The demons are ranged under the gods and control men. No. XVII is a fragment of a dialogue between Tat and 'the king', in which Tat exhorts the king to worship statues ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ ιδέας ἔχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου.<sup>7</sup>

ἀγαθὸς δαίμων to Osiris, which is clearly based on the LXX version of Gen. i (Cyr. c. *Iul.* ii p. 56).

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* pp. 766, 770, 774, 1000, 1004, Heeren.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. cf. x 4 Καὶ ὀλίγον δεῖν ἐσεβάσθῃ μου ὁ τοῦ νοῦ ὄφθαλμος ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης θέας with xiii 14 ἀσεβηθήσεται σοῦ ὁ ὄφθαλμος τοῦ νοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* viii p. 347 foll.

<sup>4</sup> For text *vide Poimandres* p. 348 foll. Reitzenstein adopts a different numeration: no. XVI (Reitz.) follows no. XIV (Parthey).

<sup>5</sup> So Reitzenstein *op. cit.* p. 192. Lactantius *loc. cit.* says that Asclepius expands the teaching of Hermes on piety as the one protection for man against evil demons and fate; this might well refer to Ὅροι Ἀσκληπίου 11 foll.

<sup>6</sup> On the sun in late Platonic speculation cf. Cumont *Astrology and Religion* pp. 31, 118.

<sup>7</sup> This number concludes as follows: 'Οὖν βασιλεὺς ἐξαναστὰς ἔφη· "Ἦρα ἐστίν, ὦ προφῆτα, περὶ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐπιμέλειαν γίνεσθαι· τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς θεολογῇ.

No. XVIII (R.) *Πρὸς βασιλέας* is unique and was perhaps included in the collection by a mistake. Neither Hermes, nor Asclepius,<sup>1</sup> nor Tat is mentioned. It is a disquisition on the 'Divine Right of Kings': the reverence due to kings is analogous to the reverence due to God, and should be regarded as a preparatory exercise for the worship of the Supreme.<sup>2</sup>

It remains to consider nos. I, III, IV, VII, and XIII; it will be argued in the following paragraphs that nos. I, III, IV, and VII presuppose a different *milieu* from that of the main body of Hermetic writings; that the LXX version of Gen. i was certainly used in I and III; that New Testament influence is probable in I, VII, and XIII, while IV—on 'baptism in a crater'—was almost certainly suggested by the Christian rite. Finally it will be shewn that a 'Gnostic' amalgam of Persian, Greek, Jewish, and Christian elements, preserved by the alchemist Zosimus, was associated with Hermes, and this fact, coupled with the allusion of Zosimus to 'Poimandres' and 'baptism in a crater', will suggest that we need not discount Jewish influence, as recent writers have tended to do, and that Christian influence is not to be ruled out of court on *a priori* grounds.

No. I is an account of a Theophany: Poimandres, 'the mind of the supreme power' (ὁ τῆς αἰθεντίας νοῦς) appeared to the writer, when he was in a trance (κατασχεθεῖσών μου τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων), and shewed him the creation in a vision. A dialogue ensues in which Poimandres explains the vision and gives an account of the creation of the

σομεν. It is not clear whether Tat and the *προφήτης* are identical; the following passage from Iamblichus *De Mysteriorum* viii 5 suggests that they are not: 'Τῆς γὰρ ταύτης τῆς οὐδὲν ἔρμης ἡρμήνευσε δὲ Βίττος προφήτης' Ἀμμωνίᾳ βασιλεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐν ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασι κατὰ Σαῖν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. It may also be noted that the complaint of the ἀστατος εὐρεσιλογία of the Greeks in *De Myst.* vii 5 finds a curious parallel in the attack on the Greek language with no. XVI opens—'Ἕλληνες, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λόγους ἔχουσι κενούς, (οὐδὲ) ἀποδείξωσαν ἐνεργητικούς. καὶ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν (ἡ) Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία, λόγων ψόφος· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ λόγους χρῶμεθα ἀλλὰ φωναῖς μεσταῖς τῶν ἔργων.

<sup>1</sup> There is no MS authority for the mention of Asclepius in the title.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein *op. cit.* p. 207 sqq. suggests that the reference to 'kings' points to Diocletian and his colleagues; he thinks it was written to shew that Hermetic 'religion' meant loyalty to the Emperor and was added to the collection by the compiler, and in this way he tries to date the collection. There is, however, no ground for supposing that Diocletian and his colleagues are referred to: the reference to 'kings' is general, and its occurrence at the end of the collection is no evidence at all of date. Kroll (Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* s.v. *Hermes Trismegistos*) even suggests that it may have been added by Psellus. Cf. Dibelius *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte* xxvi 168 sqq., Krebs *Der Logos als Heiland im ersten Jahrhundert* p. 134 sqq., and Review of latter in this JOURNAL, October 1913, p. 122, by Dr Bethune-Baker.

seven *διοικηταί*, who control the seven spheres of the sensible world. The beasts were brought forth by Earth, Water, and Air. Then the Father of the Universe 'begat Man equal to Himself, and loved him as His own son . . . and gave him all His creations'. Man, however, wished himself to create, and thus fell through the seven spheres, receiving some quality from each. When Nature saw him, she loved him, and they were united, and Nature brought forth seven men; these were hermaphrodite and had characters corresponding respectively to each of the seven spheres. Both men and beasts were then divided into male and female, and generation and multiplication followed by order of God. Man's salvation is effected by an ascension (*ἀνοδος*) through the seven spheres, at each of which he lays aside some quality he acquired at his fall. Thus at the first *ζώνη* he surrenders *τὴν αὐξητικήν καὶ μειωτικήν ἐνέργειαν*; at the second, *τὴν μηχανὴν τῶν κακῶν*; at the third, *τὴν ἐπιθυμητικήν ἀπάτην* and so on. At last he reaches the *ὀγδοατικὴ φύσις*, where he joins the other beings (*οἱ ὄντες*) in glorifying the Father. They then all approach the Father in order, and surrender themselves into 'powers' (*δυνάμεις*). Thus they are absorbed in God, and reach their final goal—deification (*θεωθῆναι*).<sup>1</sup> Poimandres charges his hearer to guide those who are worthy, 'that mankind may be saved by God through him', and 'mingles with the powers'. The writer then relates how he began to preach to men 'the beauty of piety and knowledge'. Some scoffed, but others threw themselves at his feet and begged to be instructed. 'And I raised them up and became guide to the race of men, teaching them how and by what means they might be saved. And I sowed in them words of wisdom and they were fed from the ambrosial water. And when even was come and all the brightness of the sun was beginning to set, I bade them give thanks to God. And when they had finished their thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίαν*), they turned each to his own resting-place.' The number closes with a hymn of praise.

It is generally agreed that no. I as it stands is composite: there are two accounts of the fall of man in §§ 12–14, and the use of *Noûs* for *Ποιμάνδρης* himself in §§ 1 and 22 is hardly consistent with the identification elsewhere (e. g. §§ 9 and 12) of *Noûs* with the supreme God,<sup>2</sup> but reconstruction of sources is not easy.

<sup>1</sup> This and similar doctrines originated in the astrological lore of Babylon; they gained a hold on the Western world during the Hellenistic period and were recognized by Stoic philosophers such as Posidonius, the teacher of Cicero. Cf. Cumont *Les Religions orientales* p. 369, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* pp. 67 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein *op. cit.* p. 36 sqq.; Dibelius *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* xxvi (1905) p. 175; Zielinski *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* viii p. 323 sqq.

Nos. III and VII may be considered together with I; no. III is a fragment on the Creation, and is of a similar character to much of I<sup>1</sup>; and the exhortation in no. VII 'to stand soberly and look up with the eyes of the heart' is parallel both in thought and style to I 27.

These three numbers are marked off from the other Hermetic writings by differences of conception and style: broadly speaking, they are more mythological and less philosophical than the writings we have considered hitherto. The Theophany in I and the hortatory spirit of I 7 and VII cannot be paralleled in the *Asclepius* and kindred writings. The terms used are different, and the descriptions of the Creation in I and III are realistic and unmetaphysical. Finally the following parallels<sup>2</sup> prove conclusively that Gen. i (LXX) was known to the writer of I and III, whereas we have seen no reason to suspect *direct* Jewish or Christian influence in the numbers dealt with in the first half of this section.

*Corp. Herm.* i (Ποιμάνδρης)

Genesis i

§ 5 κινούμενα δ' ἦν (γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ)  
διὰ τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον πνευματικὸν  
λόγον.

§ 11 διακεχώρισται δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλή-  
λων ἡ τε γῆ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καθὼς  
ἠθέλησεν ὁ νοῦς, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐξήνεγκεν  
ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἃ εἶχε ζῶα τετράποδα,  
ἐρπετά, θηρία ἄγρια καὶ ἡμερα.

§ 12 Ὁ δὲ πάντων πατὴρ ὁ νοῦς,  
ὦν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, ἀπεκύησεν ἄνθρωπον  
ἐαυτῷ ἴσον, οὗ ἡράσθη ὡς ἰδίου τόκου·  
περικαλλὲς γὰρ ἦν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς  
εἰκόνα ἔχων. ὄντως γὰρ καὶ ὁ θεὸς  
ἡράσθη τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς, καὶ αὐτῇ  
παρέδωκε τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πάντα δημιουργή-  
ματα.

§ 18 ὁ δὲ θεὸς εὐθὺς εἶπεν ἀγίῳ  
λόγῳ· Αὐξάνεσθε ἐν αὐξήσει καὶ  
πληθύνεσθε ἐν πλήθει, πάντα τὰ  
κτίσματα καὶ δημιουργήματα. (Also  
III 3.)

v. 2 καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο  
ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

v. 7 καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ  
μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος . . .

v. 24 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ἐξαγα-  
γέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος,  
τετράποδα καὶ ἐρπετά καὶ θηρία τῆς  
γῆς κατὰ γένος.

v. 26 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ποιήσωμεν  
ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ  
καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν  
ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετει-  
νῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ  
πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρπε-  
τῶν τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

v. 28 καὶ πληθύνουσιν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς  
λέγων Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε.

<sup>1</sup> Another somewhat similar fragment is preserved by Suidas, s.v. Ἐρμῆς ὁ Τρισμέγιστος.

<sup>2</sup> I think I am right in saying that neither Reitzenstein nor Zielinski refers to Genesis i.

*Corp. Herm.* iii (λόγος ἱερός)

§ 1 ἦν γὰρ σκότος ἄπειρον ἐν ἀβύσσῳ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν νοερόν.

§ 2 ἀδιορίστων δὲ ὄντων ἀπάντων καὶ ἀκατασκευάστων.

## Genesis i

v. 2 καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

v. 2 ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκευάστος.

Before proceeding to examine the parallels to the New Testament in these numbers we must refer to the opening paragraph of the fifth vision of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, which contains some curious resemblances to the *Poimandres*. If, as Dr Reitzenstein and Dr Norden<sup>1</sup> think, Hermas has borrowed from *Poimandres*, we have an important clue to the date of the latter.

The passages run as follows :—

*Poimandres* i

Ἐννοίας μοί ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ μετεωρισθείσης μου τῆς διανοίας σφόδρα, κατασχεθεισῶν τε τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων—καθάπερ οἱ ἐν ὕπνῳ βεβαρημένοι ἐκ κόρου τε καὶ τρυφῆς ἡ ἐκ κόπου σώματος—ἔδοξά τινα ὑπερμεθέγη μέτρῳ ἀπεριόριστῳ τυγχάνοντα καλεῖν μου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ λέγοντά μοι· Τί βούλει ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι καὶ τί νοήσας μαθεῖν καὶ γινῶναι;

φημί ἐγώ· Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν, φησὶν, εἰμὶ ὁ Ποιμάνδρης, ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς, οἶδα δὲ ὃ βούλει, καὶ σύνειμί σοι πανταχοῦ. φημί ἐγώ· Μαθεῖν θέλω τὰ ὄντα, καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν τούτων φύσιν καὶ γινῶναι τὸν θεόν· τοῦτ', ἔφην,

*Shepherd of Hermas* Vis. v

Προσευξαμένου μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, καὶ καθίσαντος εἰς τὴν κλίνην

εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ τις ἐνδοξος τῇ ὄψει, σχήματι ποιμενικῷ περικείμενος δέρμα λευκόν, καὶ πήραν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ ῥάβδον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἡσπάσατό με, καὶ γὰρ ἀντησπασάμην αὐτόν. καὶ εὐθὺς παρεκάθισέν μοι, καὶ λέγει μοι· Ἀπεστάλην ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγγέλου, ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ οἰκήσω τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. Ἐδοξα ἐγὼ ὅτι πάρεστιν ἐκπειράζων με, καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ; ἐγὼ γάρ, φημί, γινώσκω ὃ παρεδόθην. λέγει μοι· Οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις με; Οὐ, φημί. Ἐγώ, φησὶν, εἰμὶ ὁ Ποιμὴν ὃ παρεδόθης.

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein's conclusions are assumed in Norden's *Agnostos Theos* p. 5 n. 3.

*Poimandres* i*Shepherd of Hermas* Vis. v

ἀκούσαι βούλομαι. φησὶν ἐμοὶ πάλιν·

\*Ἐχε τῷ νῷ ὅσα θέλεις μαθεῖν, κἀγὼ  
σε διδάξω. Τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἡλλάγη τῇ  
ιδέα, καὶ εὐθέως πάντα μοι ἤνοικτο  
ῥοπή καὶ ὥρῳ θέαν ἀόριστον.

Ἐτι

λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἡλλοιώθη ἡ ἰδέα  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέγνω αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐκείνος  
ἦν ὃ παρεδόθη.

Dr Reitzenstein thinks that the resemblances between these passages can only be explained by literary dependence, and he has no hesitation in affirming the priority of *Poimandres*. The figure of the Shepherd in Hermas he describes as a 'sinnlose Maskerade',<sup>1</sup> which has obviously been imperfectly adapted to its position in the *Shepherd*. Indeed, Dr Reitzenstein considers that Hermas probably belonged at one period to the 'Poimandres-Gemeinde', which proved a half-way house to the Christian Church! If this be admitted, we are forced to push back the date of *Poimandres* at least to the early years of the second century, in order to allow for the teaching to spread from Egypt to Rome. Moreover, if this be so, it is not probable that we shall find Christian influence at so early a date. Whether or not the confused metaphysical speculations of the *Poimandres* would be likely to appeal to the simple mind of the author of the *Ποιμὴν* is a question which it is not easy to discuss; but it may be submitted that the figure of the Shepherd in Hermas, so far from being a 'sinnlose Maskerade', is in full keeping with Jewish and early Christian conceptions; the image of the Lord as Shepherd was familiar to every Jew: *Poimandres* is far more of an enigma. If it is necessary to suppose literary connexion, the artificial literary composition<sup>2</sup> of *Poimandres* makes it more probable that the borrowing was on that side.<sup>3</sup>

However, the similarity between the two passages is less remarkable than appears at first sight, and is probably a coincidence: there is really nothing in common between the very substantial Shepherd of Hermas with his sheepskin, his wallet, and his staff, and the mysterious apparition of the *Poimandres*<sup>4</sup>; and the question—Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ;—with which

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon (*Exercit.* i ad Baron. p. 85) illustrates the author's acquaintance with Classical Greek by comparing the opening words of *Poimandres*, 'Ἐννοίας μοί ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὄντων . . . with the first line of Xen. *Cyropæd.* 'Ἐννοιά ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅσαι δημοκράται. . . . These writings are syncretic in style as well as matter.

<sup>3</sup> See Krebs *Der Logos als Heiland*, 1910, pp. 136 ff, and Bardy in *Revue Biblique*, 1911, pp. 391 ff, for severe and searching criticism of Dr Reitzenstein's view.

<sup>4</sup> If *Ποιμάνδρης* is derived from *ποιμήν* and *ἀήρ*, as is generally supposed, the formation is unparalleled. Mr. Granger (*J.T.S.* 1904, vol. v p. 400) suggested that the word is a transliteration of the Coptic *Pemenetre*, meaning 'The Witness', with reference to the widely spread legend about Hermes. On this assumption there would be no allusion at all in *Poim.* to a shepherd. And, as Mr Granger shews, the

the unexpected visitor is in both cases greeted is too natural to call for comment.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to attach any weight to Dr Reitzenstein's other argument for the dependence of the *Shepherd* on *Poimandres*.<sup>2</sup> In the ninth similitude of the *Shepherd* Hermas is conducted to a mountain in Arcadia, where he sees a vision. The mention of Arcadia is strange and has not been satisfactorily explained. Now the Egyptian Hermes is supposed to have come from Arcadia (cf. Cic. *de Nat. deor.* iii 56 quoted above p. 514), and no. XIV refers to the γενικοί λόγοι which had been spoken ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους μεταβάσεως. Hence Dr Reitzenstein detects Hermetic influence in the Arcadian mountain of the *Shepherd*. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that there is no trace of an allusion to Hermes in the *Shepherd* and no trace of an allusion to Arcadia in *Poimandres*; and that the reference to the mountain, even if it proved anything, occurs in a number which Dr Reitzenstein himself regards as later than *Poimandres* and but slightly connected therewith.<sup>3</sup>

The next question we have to consider is the question whether any of these numbers betray Christian influence.

In no. IV Hermes relates to Tat how the Creator made the world by *logos* and then created man. He bestowed *logos* on all men, but reserved *nous* as a special reward (ἀθλον), 'God filled a great bowl (κρατήρ)<sup>4</sup> with *nous* and sent it down and a preacher (κῆρυξ) therewith, and bade him preach thus to the hearts of men: Baptize thyself, thou heart that canst, into this bowl, thou that believest that thou shalt ascend unto Him that sent down the bowl, thou that dost recognize wherefore thou hast been born. And as many as understood the message and baptized themselves in *nous*, were made sharers in knowledge (γνώσις), and became perfect men by receiving the gift of *nous*.' When Tat expresses a desire for baptism, Hermes answers, that he must first hate his body, and so love himself, and that by loving himself he will win *nous*, and by *nous* he will share in *episteme*. Man's true

passage xiii 19 λόγον γὰρ τὸν σὸν ποιμαίνει ὁ νοῦς, πνευματοφόρε δημιουργέ, lends very little support to the meaning required for Ποιμάνδρης if it is derived from ποιμήν and ἀνήρ, though it may indicate that the author of *Corp. Herm.* xiii connected the title (which he uses earlier § 15) with the conception ποιμήν. Zosimus derived the name from ποιμήν and ἀνήρ, as his formation of the Acc. Ποιμένανδρα shews (*loc. cit. infra* p. 534).

<sup>1</sup> We may compare Acts ix 5 εἶπεν δὲ (ὁ Σαῦλος) τίς εἶ, κύριε ; ὁ δὲ Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 214 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The κρατήρ was perhaps suggested by Plato *Tim.* 41 D. The reference of Arnobius to 'Platonius ille crater, quem conficit miscetque Timaeus' (*adv. nat.* ii 52) shews that the passage was well known. There is another Platonic reminiscence in § 8: ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀνάτιος, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἴτιοι τῶν κακῶν is obviously adapted from the famous words αἰτία ἐλομένον, θεὸς ἀνάτιος (Plat. *Rep.* 117 E).



destiny is to reach the *monas*, 'which controls and draws upward those who haste to behold her, even as they say a magnet draws iron'.

It is difficult not to think that Christian baptism supplied the writer with his simile of baptism: we may surmise that he was a pagan, perhaps not unfriendly to Christianity, who wished to shew that the true baptism was to be found in his own philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

In no. XIII Tat asks Hermes to explain further his enigmatical statement in the *γενικοὶ λόγοι* that nobody can be saved before regeneration. Hermes answers that regeneration is effected by the will of God. When Tat enquires further, Hermes replies: 'What shall I say, my son? I can only say that I see a vision, which has arisen, uncreated (*ἄπλαστον*) in me out of the mercy of God, and I have gone out of myself into an immortal body . . .' 'O Father, you have shaken me into no small madness and frenzy', answers Tat, 'for now I see not mine own self.' After further talk on regeneration, Hermes reveals to Tat the 'hymn of regeneration'. 'Stand thus, my son, beneath the open sky and worship looking towards the south wind, as the sun sets, and at sunrise likewise towards the east. Now hush! my child.' Then follows *ὑμνωδία κρυπτή*. The powers of nature are invoked, and a *λογικὴ θυσία* is offered to God. The dialogue closes with an injunction to Tat to keep secret 'the tradition of regeneration'. It should be added that this dialogue contains the only passage in the *Corpus* outside no. I in which the name of *Ποιμάνδρης* occurs (§ 15). The reference suggests literary relation rather than common authorship.

The following parallels in this number to the Fourth Gospel are remarkable though hardly conclusive; §§ 2, 4 τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ as the agent in regeneration, cf. John i 13 οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. § 2 τοῦτο τὸ γένος, ὃ τέκνον, οὐ διδάσκεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν θέλῃ, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναμνησκέται. Cf. John xiv 25 ὁ παράκλητος . . . ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν. § 21 θεέ, σὺ πάτερ, σὺ ὁ κύριος, σὺ ὁ νοῦς recalls the Christian Trinity. Finally with § 21 Σὺ, ὃ τέκνον, πέμψον δεκτὴν θυσίαν τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεῷ: ἀλλὰ καὶ προσθές, ὃ τέκνον, "διὰ τοῦ Λόγου", compare 1 Pet. ii 5 ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

We must now return to no. I. The parallels here to the New Testament—especially to the Fourth Gospel—are closer, and when we

<sup>1</sup> Did the baptismal vow suggest the following sentence in § 7 οὐδὲν δὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐπλημέλησεν ἢ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι καθάπερ αἱ πομπαὶ μέσον παρέρχονται μήτε αὐταὶ ἐνεργῆσαι τι δυνάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἐμποδίζουσαι—τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι μόνον πομπεύουσιν ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ παραγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν? Cf. Tert. *de cor. mil.* c. 3 'Aquam adituri ibidem sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et *pompa* et angelis eius'.

remember the use made in this number of the LXX we shall be prepared for literary dependence on the New Testament.

*Poimandres*

§ 19 ὁ δὲ ἀγαπήσας τὸ ἐκ πλάνης ἔρωτος σῶμα, οὗτος μένει ἐν τῷ σκότει πλανώμενος, αἰσθητῶς πάσχων τὰ τοῦ θανάτου.

§ 31 ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὃς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται, καὶ γινώσκεται τοῖς ἰδίοις.

§ 32 διὸ πιστεύω σοι καὶ μαρτυρῶ, εἰς ζωὴν καὶ φῶς χωρῶ. ἐλόγητος εἶ πάτερ· ὁ σὸς ἄνθρωπος συναγιάζειν σοι βούλεται, καθὼς παρέδωκας αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν.

## St John

iii 19 καὶ ἡγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς.

xii 46 . . . ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ μὴ μείνῃ.

i 11 εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν.

x 14 γινώσκω τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ γινώσκουσί με τὰ ἐμὰ.

For μαρτυρῶ cf. St John *passim*.

xvii 1 Πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα· δόξασόν σου τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα ὁ υἱὸς δοξάσῃ σε, καθὼς ἔδωκας αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν. . . .

*Poimandres* 27 οἱ μέθη καὶ ὕπνω ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες, καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, νήψατε παύσασθε κραιπαλῶντες θελγόμενοι ὕπνω ἀλόγῳ (cf. also VII 1) reads like an echo of 1 Cor. xv 34 ἐκνήψατε δικαίως καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, ἀγνῶσιαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινὲς ἔχουσιν (cf. also Luke xxi 34).<sup>1</sup>

Is it fanciful to see an allusion to the Christian Baptism and Eucharist in the following account of his mission by the writer of *Poimandres*?—καὶ ἔσπειρα αὐτοῖς τοὺς τῆς σοφίας λόγους, καὶ ἐτράφησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ὕδατος.<sup>2</sup> ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης . . . ἐκέλευσα αὐτοῖς εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἀναπληρώσαντες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, ἕκαστος ἐτράπη εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν κοίτην (§ 29).

Before leaving no. I a word must be said about the prayer with which it concludes; it is a curious passage and is worth quoting in full:—

Διὸ δίδωμι ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὅλης εὐλογίαν τῷ πατρὶ θεῷ. Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων· ἅγιος ὁ θεός, οὗ ἡ βουλὴ τελεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δυνάμεων· ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὃς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται καὶ γινώσκεται τοῖς ἰδίοις· ἅγιος εἶ, ὁ λόγῳ συστησόμενος τὰ ὄντα· ἅγιος εἶ, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις εἰκὼν ἔφυ· ἅγιος εἶ ὃν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἐμόρφωσεν· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ πάσης δυνάμεως ἰσχυρότερος· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ πάσης ὑπεροχῆς μείζων· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ κρείσσων τῶν ἐπαίνων. δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας ἀγνὰς ἀπὸ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας πρὸς σε ἀνατεταμένης, ἀνεκλάλητε, ἄρρητε, σιωπῇ φωνοῦμενε. αἰτουμένῳ τὸ μὴ σφαλῆναι τῆς γνώσεως

<sup>1</sup> So Kennedy *St Paul and the Mystery Religions* p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> For the water of baptism regarded as a draught cf. *Passio S. Perpet.* viii, *Odes of Sol.* vi 10, 11, and Bernard *ad loc.* I owe these references to Dr Armitage Robinson. Dr Robinson has also pointed out to me two more slight but curious parallels to New Testament phraseology in *Poimandres*: the writer's 'call' λοιπὸν τί μέλλεις; οὐχ ὡς πάντα . . . § 26 may be compared with the words of Ananias to St Paul, καὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις; Acts xxii 16, and the curiously redundant expression § 29 ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγῆς ἀρχομένης; δέεσθαι recalls Mark i 32 ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος.

τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἡμῶν ἐπίνευσόν μοι, καὶ ἐνδυνάμωσόν με καὶ τῆς χάριτος ταύτης φώτισον τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ γένους μου ἀδελφούς, υἱοὺς δὲ σοῦ. διὸ πιστεύω σοὶ καὶ μαρτυρῶ, εἰς ζωὴν καὶ φῶς χωρῶ. εὐλογητὸς εἰ πάτερ· ὁ σὸς ἄνθρωπος συναγιάζειν σοι βούλεται, καθὼς παρέδωκας αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἑξουσίαν.

Two remarkable parallels to St John have already been remarked upon. We may also observe that the prayer is introduced with an expression taken from the LXX or New Testament—*δίδωμι ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὅλης*<sup>1</sup> *εὐλογίαν τῷ πατρὶ θεῷ*. The phrases in thick type above are closely similar to phrases in the Greek original of the prayer at the end of the *Asclepius*, discovered by Reitzenstein in the Mimaut Papyrus,<sup>2</sup> and we may surmise that the compiler of this prayer was familiar with the *Asclepius* prayer or some similar composition.

The *Poimandres* prayer also occurs in a papyrus—dating probably from the third century, published in the Berliner Klassikertexte Heft VI *Altchristliche Texte* p. 110. The papyrus contains three prayers, of which the first and third are unmistakably Christian. The editors had not detected the source of the second prayer, and accordingly treated it as Christian too. The identity of the prayer with the conclusion of *Poimandres* has been pointed out by Reitzenstein in the *Göttingen Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (philol.-hist. Klasse) 1910 pp. 324 ff. A Christian doxology has been added; otherwise the differences are slight, but there can be no doubt that Reitzenstein is right in claiming the *Poimandres* text as prior to that of the papyrus.

It may be submitted that if the *Poimandres* was recognized as a semi-Christian production, it is *prima facie* easier to account for the inclusion of the prayer in a collection of Christian prayers, than if we regard the document, with Dr Reitzenstein, as a purely heathen work.

This section will conclude with some account of the quotations from and references to Hermes<sup>3</sup> in the alchemist Zosimus, who, as already stated, clearly knew of 'Poimandres' and 'baptism in a bowl'.

Zosimus flourished early in the fourth century A.D.,<sup>4</sup> and was the author of a chemical encyclopaedia containing treatises of Cleopatra, Mary the Jewess, and others. We possess about 150 pages of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Deut. vi 5 ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου . . . ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου (al. ἰσχύος, cf. Origin *Hexapl ad loc.*) and Mark xii 30, and Swete *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyri* p. 36, *Denkschr. der k.k. Akademie, philos. Klasse*, Wien. The papyrus dates from the fourth century and contains a number of incantations and prayers—many quite unintelligible—loosely strung together. Jewish names are prominent. Reitzenstein has reconstructed the text of the prayer in *Archiv für Rel.* vii p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> The writer is indebted to Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* for the references in the first place.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Riess art. 'Alchemie', Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* i 1348. Zosimus quotes Porphyry and is used by Synesius.

works, which have come down to us in the form of extracts made later by Byzantine commentators, whose comments and interpolations are not always easy to distinguish from the original. His remains are a queer jumble of chemistry and magic.<sup>1</sup> The following passage<sup>2</sup> occurs in a letter of Zosimus to his sister Theosebeia:—

Σὺ γοῦν μὴ περιέλκον ὡς γυνή, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐνεῖαν ἐξείπόν σοι. καὶ μὴ περιρέμβον, ζητοῦσα θεόν· ἀλλ' οἰκάδε καθέζου, καὶ θεὸς ἥξει πρὸς σέ, ὁ πανταχοῦ ὢν καὶ οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐλαχίστῳ ὡς τὰ δαιμόνια· καθεζομένη δὲ τῷ σώματι, καθέζου καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν, ἐπιθυμία ἡδονῇ θυμῷ λύπῃ καὶ ταῖς ἑβ' μύραις τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν διευθύνουσα προσκαλέσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὸ θεῖον· καὶ οὕτως ἥξει τὸ πανταχοῦ ὢν καὶ οὐδαμοῦ· καὶ μὴ καλουμένη, πρόσφερε θυσίας τοῖς . . ., μὴ τὰς προσφύρους, μὴ τὰς θρεπτικὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ προσηγεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀποθρεπτικὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιρετικὰς ὡς προσεφώνησεν Μεμβρής τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλιστα Σολομῶν ὅσας ἔγραψεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας· καὶ οὕτως ἐνεργοῦσα, ἐπιτεύξῃ τῶν γνησίων καὶ φυσικῶν καιρικῶν· ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ ὥς παντελειωθῆς τὴν ψυχὴν. ὅταν δὲ ἐπιγνοῦσα αὐτὴν τελειωθείσιν, τότε καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν τῆς ὕλης κατὰπτῃσιν, καὶ καταδραμοῦσα ἐπὶ Ποιμένανδρα, καὶ βαπτισθεῖσα τῷ κρατῆρι, ἀνάδραμε<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ γένος τὸ σόν.

Whatever may be the meaning of this obscure passage, we have undoubtedly here an allusion to the Ποιμάνδρης and the κρατῆρ of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Another passage in Zosimus further illustrates the connexion<sup>4</sup>: Σὺ δέ, ὦ μακαρία, παῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ματαίων στοιχείων, τῶν τὰς ἀκοάς σου ταραττόντων. ἤκουσα γὰρ ὅτι μετὰ Παφνουτίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν ἀνδρῶν διαλέγῃ. καὶ ἄπερ ἀκούεις παρ' αὐτῶν μάταια καὶ κενὰ λογύδρια πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖς. παῦσαι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν τετυφλωμένων τὸν νοῦν καὶ ἄγαν καιομένων· καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνους ἐλεθῆναι δεῖ καὶ ἀκούσαι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καθὼς εἰσὶν ἄξιοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ βούλονται ἐλέους ἐπιτυχεῖν. In view of the former passage, the parallels here to the following quotations from the *Corpus* can hardly be accidental:—

I 26 λοιπὸν τί μέλλεις; οἶχ' ὡς πάντα παραλαβὼν καθοδηγὸς γίνῃ τοῖς ἀξίοις;

XIII 3 ὁρῶ τιν' ἐν ἐμοὶ ἄπλαστον θέαν γεγεννημένην ἐξ ἐλέου θεοῦ

XIII 8 ἀφίστανται δ' αὐταὶ (i. e. various vices) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλεθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

This use of ἐλεος, ἐλεθῆναι may be<sup>5</sup> due to Jewish influence

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Berthelot *Les Alchimistes grecs* p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Berthelot *op. cit.* p. 244. No attempt has been made to correct the mistakes in the MS readings.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Corp. Herm.* x 16 ἀναδραμοῦσης τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἑαυτήν.

<sup>4</sup> Berthelot *op. cit.* p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Usages of ἐλεος in Epictetus are by Lightfoot (*Philippians* p. 314 n. 3, and by Bonhöffer *Epiktet u. d. Neue Testament* p. 69). Particularly striking is

(cf. e. g., Jer. vii 16 and LXX and New Testament *passim*) for in this alchemistic literature 'Moses', 'Mary', and Jews in general play a large part. Particularly significant is the association of 'Hermes' with Jewish works.<sup>1</sup> Hence also it is not surprising to find Zosimus using Genesis i,<sup>2</sup> much as we found it used in *Corp. Herm.* i and iii, and also in the Hermetic fragment preserved by Cyril of Alexandria referred to above (p. 523 n. 3).

One more quotation from 'Hermes' in Zosimus must be referred to, because it contains one direct mention of, and much allusion to, Jesus Christ.

It occurs in a letter to Theosebeia<sup>3</sup>: 'Ο μέντοι Ἑρμῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀναυλίας διαβάλλει καὶ τὴν μαγείαν, λέγων ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τὸν πνευματικὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐπιγινῶντα ἑαυτόν, οὔτε διὰ μαγείας κατορθοῦν τι, ἐὰν καὶ καλὸν νομίζεται, μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ἔαν ὡς ἔχει φύσεως καὶ κρίσεως πορεύεσθαι δὲ διὰ μόνου τοῦ ζητεῖν, ἑαυτὸν καὶ θεὸν ἐπιγινῶντα, κρατεῖν τὴν ἀκατονόμαστον τριάδα· καὶ ἔαν τὴν εἰμαρμένην ὃ θέλει ποιεῖν, τῷ ἔαν τῇ σπηλῷ,<sup>4</sup> τοῦτέστιν τῷ σώματι. καὶ οὕτως, φησί, νοήσας καὶ πολιτευσάμενος θεάσῃ τὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν πάντα γινόμενον τῶν ὁσίων ψυχῶν ἕνεκεν ἵνα αὐτὴν ἐκσπάσῃ ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσώματον, ὅρα αὐτὸν γινόμενον πάντα, θεόν, ἄγγελον, ἄνθρωπον παθητόν· πάντα γὰρ δυνάμενος πάντα ὅσα θέλει γίνεται, καὶ πατρὶ ὑπακούει διὰ παντὸς σώματος διήκων, φωτίζων τὸν ἐκάστης νοῦν εἰς τὸν εἰδαίμονα χώρον ἀνώρμησεν, ὅπου περ ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸ σωματικὸν γενέσθαι, αὐτῷ ἀκολουθοῦντα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὀρεγόμενον καὶ ὀδηγούμενον εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ φῶς. An interesting passage follows in which Adam and Tat (Θωύθ) are identified, and a distinction is drawn between ὁ σάρκινος Ἀδάμ and ὁ ἔσω αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματικός. τὸ δὲ προσηγορικὸν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, Zosimus continues, φῶς καλεῖται, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ φῶτας παρηκολούθησε λέγεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. This heavenly being was persuaded, when he was φῶς, ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ (?) Ἀδάμ, τὸν ἐκ τῆς εἰμαρμένης, τὸν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων. The story of Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Pandora is then introduced: Pandora is Eve, and Prometheus and Epimetheus correspond to the spiritual and fleshly Adam respectively, and are together one Man. Καὶ πότε μὲν ψυχῆς ἔχει εἰκόνα ὁ Προμηθεύς, πότε δὲ νοός, πότε δὲ σαρκός, διὰ τὴν παρακοήν τοῦ

Epictetus ii 7, 12 τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ. "Κύριε ἐλέησον· ἐπιτρέψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν." (Cf. also Paris Pap. 51 = Milligan *Greek Papyri* no. 6 l. 24.) This, however, is surely insufficient evidence to support Dr Norden's statement (*Agnostos Theos* p. 389) that the Church borrowed the *kyrie eleison* from Hellenic ritual, in view of such passages as Matt. xv 22, xx 31; Ps. l 3.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. Berthelot *op. cit.* p. 232 καὶ ταῦτα μόνου Ἑβραῖου καὶ αἱ ἱερὰ Ἑρμοῦ βίβλοι. . . .

<sup>2</sup> Berthelot *op. cit.* p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* *op. cit.* p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Clearly *πηλῷ* should be read. No attempt has been made to emend the MS text.

Ἐπιμήθεως ἦν παρήκουσε τοῦ Προμήθεως τοῦ ἰδίου· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ νοῦς<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν· Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα δυνάμενος, καὶ πάντα γινόμενος ὅτε θέλει, ὡς θέλει, φαίνει ἐκάστω· Ἀδὰμ προσῆν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς (ὃς) ἀνήνεγκεν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πρότερον διῆγον φῶτες καλούμενοι. Ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἀδυνάτοις ἀνθρώποις, ἄνθρωπος γεγονώς, παθητὸς καὶ ραπιδόμενος, καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ἰδίους φῶτας συλήσας, ἅτε μηδὲν παθὼν, τὸν δὲ θάνατον δείξας καταπατεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐῶσθαι καὶ ἔως ἄρτι καὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ κόσμου τόποισι λάθρα, καὶ φανερὰ συλλῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, συμβουλευῶν αὐτοῖς λάθρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν καταλαγῆν ἔχειν τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀδὰμ, κοπτομένου καὶ φονευομένου παρ' αὐτῶν τυφληγοροῦντος καὶ διαζηλουμένου τῷ πνευματικῷ καὶ φωτεινῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸν ἑαυτῶν Ἀδὰμ ἀποκτείνουσι. This continues until the coming of the ἀντίμμος δαίμων, who says that he is the Son of God, although he is ἄμορφος both of body and soul. οἱ δὲ φρονιμώτεροι γενόμενοι ἐκ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ὄντως υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δίδουν αὐτῷ τὸν ἴδιον Ἀδὰμ εἰς φόνον, τὰ ἑαυτῶν φωτεινὰ πνεύματα σώζοντες (ἐς) ἴδιον χῶρον ὅπου περ καὶ πρὸ κόσμου ἦσαν. Before the ἀντίμμος δαιμών comes himself, he sends a πρόδρομος from Persia. καὶ ταῦτα μόνοι Ἑβραῖοι καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ Ἑρμοῦ βίβλοι περὶ τοῦ φωτεινοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τοῦ ὁδηγοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ γηγίνου Ἀδὰμ, καὶ τοῦ ὁδηγοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀντιμίμου τοῦ δυσφημίας λέγοντος ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ πλάνη.

It is significant that this curious amalgam of Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, and Christian ideas was associated with 'Hermes'. Since it purports to come from the same hand as almost the only reference to 'Poimandres' that has been discovered, we may be prepared to assign more weight to Jewish influence than Dr Reitzenstein seems prepared to allow, and to regard Christian influence as at least possible.

### III

The bulk of the Hermetic writings were probably written in the third century or not earlier than the end of the second century. Lactantius supplies us with our first reliable date for the extant literature, but philosophical writings under the name of Hermes were current in the first decade of the third century when Tertullian wrote the *De anima* and *Adversus Valentinianos*. However, as we have seen, 'Hermetic' conceptions are not markedly original, and they may, without question, be regarded as products of a movement reaching back far beyond the date of the writings themselves. Dr Reitzenstein in his *Poimandres* regards Hermetic doctrine as a combination of Stoic and Egyptian theories dating from the time of the Ptolemies.<sup>2</sup> I am not qualified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the title of *Corp. Herm.* xi Νοῦς πρὸς Ἑρμῆν.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* is not easy reading: there is a convenient summary of his position in Krebs *Der Logos als Heiland* pp. 126-133, and in Dr Bethune-Baker's review of the latter in this JOURNAL, October 1913. Reitzenstein's *Ägyptomanie* is vigorously attacked by Zielinski *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 pp. 27 foll.

to express an opinion on the extent of Egyptian influence, but it appears to me that the *Asclepius* at any rate, and the allied numbers of the *Corpus* are little more than popularized Greek metaphysics, coloured by astrology.

Dr Reitzenstein further maintained that the *Poimandres* presupposed a 'Gemeinde', founded probably about the time of the birth of Christ and lasting down to the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the second century it spread to Rome (this takes in Hermas) and in the third became absorbed in other Hermetic 'Gemeinden'. This theory has not won acceptance among scholars; M. Cumont has pointed out that there is no trace, at any rate in the Latin world, of a Hermetic sect with clergy and a *cultus*<sup>2</sup>; but I venture to suggest that it has not been generally recognized how drastic an alteration of Dr Reitzenstein's estimate of the writings is required, if we abandon his theory of a community (for which there is no evidence beyond the writings themselves) lasting through several centuries.

It will be well first to have the verdict of two eminent scholars on 'Hermetism'. Dr W. Kroll, criticizing Reitzenstein, says: 'Least of all can I believe in communities of Poimandres (at the time of the birth of Christ), Nus, Anthropos, &c.; and our writings are not to be considered as liturgies of these communities, on the contrary, their character is purely literary.'<sup>3</sup> M. Cumont, speaking of the mysteries of Isis, remarks that "'Hermetism", which tried to construct a theology to satisfy all minds by a skilful mixture of Greek, Egyptian, and Semitic elements, never appears to have been imposed generally on the Alexandrine Mysteries, which are earlier than it; and, even so, it was unable to escape the contradictions of Egyptian thought. It was not in virtue of its doctrine that Isiac religion had its hold over men's hearts'.<sup>4</sup>

Recent investigation of religious thought and practice in the Graeco-Roman world at the time of the rise of Christianity has shewn that a philosophico-religious view of the world was widely held. Stoicism—tempered with Platonism and dominated by astrology—held the field. German research has taught us to discover Posidonius, the elder contemporary of Cicero, behind much of Philo, of Seneca, and of Plutarch, and to recognize him as the forerunner of a host of lesser writers. The Hermetic writings are later in date, but they may be assigned, broadly speaking, to the movement associated with Posidonius.<sup>5</sup> The other fact which is being pressed home by recent research is the prevalence

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Religions orientales* p. 340 n. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Art. 'Hermes Trismegistos' Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* viii pp. 820-821 (1912).

<sup>4</sup> *Les Religions orientales* p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the interesting account of Posidonius in E. Bevan's *Stoics and Sceptics* pp. 85 foll.

at the same time of mystery cults of Isis, Attis, and, later, of Mithra. What was the relation of the popular philosophic movement to these cults? Many recent writers seem to think that it was very close, and give the impression that teaching such as that found in the Hermetic writings was little short of a recognized 'Hellenistic mystery-theology',<sup>1</sup> and doubtless many individuals, like Plutarch for instance, or, later on, Iamblichus, *did* read their philosophy into the cults. The question, however, is rather whether these doctrines were bound up with the cults themselves. Was Hermetic teaching ever associated with a cult, in the way in which primitive Christian teaching was connected with Baptism and the Eucharist? Dr Reitzenstein seems to imply that it was. But his theory does not seem to be probable in itself, and he has not adduced evidence to support it.

J. M. CREED.

<sup>1</sup> I think this fairly represents the trend of e. g. Reitzenstein's *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*. Dr Kennedy in his book, *St Paul and the Mystery Religions*, seems to me a little misleading when in chapter iii on 'The character and influence of the mystery-religions' he includes an account of Hermetism together with the accounts of Eleusis, Cybele, and Isis Mysteries. He admits that Hermetism is not quite parallel to these cults, but believes in 'religious communities' associated with Hermes (p. 114). Can a Theosophical Society be properly termed a 'community'?



# THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN'S 'GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY'.

## III.

*The Second Half of the Telesphoran Observantia.* At the cost of a very slight repetition, the next table of values is so drawn up as to help us to remember that the first station-day of the second moiety of the Telesphoran, or quinquagesimal, observance was the Friday before our 'Mid-Lent' Sunday, and that at both  $s$  and  $S_1$ , which were Roman editions, the Mass for that day began on a fresh page; but that, in contrast to them,  $S_2$  and  $V$ , which were, by the hypothesis, cismontane, instituted a fresh paginal collocation on 'Mid-Lent' Sunday itself, the first day of the second half of the quadragesimal observance, an observance which in some, at least, of the Gallican Churches long claimed and finally secured general preference over the quinquagesimal.

	3rd Friday.	Saturday.	§ xxvii. 4th Sunday.	Monday.
	$s$ $S_1$	$s$ $S_1$	$s$ $S_1$ $S_2$ $V$	$s$ $S_1$ $S_2$ $V$
Capitulum . . .	18 * *	19 1 1	25 1 1 *	19 1 1 1
Collecta . . .	97† 3 4	113 4 4		119 4 4 4
Oratio . . .	142 5 5	115† 4 4	103 3 4 4	140 5 5 5
Secreta . . .	117 4 4	200 7 8	111 4 5 5	91 <sup>1</sup> , 100 <sup>2</sup> 3 <sup>1</sup> 3 <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>2</sup>
Rubric . . .			2- 1 1 1	
Postcommunion .	107 4 4	77 3 3	126 4 5 5	82 3 3 3
Ad Populum . .	134 4 5	111 4 4	138 nil nil 5 5	122 4 5 4
Totals ( $\beta$ ) for $s$	20	23	13	20
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_1$	22	24	16	21
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_2$			21	21
" ( $\kappa$ ) " $V$			20	21
				= 76
				= 83
				= 42
				21 = 41

All that here requires notice is the Secreta, 'Cunctis nos' &c., of Monday's Mass (Mur. i 526). The Reginensis text contains a 'quæsumus' which is not in St Gallen<sup>1</sup> or Gerbert: nor is it in Ménard (p. 47). Guided by analogous instances, I therefore assign the higher value of 100 letters (4  $\theta$  lines) to  $V$ ; the lower value being confined to the two Roman editions and  $S_2$ .

<sup>1</sup> The Rheinau book has lost some leaves at this place. See Wilson, p. 329 n. 1, 330 n. 1.

In the record for the next three items I correct the value of Wednesday's *Secreta* from 114 to 119; for a seemingly necessary 'nobis' is wanting in *Reginensis*, though found elsewhere.

	4th Tuesday.				Wednesday.				Friday.			
	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V
Brought forward .	76	83	42	41								
Capitulum . . . .	20	1	1	1	19	1	1	1	19	1	1	1
Collecta . . . .	99	3	4	4	184	6	7	7	113	4	4	4
Oratio . . . .	142	5	5	5	106	4	4	4	123	4	4	4
Secreta . . . .	107	4	4	4	114 (119)	4	4	4	83	3	3	3
Postcommunion .	105	4	4	4	101 <sup>1</sup> , 76 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	65	2	3	2
Ad Populum . .	104	4	4	4	138	5	5	5	97	3	4	4
Of the following .												1
Totals (θ) for s	97				23				17			= 137
" (θ) " S <sub>1</sub>		105				25				20		= 150
" (θ) " S <sub>2</sub>			64				25				19	= 108
" (κ) " V				63				24				18 = 105

The Postcommunion<sup>1</sup> of Wednesday's Mass calls for special notice. If derived from Leon. XVIII xxv (Mur. i 369), it has been reduced from 101 letters to 76 by omissions which, though lineally ineffectual at Redaction s, worse than needless at S<sub>1</sub>, and not required at S<sub>2</sub>, would certainly save a line at Redaction V. To the compiler of V, if to any one, they must therefore be attributed.<sup>2</sup> I give the Leonianum text bracketing off the words and the letter not in *Reginensis*.—'Sacramentorum [tuorum] benedictione satiati quaesumus dñe ut per haec semper [e] mundemur a uitiis [et periculis exuamur]. per.'

Now, then, let us notice the skill which was expended on the equipment of the two Roman editions. On the fourth Friday *in quadragesima* the editor of S<sub>1</sub>, who started on a new course at the medial point of the Telesphoran seven weeks' observance, has included seven Masses in six integral θ pages: but, unless I take a mistaken view of the extant capitulum of the item for the following Sunday, the editor of the first

<sup>1</sup> Mr Wilson has omitted to note that Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert make this the Postcommunion for the Monday before Easter. Nor has he given the references to Ménard (47, 52, 52) for the last three prayers of Monday's item; for the *Secreta* and Postcommunion (53, 53) of Tuesday's, or for the *Secreta* (61) of Friday's. I feel sure that neither he nor those who are happy enough to know his admirable edition will resent this memorandum.

<sup>2</sup> If the reduction had been effected at S<sub>1</sub>, Friday's Mass in that edition would not, with a connecting rubric, have ended simultaneously with a page. It was not needed at S<sub>2</sub>; for in this, as we shall see in the following tables, there was no chance of even an approach to a simultaneous ending of page and item before the Saturday of the fifth week.

Roman issue had on that day succeeded in setting nine Masses in seven integral  $\beta$  pages,<sup>1</sup> the values of the eighth and ninth being :—

	4th Saturday.					§ xxviii. 5th Sunday.				
	$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$		$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$	
Brought forward . . .	137		108	105		261, 372	11	11	22	22
Capitulum . . . . .	22	1	*	1						
Collecta . . . . .	195	6	7	7						
Oratio . . . . .	92	3	4	3		108	4	4	4	
Secreta . . . . .	128	4	5	5		100	3	4	4	
Rubric . . . . .						27	1	1	1	
Postcommunion . . .	102	3	4	4		164(162)	5	6	6	
Ad Populum . . . .	181	6	7	7		178	nil	nil	7	6
Of the following . . .							1			
Totals ( $\beta$ ) for $s$ . .	160					15				=175
„ ( $\theta$ ) „ $S_1$ . . . .		27				16				=43
„ ( $\theta$ ) „ $S_2$ . . . .			136			24				=160
„ ( $\kappa$ ) „ $V$ . . . .				132						23=155

1. Since the Reginensis phrasing (Mur. i 529) of the first capitulum in § xxviii, '*Quinta dñica quae pro scrutinio celebratur*', is out of analogy with the corresponding rubric in § xxvii (*ib.* 525), it may be of doubtful authority for  $s$  and  $S_1$ ; and, since it not improbably indicates a divergence from Roman use in respect of the scrutinies preparatory to baptism at Easter, our obvious, and perhaps our safest, course is to restrict it to the cismontane editions, and to assume, at least provisionally, that at  $s$  and  $S_1$  the capitulum had been '*Quinta dñica pro scrutinio iii*'.

2. On the authority of Rheinau I read 'generandis' for 'regenerandis' in the first Postcommunion of § xxviii, thus reducing the number of letters from 164 to 162.

I now proceed with the next five items.

1. Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert bid us assume that at Redaction  $S_2$ , the Collecta for the fifth Tuesday after Quadragesima Sunday (Mur. i 530) began with the words 'Praesta quaesumus om̃p. dñs', and numbered 97 letters (4  $\theta$  lines); not, as in Reginensis, with 'Praesta quaesumus dñe', thus numbering 95 (the precise equivalent of three completely filled  $\kappa$  lines). Hence it is obvious to infer that a change of text was here made by the editor of V, and that it was a device of his for

<sup>1</sup> For previous evidences of foresight see above, p. 332, and bear in mind the care taken that in each edition item and page should end simultaneously at the dividing-point of the Telesphoran observance. The present instance raises the question whether the editor of  $s$  may not have selected his prayers with a view to their future transference from  $\beta$  to  $\theta$  pages; and the further question whether both editions may not have been set forth by one and the same man.

making a given series of items end *pari passu* with the same series in S<sub>2</sub>. We have already found reason for thinking that the editor of V practised the very same economy on the very same prayer on the Friday of the third week (see above, p. 357).

2. The *Secreta* of the same Mass, 'Concede nobis dñe quaesumus ut' &c., numbers 120 letters (4 κ lines) in Reginensis<sup>1</sup>; but in the Roman editions the reading may have been, and probably was, as in Leon. XVIII xl (Mur. i 380), 'Concede nobis dñe dñ n. ut' &c., thus numbering 114 letters (4 θ lines). I therefore construct the first of the two following tables in accordance with this view.

3. The most interesting prayer in the first of the two groups is the Postcommunion for the fifth Tuesday. It illustrates the technique of the second cismontane editor.

I think I may reasonably claim to have proved that it was the editor of V who, with a merely stichometrical object, converted the 'sacratissima mysteria' of the Theophany Preface into 'mysteria', and that it was he who docked the Quinquagesima *Secreta* of its final words 'nobis tribuat facultatem'<sup>2</sup> and banished the clause 'indulgentia ueniae' from the *Ad Populum* of Quadragesima Sunday.<sup>3</sup> Nor do I doubt that, with no merely stichometrical aim, but rather in recognition, together with his predecessor, of St Leo's quarantine of fasting-days, he in the *Oratio* of the Monday of the third quadragesimal week,<sup>4</sup> instead of writing 'ut per abstinentiam . . . tua sc̃a uentura dignis praecurramus officiis' wrote 'ut abstinentiam . . . dignis obseruemus officiis'; or that in the *Collecta* of Tuesday's Mass<sup>5</sup> he replaced 'Prosequere oñp. dñ ieuniorum sacra mysteria' by 'Prosequere nos oñp. dñ', and, as he approached the dividing-point of the quadragesimal *obseruantia*, reduced Friday's *Collecta*<sup>6</sup> to the value of three, instead of four, κ lines.

Instructed by the Leonianum, and by Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert's triple sacramentary, I further venture to declare it beyond question that, after he had passed the dividing-point of the quadragesimal *obseruantia* and as he travelled through the first fortnight of its second half, he made it his constant aim not only to coerce, should coercion be needed, into eleven of his κ pages the twelve items which in Redaction S<sub>2</sub> had filled eleven θ pages, but also to leave himself room on the last three lines of the eleventh page for the title and sub-title of the sixth Sunday *in quadragesima*; that, with this aim in view, he reduced the linear value of the fourth Wednesday's Post-

<sup>1</sup> Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert are of no help to us here, for the Mass to which they give the prayer is a Thursday Mass in Lent prior to Holy Week.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 212, and the table of values on p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 219, 330, and the table of values on p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 353.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 357.

communion by writing 'Sacramentorum . . . mundemur' in place of 'Sacramentorum tuorum . . . emundemur', eliminating 'et periculis exuamur',<sup>1</sup> and that, after practising, as we have just seen, a slight but effective economy in the Collecta for the fifth Tuesday, he, in the Postcommunion for the same day, had recourse to a procrustean device equal in boldness to those practised on the Quinquagesima Secreta and the Ad Populum of Quadragesima Sunday.

In our search for the classic text of this constituent, 'Vegetet nos' &c., Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert are of no service; for the only item to which they give the prayer is a Thursday Mass in Lent prior to Holy Week, and thus an item both recent as to date and uncertain of pedigree: so that our only sources of trustworthy information are our own document, which makes substantially the same prayer its Oratio for the Saturday in Quadragesima week (Mur. i 511), and the Leonian sacramentary (*ib.* 415). In XXVII vii of that incomplete but priceless repertory there is a prayer identical with ours, save that it comprises words which at this place are not in ours. Those words I italicize:—'Vegetet nos dñe semper et innouet tuae mensae *sacra* libatio quae fragilitatem nram *et inter mundi tempestates* gubernet et protegat et in portum perpetuae salutis inducat. per.' Now, it is permissible to think that this prayer was in the lost part of the Leonianum as well as at XXVII vii, and that it there lacked the word 'sacra': but we must not assume that it may also have lacked the words 'et inter mundi tempestates'; for these give such life, such vigour, and such fullness of meaning to the composition as to forbid any such assumption. Nay, the very phrase 'quae fragilitatem nram et inter mundi tempestates protegat et gubernet' occurs, though with a different antecedent, in our Oratio for Quadragesima Saturday (Mur. i 511); while ours for the following Monday (*ib.* 518)—a prayer fraught, like this, with maritime imagery—embodies an 'inter saeculi turbines' in strict analogy with 'inter mundi tempestates'. Hence our only prudent inference is that the editor of V eliminated 'et inter mundi tempestates' from the Postcommunion for the fifth Tuesday *in quadragesima*; but that, since it would not have been necessary to his purpose to eliminate 'sacra'<sup>2</sup>, 'sacra' was already absent from the text of S<sub>2</sub>.

4. The competing values, 107 and 115, of Wednesday's Ad Populum in no way concern the internal history of the document, and each represents four lines, whether of  $\beta$ ,  $\theta$ , or  $\kappa$  capacity. What I have to say about them must therefore be deferred to a later page.

5. The number of letters in the Ad Populum for Saturday would

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 540.

<sup>2</sup> For with 'sacra' the prayer would have comprised, with the concluding 'per', 123 letters, and would not have required more than four  $\kappa$  lines.

seem to have been reduced from 152 to 147 by substitution of 'plebem', 'percipit', 'custodiat' for the Leonianum readings 'familiam', 'percipiunt', 'custodiant' (Leon. XXVII ii; Mur. i 411). Such change would not affect the linear value of the prayer in  $s$ ,  $S_1$ , or  $S_2$ ; but since it would save a line in  $V$  (for  $5 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 147\frac{1}{2}$ ), and since economies like this are a favourite and persistent device of the second cismontane editor, I suspect that the ampler and presumably original readings must be attributed to his predecessors, and the extant readings reserved to him. He was approaching the end of a page (page 64 of his volume), perhaps the end of a gathering of membranes; and three lines would be wanted for the very long capitulum of § xxix.

The values for the ferial days in the fifth week will thus be :—

	5th Monday.				Tuesday.				Wednesday.			
	$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$	$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$	$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$
Brought forward .		43	160	155								
Capitulum . . .	19	*	1	1	20	1	1	1	19	1	1	1
Collecta . . .	157	5	6	6	97 <sup>1</sup> , 95 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	122	4	5	4
Oratio . . .	143	5	5	5	122	4	5	5	135	4	5	5
Secreta . . .	101	3	4	4	114 <sup>1</sup> , 120 <sup>2</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup>	88	3	3	3
Postcommunion .	89	3	3	3	141 <sup>1</sup> , 118 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>2</sup>	85	3	3	3
Ad Populum .	103	3	4	4	117	4	4	4	107 <sup>1</sup> , 115 <sup>2</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	4	4 <sup>2</sup>
Totals ( $\beta$ ) for $s$	19				21				19			= 59
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_1$		66				23				21		= 110
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_2$			183				23				21	= 227
" ( $\kappa$ ) " $V$				178				21				20 = 219

	Friday.				Saturday.				
	$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$	$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	$V$	$V'$
Brought forward .	59	110	227	219					238
Capitulum . . .	19	1	1	1	20	1	1	1	
Collecta . . .	95	3	4	3	171	6	6	6	
Oratio . . .	145	5	6	5	129	4	5	5	
Secreta . . .	102	3	4	4	77	3	3	3	
Postcommunion .	81	3	3	3	95	3	4	3	
Ad Populum . . .	85	3	3	3	152 <sup>1</sup> , 147 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>	5 <sup>2</sup>
Of the following .						1	2	3	3
Totals ( $\beta$ ) for $s$	77				23				= 100
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_1$		131				25			(P. 34 ends)
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_2$			248				27		= 156
" ( $\kappa$ ) " $V$				238				26	(P. 55 ends)
" ( $\kappa$ ) " $V'$									= 264
									(P. 64 ends)
									264
									(P. 66 ends)

*Eight Non-Sacramental Sections* (§§ xxix–xxxvi). Between the Masses for the fifth week in *quadagesima* and that for the Sunday before Easter Reginensis has eight sections, all of which are concerned with the preparation of candidates for baptism. Though they would seem to have been set forth primarily on pages of  $\gamma$  lineation and capacity ( $21 \times 29\frac{1}{3}$ ), I do not find that they can ever have been written on pages of  $\theta$  ( $25 \times 28$ ) scheme. But, since, like §§ i–xxviii as extant in Reginensis, §§ xxix–xxxii respond, with a slight exception presently to be noticed, to the  $\kappa$  ( $28 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ ) criterion, since § xxxiii represents four  $\kappa$  pages, and since § xxxiv represents five such pages, I infer that the second cismontane editor's reason for transferring the sacramental sections from  $\theta$  to  $\kappa$  membranes was that he proposed to combine his sacramental materials and his non-sacramental in one and the same homogeneous volume.

*Sections xxix–xxxii.* The exception to which I refer occurs early in § xxix. On comparing our text of the rubric '*Ut autem uenerint . . . super eas*' (Mur. i 533) with the corresponding forms in Gerbert,<sup>1</sup> Martène,<sup>2</sup> and Mabillon<sup>3</sup> I cannot but think that several details, of the aggregate value of 139 letters, have been omitted by the scribe of Reginensis or a predecessor.<sup>4</sup> The fact that, as we shall see presently, their insertion carries on the section to the end of a  $\kappa$  page justifies the suspicion. I insert them within brackets:—

*Ut autem uenerint ad eliam scribuntur nomina infantum (uel eorum qui ipsos suscepturi sunt) ab acolyto et uocantur (ipsi infantes ab acolyto) in eliam per nomina sicut scripti sunt (ita dicendo Ille puer et sic per singulos eorum) Et statuuntur masculi (seorsum) in dexteram partem (Illa uirgo et sic per singulas statuuntur) feminae (seorsum) in sinistram. Et dat oronem p̄r super eas.*

In the 'Õmp. sẽmp. d̃s' &c. of § xxx 'et signum' should certainly be corrected to 'ut signo', and 'in elia tua' and 'perceptae medicinae' preferred to 'elia tua' and 'percepta medicina'; while in § xxxi 's̃cae' should perhaps be inserted before 'trinitatis'. On the assumption, therefore, that the rubric '*Ut autem . . . super eas*' has been treated as

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta* ii 1.

<sup>2</sup> *De Antiquis Ritibus* i 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Musaeum Italicum* ii 77.

<sup>4</sup> Similar instances have already been noticed, instances in which the scribe of Reginensis, or a predecessor, would seem to have inadvertently copied a remote or ultimate text instead of the text which was his proper concern.

I suspect and that the editor of V had given it its ampler value,<sup>1</sup> we have:—

		Bapt.			Bapt.
§ xxix. <i>Denunciatio</i> &c. . . .	77	3	Brought forward . . .		59
Scrutiniū diem &c. . . .	375	13	§ xxxi. <i>Benedictio salis</i> &c. . .	32	1
<i>Ut autem uenerint</i> &c. . . .	176 (315)	11	Exorcizo te &c. . . .	511 (515)	18
§ xxx. <i>Oñones super electos</i> . .	18	1	<i>Et post hanc oñonem</i> &c. . .	44	2
<i>Ad catechumenum</i> &c. . . .	23	1	Accipe ille sal &c. . . .	47	2
Oñp. señp. dñ &c. . . .	411 (415)	15	§ xxxii. <i>Benedictio post datum</i>		
Preces nñas &c. . . .	212	8	<i>salet.</i> . . . . .	24	1
Dñ qui humani &c. . . .	198	7 (= 59)	Dñ patrum nñorum &c. . .	360	13 = 96

*Sections xxxiii, xxxiv.* A few faults must be corrected in the former of these.—1. If the Rheinau text may instruct us, the italicized words of the following phrase must be inserted into the first of the prayers to be said *super feminas*,—‘Dñ caeli dñ terrae . . . dñ cui omnis lingua confitetur *et omne genu flectitur* caelestium *et* terrestrium *et* infernorum’; and, instead of continuing with ‘te inuoco dñe ut has famulas tuas perducere et custodire digneris ad ġiam baptismi tui’, we should read—as, indeed, is suggested by the Pamelian form—‘te inuoco dñe *super has famulas tuas ut eas* custodire digneris et perducere ad ġiam baptismi tui’, in analogy with a parallel passage in the next following constituent but one: an aggregate enhancement of the value of 29 letters. 2. In this latter prayer, ‘Dñ abraham’ &c., Pamelius finds the words which I now italicize, words which, while they seem to be required by the grammatical construction of the prayer, are more than justified by its evident intention,—‘Dñ . . . qui tribus israel *de aegypti seruitute liberasti per moysen famulum tuum et de custodia mandatorum tuorum in deserto monuisti*’. Their value in terms of letters is 83. 3. In the last constituent, ‘Aeternam ac iustissimam’ &c., Rheinau has ‘famulos tuos et famulas tuas’, not ‘famulos et famulas tuas’; and the text found by Pamelius would seem to be right where, in analogy with other instances, it gives ‘ad percipiendam ġiam baptismi tui’, not ‘ad percipiendam ġiam tuam’.

The claim to authenticity of the ampler text of these three prayers is attested by the stichometrical result; for, thus reinforced to the amount of five lines, Section xxxiii has the value of four κ pages.

The reason for the only numerical correction—280 letters, instead of 267—which I make when computing the values for Section xxxiv, will be found in the memorandum subjoined to the next table of values.

<sup>1</sup> I think that in this, as in other like instances, the scribe of Reginensis, or a predecessor, perhaps from caprice perhaps from inadvertence on his own part or that of his *contralegens*, wrote the rubric as he found it in some volume of γ pagination. If there was such a volume, can it have contained the parent of Redaction Bapt.? I hope to give attention to this subject on an early page. See below, pp. 559, 560.



§ xxxiii.	Bapt.	§ xxxiv.	Bapt.
<i>Item exorcismi super electos &amp;c.</i> . . .	68	<i>Incipit expositio euangeliorum &amp;c.</i> . . .	54
Dñs abraham dñs isaac &c. . . . .	265	<i>Primitus enim procedunt &amp;c.</i> . . . .	187
Ergo maledicte diabole &c. . . . .	310	Aperturi nobis filii &c. . . . .	903
<i>Item super feminas.</i> . . . . .	16	<i>Et annuntiat diaconus dicens</i> . . . . .	25
Dñs caeli dñs terrae &c. . . . .	214 (243)	State cum silentio &c. . . . .	31
Ergo maledicte ut supra . . . . .	19	<i>Et incipiens</i> . . . . .	100
<i>Item super masculos</i> . . . . .	17	<i>Postquam legenti tractat &amp;c.</i> . . . .	34
Audi maledicte satanas &c. . . . .	575	Fili carissimi ne diutius &c. . . . .	437
<i>Item super feminas.</i> . . . . .	16	<i>Item annuntiat &amp;c.</i> . . . . .	28
Dñs abraham . . . qui tribus &c. . . .	169 (252)	State cum silentio &c. . . . .	31
Ergo maledicte ut supra . . . . .	19	<i>Et legit</i> . . . . .	86
<i>Item super masculos</i> . . . . .	17	<i>Et prosequitur pbr his uerbis</i> . . . .	25
Exorcizo te immunde sps &c. . . . .	171	<i>Item annuntiat</i> . . . . .	267 (280)
Ergo maledicte sicut supra . . . . .	23	<i>Item annuntiat</i> . . . . .	93
<i>Item super feminas.</i> . . . . .	16	<i>Et prosequitur pbr his uerbis</i> . . . .	25
Exorcizo te . . . per patrem &c. . . .	178	Lucas euangelista &c. . . . .	317
Ergo maledicte ut supra . . . . .	19	<i>Item annuntiat</i> . . . . .	93
<i>Sequitur oño quam sacerdos &amp;c.</i> . . .	34	<i>Item annuntiat</i> . . . . .	29
Aeternam ac iustissimam &c. . . . .	314 (325)	Ioannes habet similitudinem &c. . . .	504
	11 = 72	Of the following . . . . .	2[3] = 72

MEMORANDUM.—I assume the authentic value of the paragraph on St Mark to be 280, not 267; for 'Parate uiam dñi' seems to be needed after 'Vox clamantis in deserto'. It is in the Gallicanum Vetus and the Bobbio Sacramentary (Mur. ii 715, 829), both of which, like Reginensis, have the puzzling phrase 'siue quia regnat inuictus'. For help concerning this I have consulted some of our best known biblical scholars; but their kind efforts for me have been fruitless. The best I can do is, to cite what follows from a letter (V. 15) written by Sidonius Apollinaris, in or about the year 437, to Siricius, Bishop of Limoges, 'Defert [bibliopola uester] et uolumen prophetarum, licet me absente, decursum, sua tamen cura manique de superuacuis sententiis erudatam, nec semper illo contralegente qui promiserat operam suam' (Migne S. L. lviii 545 B); and, but with diffidence, to suggest (i) that the bibliopole expunged, as a *superuacua sententia*, the second member of the prophet's parallelism, 'In deserto parate uiam Domini, rectas facite in solitudine semitas Dei nostri' (Is. xl 3), (ii) replacing it with 'quia regnat inuictus'; (iii) that his volume, or a copy of it, fell into the hands of one or other of the successive scribes of *bapt.* or Bapt., who, (iv) deeming the words a true variant, prefixed a 'siue' to them and set them—perhaps as a marginal gloss, perhaps as an interlineation—into his transcript, and (v) that a later scribe substituted the whole 'siue quia regnat inuictus' for St Mark's 'rectas facite semitas eius'. My next best guess would be that 'siue' &c. is a misinterpreted tironian aduersarium; my next, that it represents a Gothic mistranslation.

*Section xxxv.* This (Mur. i 539) is one of the most interesting of the forty sections which are the subject of the present essay.

I. 1. The memorandum '*id est antequam dicis symbolum his uerbis prosequeris*' set in Reginensis next after the title of the section gives the meaning of '*Praefatio symboli*'. I assume it to be a late insertion.<sup>1</sup>

2. The words '*animis uestris ueram conuersionem mutatis ad dñm*' in the address '*Dilectissimi nobis*' &c. should perhaps be corrected to '*animis uestris uera conuersione mutatis ad dñm*'. 3, 4. Slight, but necessary, corrections reduce the first directive rubric, '*Post haec accipiens*' &c., from 121 letters to 118; and the last but one, '*Ponens manum acolytus*' &c., from 71 to 69.<sup>2</sup>

II. If we were to assume that the book whence §§ xxix-xxxvi were transferred into our document had been based on a Roman original, and that each of these sections, as now known to us, and, more particularly, the Greek and Latin texts of the Constantinopolitan creed in § xxxv, had been derived, mediately or immediately, from a formulary proper to the Roman Church, we should find ourselves committed to the opinion of more than one scholar of European reputation,<sup>3</sup> that in or before the seventh century the Roman Church must have used that creed in the instruction of candidates for baptism. If the scholars to whom I refer have been well advised in coming to this conclusion, they have enhanced our knowledge of a confessedly obscure subject. If they have been ill advised, their loyalty to historic truth will be the measure of their readiness to take into consideration the suggestion which I am about to make.

The Apostles' Creed is the only *symbolum fidei* which Leo the Great<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I mean an insertion later than V'. But, on the other hand, if the compiler of V', or his scribe, was so careless as to omit from the paragraph '*Marcus euangelista*' &c. in § xxxiv the words '*Parate uiam dñi*', thus reducing it from 280 letters to 267, and from ten lines to nine, he may have compensated the loss by adding '*id est antequam dicis*' &c. (46 letters) to the sub-title, '*Incipit praefatio*' (16 letters), of § xxxv, thereby making this require two lines instead of one. Hence the bracketed alternatives [9] and [3] in the list for § xxxiv and [62] in that for § xxxv (p. 557 *infra*). The compensation, while filling p. 79 of his volume to the last line, would enable him to begin the first constituent, '*Dilectissimi nobis*' &c. of § xxxv at the beginning of a page (p. 80).

<sup>2</sup> For the table of values see below, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Burn, the latest writer on the subject, says, after giving the opinions of Harnack and Caspari, 'It is to be hoped that further evidence will soon be found which will throw light on the use of both forms—i. e. the Apostles' Creed and the Constantinopolitan—in Rome in the seventh century' (*Apostles' Creed*, p. 52). I think that I am giving what is really wanted, a true account of the difficulty which scholars have detected in our document.

<sup>4</sup> See the passages which I am about to quote from his twenty-eighth and his thirtieth Epistles.

is known to have used in the instruction of catechumens : it is the only *symbolum fidei* mentioned in this connexion by that minutely informed authority on Roman use, Ioannes Diaconus, author of the *Epistola ad Senarium*, and Leo's junior by about half a century<sup>1</sup> ; and, regard had to the well-known declaration of Leo III concerning the Roman church's unfamiliarity with the Constantinopolitan developement of the Nicene confession, irrefragable evidence must be adduced before we can assume that at any intervening period she used either of these in the scrutinies preparatory to baptism.

But, in good truth, whether or not the other portions of that excerpt from a baptisterium which is contained in §§ xxix-xxxvi are of Roman derivation, the 'Dilectissimi nobis' &c. (Mur. i 539) which in § xxxv precedes the 'Pisteuo his ena' &c. and the 'Haec summa' &c. (*ib.* 542) which follows the 'Credo in unum' &c., set it beyond doubt that this 'Pisteuo' &c. and this 'Credo' &c. are intruders which have ousted and superseded the Greek text and the Latin of some early form of the Apostles' Creed : for—

In the first place : The 'Dilectissimi' &c. promises the hearers an 'euangelici symboli sacramentum a Domino inspiratum, ab apostolis institutum' ; and tells them that, by special grace of the Holy Spirit 'qui dictavit' it, it is so simple and so short as not to baffle a disciple's apprehension or fatigue his memory.

Secondly : The 'Haec summa' &c.<sup>2</sup> says that the articles of the symbol which had been rehearsed are so phrased as that to comprehend them and keep them in mind 'nemo non idoneus, nemo non aptus', and calls the symbol a '*breuissima plenitudo*'.

Thirdly, and particularly : The recapitulation, 'Hic Dei Patris . . . resurrectio perdocetur', embodied in this 'Haec summa' &c., corresponds to the successive articles of the Apostles' Creed in some of its earliest extant forms, but not to those of the 'Credo in unum . . . et uitam futuri saeculi'.

Fourthly, and conclusively : Whereas the last sentence, 'Hic *postremo* ecclesiae uocatio, peccatorum remissio et carnis resurrectio perdocetur', of that recapitulation tallies precisely with the end of the Apostles' Creed at one well-known stage of its developement, it is irreconcilably at variance with the end of the Constantinopolitan.

Convinced, therefore, that in § xxxv the Constantinopolitan creed is

<sup>1</sup> His words are 'Dehinc . . . ille qui dudum exsufflatus diabolicis laqueis pompisque renunciauerat symboli ab apostolis traditi iam meretur uerba suscipere' and 'Perscrutamur enim eorum corda per fidem utrum . . . se credere fateantur *in Deum Patrem omnipotentem*', Migne S. L. lix 402 B.

<sup>2</sup> I beg the reader very carefully to consult for himself the whole text of both the 'Dilectissimi nobis' &c. and the 'Haec summa' &c.

an usurper which has ousted and superseded some early form of the *symbolum apostolorum*, I proceed with my examination.

III. Leo the Great begins the argument of his famous epistle to Flavian by saying that, if Eutyches had been too indolent to elaborate from Holy Scripture an intelligible theory of the Incarnation, he should at least have tried to understand the 'ipsius symboli initia quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum uoce depromitur', and given careful heed to 'illa communis et indiscreta confessio qua fidelium uniuersitas confitetur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in Iesum Christum Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum qui natus est [ex] Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine; *quibus tribus sententiis* omnium fere haereticorum machinae destruuntur'.<sup>1</sup> In thus expressing himself he does not, indeed, categorically assert that the *fidelium uniuersitas* of his day regarded the portion of the Apostles' Creed here cited as three articles, each separate and distinct from the other two; but he leaves it to be inferred that he himself took this view of them, and that he believed it to be the view universally taken of them: and, when writing to the Empress Pulcheria, he certainly writes as if both she and he regarded the formula as divisible, and as in actual practice divided, into twelve several propositions,—'Siquidem ipsa catholici symboli breuis et perfecta confessio quae *duodecim apostolorum totidem est signata sententiis*' &c.<sup>2</sup> But, the writer of the 'Haec summa . . . perdocetur' in § xxxv of our document (Mur. i 542), so far from hinting at any such view as held by himself or the church of which he was a member, makes a sevenfold,<sup>3</sup> not a twelvefold, distribution of the formula; thus leaving us to infer that he may never have heard of a twelvefold distribution, and that, if he had, he may not have thought it obligatory on him. We must therefore hold judgement in suspense as to both the age and the provenance of his Latin text of the superseded formula. Nor may we assume his Greek text of it to have been identical with what Marcellus of Ancyra in the year 341 placed in the hands of Pope Julius; for, whereas Marcellus wrote 'τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου', the expositor inverts the order of the names, writing 'Hic Unigenitus Dei de Maria Virgine et Spiritu Sancto secundum carnem natus ostenditur'; and, whereas the participle employed by Marcellus was *γεννηθέντα*, the expositor's 'natus' seems to imply, not *γεννηθέντα*, but 'τεχθέντα', the word given in the Greek text of Leo's letter to Flavian.

I have thus early dwelt, and dwelt with some insistence, on these three considerations, (i) that the Constantinopolitan creed now found in Reginensis has taken the place of that brief formula which, usually

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 28 (Migne S. L. liv 757 A, B).

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 32 (*ib.* 794 B).

<sup>3</sup> I shall return to this subject presently.

known as the Apostles' Creed, it may be safer to denote as the 'Credo in Deum', and (ii) that we must not assume either the Greek or the Latin text of that brief formula to have been of Roman derivation, or (iii) take it for granted that its Greek text was identical with that of the profession made by Marcellus; because I feel sure that careful account must be taken of them if scholars are ever to devise a tenable theory of the external history of our document.

*The Evolution of § xxxv.* A first review of the section suggests the following remarks:—

I. The initial rubric, '*Incipit praefatio*' &c., is not a true capitulum having for its scope the whole of the section, such as '*In traditione symboli*' would have been; but a mere heading to the prefatory address, '*Dilectissimi nobis*' &c.

II. This '*Dilectissimi nobis*' &c. looks like inserted work, for the '*id est antequam dicis symbolum his uerbis prosequeris*' prefixed to it seems to imply that it is to be read by the bishop; a dignitary whose presence is neither mentioned nor implied in any part of the section but that which relates to the Latin text, and who indeed is assumed to have delegated to a presbyter the *traditio symboli* in the Greek. I believe it to have been introduced *ex post facto* to the original scheme of the item, and introduced at the instance of a bishop who desired to grace the ceremony with his presence. I also observe with interest that its 698 letters are equivalent to one  $\kappa$  page, but defer for a moment what I wish to say about the stage of evolution at which the Latin text was set forth.

III. On comparing with each other M. Léopold Delisle's heliographs in illustration of MS Vatican. Regin. 316, I find that the 'Greek' text of the Constantinopolitan symbol is written on successive lines of the ruling, but in characters much smaller than those used in the document generally, and that due space is thus allowed for the superscribed Latin transverbation. The reduced scale of the script in which the 'Greek' symbol is set forth gives every five lines of it the content of about six lines of normal text; so that when I draw up my table of values for the exemplar of V' I shall correct 870 to 725. Whether or not the writer of that exemplar in thus resorting to a smaller scale of script did what his predecessor, or predecessors, had already done is a question which we must remember to bear in mind. I shall assume that he did.

IV. Granted that at that stage<sup>1</sup> in the development of the baptisterium whence § xxxv was excerpted both Greek and Latin were vernacular languages in the province or diocese where the baptisterium was then used, we yet may fairly ask whether or no both languages had been

<sup>1</sup> That stage I notify as 'Bapt.', identifying it with the 'Bapt.' of previous pages.

vernaculars in the province or diocese for which the original scheme<sup>1</sup> of the baptisterium was drawn up: and, on either the one hypothesis or the other, the question arises whether in the original scheme the apostolic symbol was set forth in both a Greek text and a Latin, or only in one; whether, if only in a Greek text, this was employed as being deemed the original text, or because Greek was revered as a hieratic language, or because it was by local accident better understood or more usually spoken than Latin; and, if in both, why precedence was given to the Greek. Here, again, are considerations which must be carefully borne in mind.

V. The long admonitory address (Mur. i 542) appointed to be read after the *traditio* reads like a cumulate composition. First comes the paraphrase, 'Haec summa . . . resurrectio perdocetur', (in 612 letters) of the apostolic symbolum, 'Credo in Deum' &c.: then follows (in 601 letters) a passage, 'Vos itaque dilectissimi . . . s̄cī s̄p̄s uirtute generati', on the grace of baptism: we next have (in 462 letters) a passage, 'Et ideo hanc breuissimam . . . gloriam resurrectionis habeatis', which evidently has the apostolic symbol for its subject-matter, and which calls to mind the teaching, and indeed the very words, of St Paul, and the 'good confession' of the *milites Christi* in the first days of the Church; and after it (in 226 letters) a sentence, 'Ergo dilectissimi praefatum symbolum fidei catholicae . . . ad regna caelestia faciat peruenire', which almost as evidently has no specific reference to the Constantinopolitan formula; a subject to which I shall revert in the sequel. The concluding 'per eundem . . . saeculorum. Amen', I may here add, gives, by its 60 letters, 1961 as the total value of the extant constituent.

Here, too, let me note that the passage 'Vos itaque . . . generati' is but indirectly relevant to the proper subject of the address; that it is not in Gerbert; and that, unless or until we be otherwise informed, we may therefore assume it to be a late insertion.

VI. The extant rubrication of the section is by no means perfect, for—(1) The '*Incipit praefatio symboli ad electos*' (Mur. i 539) which now does duty as a capitulum would seem to be the fusion of an '*Incipit traditio symboli ad electos*' and a subjoined '*Praefatio*', or the fusion of a '*Traditio symboli ad electos*' and a subjoined '*Incipit praefatio*'; while (2) the explanatory '*Id est antequam dicis symbolum his uerbis prosequeris*' looks like a gloss which clerical mischance has assumed into the section itself from the lower margin of the page in V' or a copy of it.<sup>2</sup> (3) I explain the faulty '*Et interrogat ei p̄br*' in the directions that follow the address 'Dilectissimi nobis . . . inchoatur

<sup>1</sup> The original scheme will be notified as '*bapt.*'.

<sup>2</sup> For an alternative view see above, p. 548 n. 1.

exordio' (*ib.* 540) by supposing that here, as in several other instances, the scribe of Reginensis, or a predecessor, had two sources of information, and that in one of these, the older book of the two, the words '*super caput eius*' were immediately followed by '*Et dicit ei p̄br*' and '*Annuntia fidem ipsorum*' &c., whereas the other and more recent book of the two interposed after '*super caput eius*' a rubric '*Et interrogat p̄br*' and the question '*Qua lingua confitentur*' &c. I mean, that is to say, that the extant '*Et interrogat ei*' is a conflation of an earlier '*Et dicit ei*' and a later '*Et interrogat*'. (4) Immediately after the 'Greek' creed (*ib.* i 541) some such rubric as '*Hoc expleto sequeris*' would seem to have been overlooked from visual misdirection or confusion of thought due to the '*Hoc expleto sequitur*' &c. at the corresponding place after the Latin creed (*ib.* 542), as also (5) '*Dicis*' between 'Latine' and the questioner's '*Annuntia fidem*' &c.<sup>1</sup>

*The Earlier Phases of § xxxv (bapt.<sub>1</sub> and bapt.<sub>2</sub>).*

Let us therefore assume that, as originally devised, the present section set forth, not the Constantinopolitan creed, but some early form of the *symbolum apostolorum*: and let us so far give play to the speculative faculty as further to assume that this was appointed to be said in Greek, either because Greek was deemed a hieratic language, or because Greek was the language in which the formula was believed to have been originally written or in which it had been brought westward; but that, for whatever reason, the formula was not appointed to be said in Latin. By this hypothesis we should have—

1. *Traditio symboli ad electos.*
2. *Accipiens acolytus unum . . . super caput eius. Et dicit ei p̄br* (in 105 letters).
3. *Annuntia fidem ipsorum* &c. (in 34 letters).
4. *Et dicit acolytus symbolum graece decantando* &c. (in 79 letters), where I should be disposed to retain the word '*graece*', connecting it with '*decantando*', as designed to direct the successive clauses of the formula to be sung to an oriental melody known by the name 'Greek'.
5. Next would come the formula, distributed into seven clauses, as is intimated by the sevenfold structure of the paraphrase contained in our '*Haec summa est . . . resurrectio perdocetur*' (Mur. i 542), and written on twelve lines of the average capacity of 29 letters, or thereabout, thus—

Πιστεύω εἰς θ̄ν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ  
εἰς ἡγν̄ν χ̄ρν̄ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Nothing would be more likely to happen if the scribe of Bapt., or his *contra-legens*, had before him a copy of bapt.<sub>1</sub> with only the '*Πιστεύω εἰς θ̄ν*', and also a copy of bapt.<sub>2</sub> with both the '*Πιστεύω εἰς θ̄ν*' and the 'Credo in dñm'.

Τὸν τεχθέντα ἐκ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου  
καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου  
Τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ τῇ  
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα  
Τὸν ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ  
καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς  
Ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς  
Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα  
Ἄγιαν ἐκκλησίαν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σαρ-  
κὸς ἀνάστασιν.

6. Then would follow the rubric '*Hoc expleto sequitur p̄br his uerbis*' (in 30 letters).

7. If I have made a right diagnosis of the exposition introduced by this rubric, the series would end with 'Haec summa est . . . resurrectio perdocetur. Et ideo hanc breuissimam plenitudinem . . . resurrectionis habeatis. Per eundem' &c. (in 1134 letters).

This equipment—consistent as it is in itself and, if not morally certain, yet unimpeachably probable in theory—does not respond to the κ criterion of measurement; but—and I confess that I think it a significant coincidence—I find that, with two lines, allowed for connecting rubric, it yields to that γ criterion which, in my opinion, governed some editions of the 'Missale Francorum',<sup>1</sup> and which, as we have found reason to believe, would seem to have governed early editions of the *canon poenitentialis* and the pontifical excerpts from which are extant in §§ xv, xvi and in §§ xx–xxiv<sup>2</sup> and § xcix. Indeed, it not only has the total value of three γ pages, it divides into two parts logically distinct,<sup>3</sup> the first of which fills one page and the second a couple of pages, thus—

Scheme of bapt. <sub>1</sub>	γ lines.
<i>Traditio symboli ad electos</i> . . . . . 24	*
<i>Accipiens acolytus unum . . . super caput eius. Et</i> <i>dicat ei p̄br</i> . . . . . 105	4
<i>Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt</i> . . . 34	2
<i>Et dicat acolytus symbolum graece decantando</i> &c. 79	3
Πιστεύω εἰς θ̄ν πατέρα κτλ. (On 12 lines) . . .	12 = 21
<i>Hoc expleto sequitur p̄br his uerbis</i> . . . . . 30	1
<i>Haec summa . . . perdocetur. Et ideo . . .</i> <i>habeatis. per eundem</i> &c. . . . . 1134	39
Of the following . . . . .	2 = 42 (Total, three γ pages)

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xii pp. 232, 242, 247, 538, 544, 545, 554, 555 of the JOURNAL.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 328, 329 and 334–336, 338–340.

<sup>3</sup> For a like logical distribution see columns 'pen.<sub>1</sub>' and 'pen.<sub>2</sub>' in the table of values on p. 329 *supra*.



At a later time, if not in another place, this perhaps first expression of the item may have been amplified under new conditions; these being (1) that after the creed had been sung in Greek the bishop intervened,<sup>1</sup> saying, 'Filii carissimi audistis symbolum graece audite et latine'; (2) that, addressing himself to the acolyte, he asked him—inferentially, if not categorically—what was the vernacular of the *electi*, or one of two vernaculars; and that, (3) on receiving 'Latine' as the reply (4) he—not the priest—said 'Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt'.<sup>2</sup>

Here again I do not presume to dogmatize; but I do venture to assert that the theory I propose<sup>3</sup> is clearly suggested by the actual condition of the Reginensis rubrication, and that it is probable not only on its own merits but because it bears the application of the  $\gamma$  criterion.

What precisely was the Latin text of the Apostles' Creed which the Constantinopolitan has replaced it is by no means easy to surmise; for as early as the first half of the fourth century there were, at least in the south of Gaul, two theories as to the conditions to be satisfied in a good translation, theories which 'blend in fantastic strife' in the Reginensis rendering of the longer formula: but, whether the wording of the second clause was 'Qui natus est de maria uirgine et spū sō' or 'Natum de maria uirgine et spū sō', one line would suffice for it, and eleven lines would contain the whole. We thus have, as summary of the item at the second of its not improbable earlier phases—

Scheme of bapt. <sub>2</sub>	$\gamma$ lines
<i>Traditio symboli ad electos</i> . . . . . 24	*
<i>Accipiens acolytus unum . . . super caput eius. Et</i> <i>dicit ei p̄br.</i> . . . . . 105	4
<i>Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt.</i> . . . 34	2
<i>Et dicit acolytus symbolum graece decantando &amp;c.</i> 79	3
<i>Πιστεύω εἰς θῷ πατέρα κτλ.</i> (On 12 lines) . . .	12 = 21
<i>Hoc expleto dicit</i> . . . . . 15	1
<i>Filii carissimi audistis. . . audite et latine. Et dicit</i> 56	2
<i>Qua lingua confitentur &amp;c. Resp. Latine. Dicit</i> 46	2
<i>Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt.</i> . . . 34	2
<i>Ponens manum acolytus . . . dicit symbolum decan-</i> <i>tando &amp;c.</i> . . . . . 71 (69)	3
<i>Credo in dñm patrem &amp;c.</i> (On 11 lines) . . .	11 = 21
<i>Hoc expleto sequitur p̄br his uerbis</i> . . . . . 30	1
<i>Haec summa . . . perdocetur. Et ideo . . . habea-</i> <i>tis. per eundem &amp;c.</i> . . . . . 1134	39
Of the following . . . . .	2 = 42 (Total, four $\gamma$ pages)

<sup>1</sup> Let us not forget the strikingly and suggestively similar intervention of the bishop in *pen.*<sub>2</sub> as contrasted with *pen.*<sub>1</sub>. See above, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> That the acolyte sang the Latin creed to the same melody as the Greek—presumably a melody imported from the East—we are not told. He probably did.

<sup>3</sup> What I also suggest about episcopal intervention is based on the second person

Here, yet again, I do not dogmatize; but I do assert that this my reconstruction of a theoretically possible second phase of the item is suggested by the actual condition of the rubrics in *Reginensis*; that it is approved by the fact that, as concerns the Latin creed now by the hypothesis introduced into the ceremony of the *traditio*, it transfers the conduct of the function from the priest to the bishop, and that its tolerance of the  $\gamma$  test gives it a compelling claim on our acceptance.

*The Later Phases of § xxxv.* I. Let us assume that this, like other sections containing non-sacramental material, was transferred from  $\gamma$  ( $21 \times 29\frac{1}{3}$ ) pages to pages of  $\kappa$  ( $24 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ ) value. To fill four of these, as previously it had filled four of the less ample pages, it must of course receive an aggregate enhancement amounting to not less than ( $4 \times 3 =$ ) 12 lines. The accompanying table of values shews what, in my opinion, was really done.

1. Section xxxiv (see above, p. 547) ending on the antepenultimate line of a page, the last two lines of this were devoted to the capitulum of § xxxv and a new rubric '*Incipit praefatio*'. Then followed, as the reader will see on consulting the table, the address '*Dilectissimi nobis accepturi*' &c. It fills a  $\kappa$  page.

2. So much of the item as relates to the '*Πιστεύω εἰς θν̄ πατέρα*' κτλ. had in *bapt.*<sub>1</sub> and *bapt.*<sub>2</sub> filled a  $\gamma$  page: the editor of *Bapt.* raised it to  $\kappa$  value by inserting a question which would have been unmeaning in *bapt.*<sub>1</sub>, which would have been unnecessary in *bapt.*<sub>2</sub>, and for which there now was no need. This, however, and the answer to it enabled him to end the '*Πιστεύω*' on the last line of his second page.

3. But he could not resort to a like device as he worked his way to the '*Credo in dñm patrem*' &c., for the editor of *bapt.*<sub>2</sub> had anticipated him. He therefore transcribed what lay before him in his copy of *bapt.*<sub>2</sub>

of the direction '*prosequeris*' in the rubric before the opening address, '*Dilectissimi nobis accepturi*' &c. (Mur. i 539), and of the directive '*Et dicis*' in the rubric (*ib.* 541) before the '*Qua lingua . . . ilhm xp̄m?*' which relates to the Latin creed, as contrasted with the '*dicat p̄br*' in the corresponding rubric before the '*Qua lingua . . . ilhm xp̄m?*' which related to the Greek. In all the other rubrics of § xxxv the verb employed is in the third person, and has for its subject either the acolyte or the presbyter, but never the bishop.

Whether I am right or wrong in making '*prosequeris*' and '*dicis*' imply the bishop's participation in the function in no way affects the validity of my argument in proof of a second  $\gamma$  redaction (*bapt.*<sub>2</sub>) in place of a first (*bapt.*<sub>1</sub>). But, if I am right—and I think I am—some very interesting questions at once suggest themselves. Where was it, when was it, why was it, that, on the substitution of *bapt.*<sub>2</sub> for *bapt.*<sub>1</sub> in honour of the Latin version of the creed, the bishop himself made that version his own special concern? These questions will, I think, have to be taken into account in any attempt that may be made to determine the external history of the section.

## The Traditio Symboli (§ xxxv at Redaction V).

		γ schemes.		κ schemes.	
		<i>bapt.</i> <sub>1</sub> (3 pages)		<i>bapt.</i> <sub>2</sub> (4 pages)	
		*		V'	
		*		Bapt. (5 pages)	
		24 = 24		V' (7 pages)	
<i>Traditio symboli ad electos</i> . . . . .	24	*		24 = 24	
<i>Incipit praefatio [id est antequam &amp;c.]</i> . . . . .	16 [62]	4		24 = 24	
<i>Dilectissimi nobis accepturi &amp;c.</i> . . . .	699 (697)	2		24 = 24	
<i>Accipiens acolytus unum . . . super caput eius. Et dicit ei pbr.</i> . . . .	105	3		24 = 24	
<i>Post haec accipiens . . . super caput eius. Et interrogat pbr.</i> . . . .	121 (118)	12 = 21		24 = 24	
<i>Qua lingua confitentur dñm nrm ihm xpm? Resp. Graece</i> . . . .	41	1		24 = 24	
<i>Item dicit pbr.</i> . . . .	14	2		24 = 24	
<i>Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt</i> . . . . .	34	3		24 = 24	
<i>Et dicit acolytus symbolum graece decantando &amp;c.</i> . . . .	79	12 = 21		24 = 24	
<i>Πιστεύω εἰς θν πατέρα κτλ. (On 12 lines)</i> . . . . .	(810) 725	1		24 = 24	
<i>Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θν πατέρα κτλ.</i> . . . .		2		24 = 24	
<i>Hoc expleto dicit</i> . . . . .	15	2		24 = 24	
<i>Fili carissimi audistis symbolum graece audite et latine. Et dicit</i> . . . .	56	2		24 = 24	
<i>Qua lingua confitentur dñm nrm ihm xpm? Resp. Latine. Dicit</i> . . . .	46	2		24 = 24	
<i>Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt.</i> . . . .	34	3		24 = 24	
<i>Ponens manum acolytus . . . dicit symbolum decantando his verbis.</i> . . . .	71 (69)	11 = 21		24 = 24	
<i>Credo in dñm patrem &amp;c. (On 11 lines)</i> . . . . .		1		24 = 24	
<i>Credo in unum dñm patrem &amp;c.</i> . . . .	790	39		24 = 24	
<i>Hoc expleto sequitur pbr his verbis.</i> . . . .	30	1		24 = 24	
<i>Haec summa . . . perdocetur. Et ideo . . . habeatis. per eundem &amp;c.</i> . . . .	1134	48		24 = 24	
<i>Haec summa . . . perdocetur. Et ideo . . . habeatis. Ergo dilectissimi</i> . . . .	1360	2 = 42		24 = 24	
<i>. . . pervenire. per eundem &amp;c.</i> . . . .		2 = 42		24 = 24	
<i>Haec summa &amp;c. Vos itaque dilectissimi . . . generati. Et</i> . . . .	1961	2 = 42		24 = 24	
<i>ideo &amp;c. Ergo dilectissimi &amp;c. per eundem &amp;c.</i> . . . .		2 = 42		24 = 24	
Of the following . . . . .		2 = 42		24 = 24	

MEMORANDUM.—Scheme 'Bapt.' when incorporated into the document at Redaction V would end on p. 82.

<sup>1</sup> P. 86 of V' ends here.

until he reached the words ' . . . gloriam resurrectionis habeatis ' in the last constituent, when, between these and the concluding ' per eundem ' &c., he interposed the sentence ' Ergo dilectissimi . . . faciat peruenire '. This addition, an addition, be it well observed, which by its ' praefatum symbolum ' assures us that the Apostles' creed was not yet superseded by the Constantinopolitan, carried him to the antepenultimate line of a fifth page on which to write rubric or rubrics proper to the next section.

II. 1. When it was that this scheme—incorporated, I assume, with the document at Redaction V—was replaced by that in which the ' Πιστεύω εἰς θν πατέρα ' κτλ. gave way to the ' Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θν πατέρα ' κτλ. we must enquire in the sequel; but the substitution itself was effected very cleverly indeed. The longer symbol began, as its predecessor had begun, on the first line of a page; but it was written in so ingeniously reduced a script that, instead of occupying 31 lines, it occupied only 26, with the consequence that the distinction of a fresh page was accorded to its Latin equivalent as well as to itself.

2. But nothing short of new material having the value of 20, or, at the least, 18 lines must now be found if the item was to end concurrently with a page. Hence the barely relevant *farciementum*, ' Vos itaque dilectissimi . . . uirtute generati ', which now divorces the ' Et ideo hanc breuissimam plenitudinem ' &c. from its proper context, the ' Haec summa est . . . resurrectio perdocetur '.

POSTSCRIPT. Two questions may here be opportune :—

1. If there was such a redaction as the *bapt.*<sub>1</sub> of my analysis, why was the Greek text of the Apostles' Creed the only text officially recognized? Perhaps in obedience to long tradition: perhaps because, though Latin was understood by some, by many, or by all, Greek was the dominant speech of the laity.

2. If there was such a redaction as the *bapt.*<sub>2</sub> of my analysis, why was a Latin text of the creed now recited, and recited at the instance of the bishop himself? Perhaps because now, as had not been the case formerly, or because here, as had not been the case elsewhere, Latin as well as Greek was a vernacular tongue: perhaps because now and here Latin was rivalling and tending to supersede Greek as the language of the people: perhaps because there were reasons of ecclesiastical or secular polity for encouraging children to make devotional use of it: perhaps because, as at Arles in the closing years of the fifth century, the laity were desired to use one language equally with the other when engaged in public worship.

All these considerations must, I think, be borne in mind if the problem of the external history of our document is ever to be solved.

*Sections xxix-xxxiv (resumed).* Since we have good reason to believe that the non-sacramental sections xv, xvi; xx-xxiv; xxxv;

and, besides these, xcix have been developed from an original written on  $\gamma$  ( $21 \times 29\frac{1}{3}$ ) pages (see above, pp. 327-330 and 333-343), let us enquire if this may with probability be said of §§ xxix-xxxiv. The question is the more important inasmuch as these sections—at least, in their present estate—are part of one and the same baptismal series with § xxxv which we have just been examining.

*The First Scrutiny.* Sections xxix-xxxiii (Mur. i 533-537) are concerned with the first scrutiny of the *electi*; and the fact that, if we assume the ampler form of the rubric '*Ut autem*' &c. in § xxix to have been set forth in the  $\kappa$  libellus in which, by the hypothesis, Bapt. was written, they have the aggregate value (see above, pp. 545, 546) of  $(96 + 24 + 72 =) 192 \kappa$  lines, i.e. of eight  $\kappa$  pages, justifies us in believing that it had indeed been thus set forth in that libellus.

My reason for thinking that at Bapt. the rubric appeared in the longer of its two forms was not, that it is the wont of rubrics to grow, rather than to lessen, with lapse of time; but because the structure of the longer form is such as very forcibly to suggest that it is due to the insertion of phrases and single words<sup>1</sup> into the shorter form; and because, as will be seen on inspection, the converse theory is so very improbable as to be barely tenable.

Let us then assume (1) that—as in the *bapt.* already ascertained for § xxxv, and as in the *pen.* and the *ord.* already ascertained for §§ xv, xvi, and for §§ xcix, xx-xxiv—§§ xxix-xxxiii had once been set forth on pages of  $\gamma$  ( $21 \times 29\frac{1}{3}$ ) capacity; (2) that the libellus in which they were written had not a pictorial frontispiece, but (3) that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lines of the first page of text were devoted to the general title and some slight ornamentation; and (4) that the rubric '*Ut autem uenerint*' &c. had as yet its lower value of 176 letters. The result in terms of letters and of lines would be—

§ xxix.	77, 375, 176	
	$1\frac{1}{2}, 2\frac{1}{2}, 13, 6 =$	23 $\gamma$ lines
§ xxx.	18, 23, 411, 212, 198	
	$1, 1, 14, 8, 7 =$	31 „ „
§ xxxi.	32, 515, 44, 47	
	$1, 18, 2, 2 =$	23 „ „
§ xxxii.	24, 360	
	$1, 13 =$	14 „ „
§ xxxiii.	68, 265, 310, 16, 243, 19, 17, 575, 16, 252	
	$3, 9, 11, 1, 9, 1, 1, 20, 1, 9 =$	65 „ „
	19, 17, 171, 22, 16, 178, 19, 34, 325	
	$1, 1, 6, 1, 1, 7, 1, 2, 11, 2 =$	33 „ „
		Total, 189 $\gamma$ lines (9 pages).

<sup>1</sup> The phrases and words '*uel eorum qui ipsos suscepturi sunt*', '*ipsi infantes ab acolyto*' . . . '*seorsum*', '*seorsum*'.

Hence we see that at Bapt. it would in any case be necessary to introduce some few lines of augmentation if the series were to fill an integral number of pages; and, evidently, the necessity would be heightened if the general title now formed part of a pictorial frontispiece: 192  $\kappa$  lines would have to be filled, as against the prior series of 188  $\gamma$  lines. For the values at Bapt. see above, pp. 546, 547.

*The Second Scrutiny.* Section xxxiv is concerned with the *apertio aurium* of candidates for baptism. We have seen (p. 547 *supra*) that with the two-line capitulum of § xxxv (which followed its last constituent) it covered the 120 lines of five  $\kappa$  pages at that second edition which I denominate 'Bapt.'. But, it is evident that if at the *bapt.* of my hypothesis it had filled but 124 of the 126 lines of six  $\gamma$  pages, it must then have been ampler in respect of rubric, of text, or of both than at the later issue. How, then, can it at that stage have been equipped?

Here again Gerbert helps us. The reader will see from Mr Wilson's notes<sup>1</sup> that, between the opening address 'Aperturi uobis . . . lucas ioannes' and the exposition of St Matthew's function as an evangelist, Gerbert's Zürich MS differs from Reginensis. The Zürich equipment I assign to the  $\gamma$  libellus on which *bapt.* was written; that of Reginensis I assign to the  $\kappa$  libellus of Bapt. I set the two schemes side by side together with their values in terms of letters:—

<i>bapt.</i>		Bapt.	
<i>Et annuntiat diaconus dicens</i> . . . 25		<i>Et annuntiat diaconus dicens</i> . . . 25	
State cum silentio audite intente . . 28		State cum silentio audientes intente . 31	
<i>Et dicit</i> . . . . . 7			
Dñs uobiscum . . . . . 10			
<i>Et incipiens legit</i> . . . a peccatis eorum 100		<i>Et incipiens legit</i> . . . a peccatis eorum 100	
<i>Iterum annuntiat diaconus ut supra</i> 30			
State cum silentio . . . . . 15			
<i>Et post haec tractat p̄r his uerbis</i> . 29		<i>Postquam legerit tractat p̄r his uerbis</i> . . . . . 34	

Thus we have for *bapt.* as distinguished from the record for Bapt. (see p. 547 *supra*) the following summary,<sup>2</sup>—

§ xxxiv. 54, 187, 963, 25, 28, 7, 10, 100, 30, 15, 29, 437	
2, 7, 34, 1, 1, 1, 1, 4, 1, 1, 1, 15 = 69 $\gamma$ lines	
28, 31, 86, 25, 280, 93, 25, 317, 93, 29, 504	
1, 1, 3, 1, 10, 4, 1, 11, 4, 1, 18, 2 = 57 „ „	
Total, 126 $\gamma$ lines (6 pages).	

Reassured, therefore, as to the existence of a prior edition on  $\gamma$  pages of §§ xxix–xxxv, I now turn to § xxxvi, the last of the present group of non-sacramental items.

<sup>1</sup> Or from Gerbert himself, *Monumenta* ii 2.

<sup>2</sup> The *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Mur. ii 714–716) has an item which, while sub-

*Section xxxvi.* The thirty-sixth section teaches the *electi* the text of the Lord's Prayer, and explains its eight several clauses. These are set forth a clause at a time; each clause in its turn being followed by a brief exposition.

I. 1. I learn from M. Léopold Delisle's '*Mémoires sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*' (p. 68), what Mr Wilson fails to tell us, that '*heureusement nous avons au folio 2 v<sup>o</sup> [du ms. 316 de la reine de Suède au Vatican] un texte bilingue de l'oraison dominicale de la même main*' as the sacramentary itself; a fact which leads me to suspect that here, as in many other instances, the scribe of Reginensis had before him not only a copy of the V' redaction of the item, but also a copy of some earlier edition: and, on consulting vol. xxxvii of the '*Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*' (p. 16), I infer from M. Delisle's transcript of the page as well as from his verbal description of it that both texts are written on lines of the ruling, and in characters of normal size; here again getting a hint in aid of the reconstruction I should like to make.

stantially identical with § xxxiv of Reginensis and with the Zürich article, represents not six, but only five  $\gamma$  pages. The contents and distribution is as follows:—

	$\gamma$ lines	
<i>Incipit expositio euangeliorum</i> &c. . . . .	54	2
<i>Aperturi uobis filii karissimi</i> &c. . . . .	971	33
<i>Post haec legit diaconus . . . matthaeum</i> . . . . .	53	2
<i>Et postquam legerit tractat pbr</i> &c. . . . .	36	2
<i>Filii karissimi ne diutius</i> &c. . . . .	435	15
<i>Explicit secundum matth.</i> . . . . .	21	1
<i>Incipit secundum marcum</i> . . . . .	19	1
<i>Legit diaconus . . . marcum</i> . . . . .	42	2
<i>Exponit pbr.</i> . . . . .	10	1
<i>Marcus euangelista leonis gerens</i> &c. . . . .	279	10
<i>Incipit secundum lucam</i> . . . . .	18	1
<i>Legit diaconus . . . lucam</i> . . . . .	42	2
<i>Tractat pbr.</i> . . . . .	10	1
<i>Lucas euangelista speciem uituli</i> &c. . . . .	321	11
<i>Item legit diaconus . . . iohannem</i> . . . . .	49	2
<i>Tractat pbr his uerbis</i> . . . . .	19	1
<i>Iohannes habet similitudinem aquilae</i> &c. . . . .	488	17
Of the following. . . . .		1 = 105 (five $\gamma$ pages).

I have not as yet had occasion or time for analysing *M. G. V.* as a whole: but this result justifies us in suspecting that in different dioceses different expedients were employed for so interspersing essential work with rubrics or other material as to effect a result equivalent to an integral number of pages; and, further, that the  $\gamma$  unit of pagination was not confined to one diocese, or group of dioceses, but that it was or was not observed as the scribe, probably an itinerant bibliopole, happened or did not happen to be in the habit of using it.

An alternative theory—whether preferable or not preferable I cannot at present divine—would be that, as with the canon poenitentialis and the pontifical used by the editor of V, so also with the baptisterium used by him: the theory that this, like those, had passed through two editions, a *bapt.*, (represented by *M. G. V.*) and a *bapt.*, (represented by Gerbert's Zürich MS.), prior to its redaction on  $\kappa$  pages in Bapt.

2. But from M. Delisle's transcript of this *texte bilingue* I glean the very interesting fact that it phrases the fourth petition of the Prayer 'Panem n̄m supersubstantialem da nobis hodie', not, as in Reginensis, 'Panem n̄m quotidianum da nobis hodie'. From this remarkable difference it is obvious to infer that at some early period in the evolution of the item the text of the petition may have been set forth in its older version, and that the new version found in Reginensis has replaced the other; an inference which is lifted from the level of mere possibility to the much higher level of moral certainty by the extant exposition. This falls asunder into two parts: the first being (on 3 lines)—

Hic sp̄alem cibum intelligere debemus  
x̄pc enim panis est n̄. qui dixit Ego sum  
panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi,

where there can be no doubt that 'supersubstantialem' is the reading held in view by the writer; the second being (on 4 lines) a sentence which, while it expressly cites the word 'quotidianum', reads like an awkward and carelessly phrased apology for the use of it,

quem quotidianum dicimus quod [not 'quia'] ita  
nos semper immunitatem petere debe-  
mus peccati ut digni simus caelesti-  
bus alimentis.<sup>1</sup>

We thus have contributory material towards an attempted reconstruction of two successive schemes; a first, in which 'Panem n̄m supersubstantialem' &c. (37 letters) shall occupy two lines, and 'Hic sp̄alem . . . descendi' three; a second, in which 'Panem n̄m quotidianum' &c. (30 letters) shall occupy one line, and 'Hic sp̄alem . . . alimentis' seven.

3. The most striking feature of the Reginensis copy of § xxxvi is the very large scale on which, if all the editors are to be trusted, the eight clauses of the Prayer are written. In explanation of this peculiarity I would suggest some such theory as the following:—That the compiler of V' had before him copies of two editions of the section, one of which set forth the clauses in both a Latin text and a Greek, while the other set them forth only in Latin: that in his transcript he left spaces for the bilingual exhibition of the clauses,<sup>2</sup> but that before or when the time came for carrying out the intention he changed his mind; and

<sup>1</sup> *The Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Mur. ii 717) words this differently—'Quem cotidianum *dicens* ita nos semper immunes praecepit esse peccati' &c. This reading seems to indicate a higher estimate of the authority of the Hieronymian 'quotidianum' than is conceded to it by our 'Quem quotidianum *dicimus*' &c. It would seem to be the earlier of the two, ours being a deliberately made modification of it.

<sup>2</sup> This he would have in the earlier of the two editions, copies of which I suspect to have lain before him.



that, the spaces he had left being therefore very greatly in excess of his present requirements, he resorted to an exaggerated scale of penmanship rather than let his manuscript be disfigured by unsightly blanks.

II. Two textual corrections would seem to be needed before we attempt a probable reconstruction of the successive phases of the section. 1. The conclusion to the exegesis, 'Hic ideo ait' &c., of the seventh petition of the Prayer limps, for it omits the absolutely necessary words 'cum dō patre'. So grave a blunder cannot have been made under editorial authority; and, since it would have in any case sufficed to let the constituent end at the words 'regnat dō', our safest course is to deem the 'in unitate . . . saeculorum' the post-editorial addition of some indolent scribe. 2. The extant conclusion of the final address, 'Audistis dilectissimi' &c., is equally reprehensible, for it is in dogmatic conflict with the preceding context, and indeed with the constituent as a whole. We must assume the editor to have stopped at the word 'regnat'.

These corrections reduce 245 letters to 206, and 367 to 319.

*The Penultimate Scheme* (Bapt.) of § xxxvi. Thus much premised, let us further examine the item as it stands in Reginensis.

III. 1. By my reconstruction of § xxxv (see above, p. 557) the rubrics '*Expositio oionis dñicae*' and '*Incipit praeformatio*', which in Bapt. had stood on the last two lines of a page, were at Redaction V' set on the first and second lines of p. 87 of the editor's volume: then came the rubric '*Et admonetur*' &c., and, next after this, the opening address 'Dñs et saluator n̄.', &c.

2. But if in this, as in other analogous instances, Gerbert may be our instructor, the Reginensis text is not the original text of this 'Dñs et saluator n̄.' &c. The first sentence of the Reginensis text contains in 154 letters what in Gerbert's MS is otherwise expressed in only 119. The end of the second sentence and the beginning of the third—'illi soli patere commemorat. Et clauso ostio dñm adorare debere' (52 letters)—are not in Gerbert's MS; nor does Gerbert, nearer the end of the paragraph, know anything of the sentence 'Claudatur ergo . . . precibus n̄ri' (153 letters). The result of these differences—a few variants taken into account, which Mr Wilson has noted—is, that, as against the Reginensis total of 761 letters, we have a lower total of 530. This lower sum, then, I give as the value of the constituent 'Dñs et saluator n̄.' &c. in the baptisterium (Bapt.) which was incorporated into our document at Redaction V.

3. In that baptisterium I assume the eight clauses of the Lord's Prayer to have been set forth either in characters of normal size, and only in one language; or, like the Constantinopolitan symbol in § xxxv, in two languages, one of these being written in somewhat reduced characters on the lines of the ruling, and the other superscribed interlineally.

		γ scheme.	κ schemes.	
		<i>bapt.</i>	Bapt.	V <sup>1</sup>
xxxvi. <i>Expositio oionis dñicae</i> . . . . .	18	*	*	1
<i>Incipit praefatio</i> . . . . .	16	*	*	1
<i>Et admonentur &amp;c.</i> . . . .	27	1	1	1
Dñs et saluator ñ. &c. (1). . . . .	530 (1)	19	19	
Dñs et saluator ñ. &c. (2). . . . .	761 (2)			27
<i>Post hoc intras et dicis</i> . . . . .	20	1 = 21	1	1
Pater ñ. qui es in caelis . . . . .	18	1	1 [? o]	2
Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . . .	23	1	o [? 1]	
Haec libertatis uox est &c. . . . .	289	10	10	10
Scificetur nomen tuum . . . . .	18	1	1 [? o]	2
Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου . . . . .	18	1	o [? 1]	
Id est non quod dñ nñs &c. . . . .	151	6	5	5
Adueniat regnum tuum . . . . .	17	1 = 21	1 [? o]	2
Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου . . . . .	17	1	o [? 1]	
Dñ namque ñ. quando &c. . . . .	151	6	5	5
Fiat uoluntas tua sicut &c. . . . .	36	2	1 [? o]	4
Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς κτλ. . . . .	37	2	o [? 1]	
Id est in eo fiat uoluntas tua &c. . . . .	87	3	3 = 48	3
Panem nñm supersubstantialem &c. . . . .	37	2		
Panem nñm quotidianum &c. . . . .	30		1 [? o]	2
Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον κτλ. . . . .	37	2	o [? 1]	
Hic spalem cibum &c. . . . .	83	3 = 21		
Hic spalem cibum &c. quem &c. . . . .	188		7	7
Et dimitte nobis debita nñā &c. . . . .	56	2	2 [? o]	4
Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν κτλ. . . . .	62	2	o [? 2]	
Hoc praecepto significans &c. . . . .	204	7	7	7
Et ne nos inducas &c. . . . .	26	1	1 [? o]	2
Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς κτλ. . . . .	30	1	o [? 1]	
Id est ne nos patiaris &c. . . . .	177	6	6 = 24	6
Sed libera nos a malo . . . . .	16	1	1 [? o]	2
Ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ . . . . .	25	1 = 21	o [? 1]	
Hoc ideo ait quia &c. . . . .	245 (206)	7	7	7
<i>Item annuntiat diaconus ut supra</i> . . . . .	28	1	1	1
State cum disciplina et &c. . . . .	46	2	2	2
Audistis dilectissimi &c. . . . .	367 (319)	11 = 21	11	11 = 115
Of the following . . . . .			2 = 24	

MEMORANDUM.—Scheme 'Bapt.' when incorporated into the document at Redaction V would end on p. 86.<sup>1</sup>

These three corrections, all of them recommended by their probability, give the item the value of four κ pages in the baptisterium which the compiler of V introduced into the document.

<sup>1</sup> A moment's meditation suffices to shew why at Bapt. only one text of the clauses should have been written on the lines of the ruling, the other being superscribed interlineally. Material which at *bapt.* had filled 105 lines, a multiple of 21, was now to be set in a multiple of 24, either 96 or 120. The former was the more simple alternative, because—

The new exposition 'Hic spalem cibum &c. quem' &c. would require 7 lines, as against 3, a nett increment of 4 lines; while automatic reduction, in the 'Id est non quod' &c. and the 'Dñ ñ. namque' &c., would make a saving of 2: but,

The scribe would save 12 lines whether he interlineated the Greek or the Latin text of the eight clauses and whether he wrote 'quotidianum' or 'supersubstantialem' in the Latin of the fifth.

*The Original Scheme of § xxxvi.* But I cannot believe the book which I call 'Bapt.' to have exhibited the first and classic text of the item: because, although my reconstruction—if this be as true to fact as I think it may justly claim to be—resolves itself into three logical groups of either one or two pages each, it allows no room for both Greek and Latin clauses written on the lines of the ruling; and because it requires us to accept the longer and *ex hypothesi* later exposition of the fifth clause, and, with it, St Jerome's 'quotidianum' in the clause itself.<sup>1</sup> But if, on the other hand, while keeping Gerbert's shorter and presumably older text of the 'Dñs et saluator n.' &c., we insist on having on the lines of the ruling both Greek and Latin clauses, as bidden by the bilingual Pater noster on fol. 2 v of Reginensis; and if, as again bidden by this, we adopt 'supersubstantialem', and, with it, the short exposition 'Hic sp̄alem cibum . . . de caelo descendi'; if, I say, we make these few but obvious corrections then 'all is light'. The 105 lines of five γ pages are our total; and of these five pages the first holds the opening address and its attendant rubrics; the second holds the first two clauses of the Prayer and the expositions proper to them; the third holds the next three clauses and their expositions; the fourth holds the sixth and seventh clauses and their expositions; while the fifth completes the Prayer and includes the final exhortation.

The Zürich MS would thus appear to reveal to us the original equipment of the item (*bapt.*); unless, indeed, there had been a yet earlier scheme. But, since in quest of such a scheme I should have to consult the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, a sacramentary not strictly akin to ours, I set in a foot-note what I have to say on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

There would thus be a nett economy of 10 lines, and a nett total of 96.

All this is as clear as noonday: but I insist upon it as I do because we might fatally cripple our efforts to learn the external history of the document if we were to begin by assuming that at the time and in the place represented by Bapt. only Greek, to the exclusion of Latin, or only Latin, to the exclusion of Greek, was the language which children were expected to use in their private devotions.

<sup>1</sup> I observed just now that the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* differs from Reginensis in its rendering of the exegesis 'Hic sp̄alem cibum' &c., and that I suspect that rendering to be the earlier of the two. It may be well to note, further, that *Gallicanum Vetus* in its exegesis, 'Dñ namque' &c., of the second petition, reads 'Sed cum dicimus Veniat [*not* Adueniat] regnum tuum', as indeed does Reginensis; and that in its explanation of the fifth petition, when citing another passage from the N.T., 'Nisi dimiseritis' &c., it reads 'nec uobis pater uester dimittit peccata', not 'nec . . . peccata uestra'.

<sup>2</sup> We have seen that the *Expositio Euangeliorum* in *M. G. V.* (p. 560, n. 2 *supra*) is equivalent to five γ pages; and, assuming its *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, like my reconstruction of the *bapt.* edition of § xxxvi and like p. 2 vo of the Reginensis MS, to have set forth the eight clauses of the Prayer in both a Greek text and

*Section xxxvii.* The sequence of sacramentarial items<sup>1</sup> is resumed at the thirty-seventh section (Mur. i 546). The salient peculiarities of this are the (1) title and (2) subtitle of the item for the day now known as Palm Sunday, and the very long conclusions given to its (3) *Collecta* and (4) *Secreta*.

1. The ceremony of carrying branches of palm in solemn procession on the Sunday before Easter is usually, and perhaps rightly, believed to be of oriental derivation, but it was not observed in Rome, at the comparatively remote dates of *s* and *S*<sub>1</sub>; nor, indeed, is there reason to

a Latin, these being written on the lines of the ruling—but making no other alterations whatever—I find that this in its turn responds to the  $\gamma$  criterion. Thus—

	$\gamma$ lines			$\gamma$ lines	
<i>Incipit praefatio</i> &c. . .	28	*	Brought forward . .	50	
<i>Dñs et saluator</i> &c. . .	497	17	5. <i>Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν</i> κτλ. .	37	2
1. <i>Πάτερ ἡμῶν</i> κτλ. . .	23	1	<i>Panem nrm</i> &c. . .	30	1
<i>Pater n.</i> &c. . .	18	1	<i>Hic spālem cibum</i> &c.	181	7
<i>Haec libertatis</i> &c. . .	277	10	6. <i>Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν</i> κτλ. .	62	2
2. <i>Ἀγισθῆτω</i> κτλ. . .	18	1	<i>Et dimitte nobis</i> &c.	56	2
<i>Sōficetur</i> &c. . .	18	1	<i>Hoc pactum est</i> &c. .	201	7
<i>Non quod dñs</i> &c. . .	146	5	7. <i>Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης</i> κτλ.	30	1
3. <i>Ἐλθέτω</i> κτλ. . .	17	1	<i>Et ne nos inducas</i> &c.	26	1
<i>Adueniat</i> &c. . .	17	1	<i>Id est ne nos</i> &c. . .	180	7
<i>Dñs namque n.</i> &c. . .	150	5	8. <i>Ἀλλὰ ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς</i> κτλ.	25	1
4. <i>Γενηθῆτω</i> κτλ. . .	37	2	<i>Sed libera nos</i> &c. .	16	1
<i>Fiat uoluntas</i> &c. . .	36	2	<i>Hoc ideo ait quia</i> &c.	255	9
<i>Id est in eo</i> &c. . .	87	3 = 50	<i>Patefactum nobis</i> &c.	413	14 = 105 (five $\gamma$ pages).

I believe this to be no predecessor of the *bapt.* of my reconstruction, but an offshoot from it; an offshoot, be it well observed, that took root in some other diocese, possibly some other province, than that in which lay the ancestral home of that baptisterium excerpts from which were used by the second of the cismontane editors. Those of its characteristics which now concern us are—1. That its opening address (497 letters) is slightly shorter than that in the Zürich MS and the *bapt.* of my reconstruction (530 letters), a difference attributable to intentional abbreviation. 2. That the latter part of its exposition of the fifth clause '*Quem cotidianum dicens*' &c.—a part peculiar to itself—contains the startling assertion that the Author of the Prayer would have us interpret '*ἐπιούσιον*' as '*cotidianum*', not, as anciently, '*supersubstantialem*'. 3. That, as if to make this view obligatory, the concluding admonition bids the candidates learn the text of the Prayer just recited to them *nullo mutato sermone*. 4. That it mentions by name two *magistri*, whose duty it is to take care that the injunction be carried out.

The discussion of the second, third, and last of these peculiarities must be reserved to a proper occasion. Meanwhile I make bold to say that the *M. G. V.* exposition of the Lord's Prayer is not in the same line of descent with the exposition in *Reginensis*; and therefore that we cannot say of § xxxvi, as we could of § xxxv, that there may have been two  $\gamma$  redactions of it (see above, p. 557).

Meanwhile, too, let us bear in mind that neither in *M. G. V.* nor in *bapt.* would the *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* have occupied an integral number of  $\gamma$  pages if both the Greek and the Latin texts of the eight successive divisions of the prayer had not been set forth, and set forth, as on fol. 2 vo of the *Reginensis* MS, on the lines of the ruling.

<sup>1</sup> Suspended at § xxviii (see above, p. 544), when the pages at that point traversed in *s* and *S*<sub>2</sub> were 34 and 55 respectively.

assume that it was observed in any part of Gaul early enough to justify us in assigning the title '*Dñica in Palmis*' to either  $S_1$  or V. Our safest course is to restrict it to V', and to assume that, in analogy with the capitula of the next three items—'*Feria ii hebdom. sexta*', &c.—the heading of the Sunday Mass was '*Dñica sexta*' in  $s$ ,  $S_1$ ,  $S_2$ , and V.

2. It is by no means easy to say when the subtitle '*De passione dñi*' was introduced. I incline to think that it cannot have been in  $s$ , but that we must not refuse it to  $S_1$ ; and draw up the next table accordingly, in hope of soon finding more to say on the subject.

3, 4. As to the Collecta of the Sunday item, Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert bid us assume that the text of the two Roman editions was differently worded from that of V, and that, in 194 letters, it ran thus,—  
'Oñp. señp. dñ qui humano generi ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum saluatorem nñm et carnem sumere et crucem subire fecisti' concede nobis propitius ut et patientiae ipsius habere documentum et resurrectionis consortia mereamur. per'.

That the Regimensis text of this prayer is that of the second cismon-tane edition is not to be doubted: and, since the compiler of this has always collocated integral numbers of items in integral numbers of pages after the same system of grouping as that observed by his predecessor, it will be seen from the second of the subjoined tables that he must have but followed that predecessor's lead, not only when he gave the Collecta its present value of 230 letters, but also when he gave the Secreta its extant complement of 162, as against the lower total of 90 which St Gallen and Gerbert assure us<sup>1</sup> had been its value at  $s$  and  $S_1$ ; those two editions subjoining no more than the customary 'per' to its last word, 'inimicos'.

We thus have—

§ xxxvii. Sunday before Easter.

		$s$	$S_1$	$S_2$	V	V'
Brought forward . . . . .			156			115
<i>Dñica sexta</i> . . . . .	10		I	I	*	nil
<i>Dñica in palmis</i> . . . . .	13					I
<i>De passione dñi</i> . . . . .	13	nil		I		I
Oñp. señp. dñ qui humano &c. . . . .	194 <sup>1</sup> , 230 <sup>2</sup>	6 <sup>1</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	9 <sup>2</sup>		8 <sup>2</sup>
Dñ quem diligere et amare &c. . . . .	162	5		6		6
Ipsa maiestati tuae. . . . .	90 <sup>1</sup> , 162 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>2</sup>		6 <sup>2</sup>
Sacro munere satiati . . . . .	118	4		4		4
Purifica quaesumus &c. . . . .	153	nil	nil	6	6	6
Total ( $\beta$ ) for $s$ . . . . .		18				
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_1$ . . . . .			178			
" ( $\theta$ ) " $S_2$ . . . . .				33		
" ( $\kappa$ ) " V . . . . .					31	
" ( $\kappa$ ) " V' . . . . .						147

<sup>1</sup> Rheinau would probably tell the same tale, were it not that an intolerable 'inimicus', in place of 'inimicos', has tempted a scribe to insert 'iñs xps dñs ñ'.

5. In the Postcommunion of Monday's item Reginensis reads 'Sca tua . . . semper renouent', as against the Leonianum (XXVIII xxviii), Rheinau, St Gallen and Gerbert, all of which have 'Sca tua . . . renouent'. Assuming, therefore, that, as in all similar instances, the augmentation was made at either V or V',<sup>1</sup> but with preference for V', we have—

	Monday in 6th week.					Tuesday.				Wednesday.			
	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V	V'	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V V'	s	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	V V'
Brought forward .	18	178	33	31	147								
Capitulum . . .	18	1	1	1		19	1	1	1	18	1	1	1
Collecta . . .	139	5	5	5		79	3	3	3	122	4	5	4
Oratio . . .	111	4	4	4		70	2	3	3	138	5	5	5
Secreta . . .	130	4	5	5		114	4	4	4	106	4	4	4
Postcommunion .	65 <sup>1</sup> , 71 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	2 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>2</sup>	114	4	4	4	108	4	4	4
Ad Populum . .	115	4	4	4		171	6	6	6	138	5	5	5
Of the following .													3
Totals (θ) for s	38	200 (P. 50 ends)				20	21			23			= 81
" (θ) " S <sub>1</sub>										24			= 45
" (θ) " S <sub>2</sub>			55				21	21			24		= 100
" (κ) " V				52					21				(P. 59 ends) = 96
" (κ) " V'				169					21				(P. 90 ends) = 216
													(P. 95 ends)

If, then, I have rightly traced the evolution of our document, we must say that on the Wednesday before Easter the first of the cismon-tane editors—mainly by means of carefully chosen Ad Populum prayers, but also by means of prolonged conclusions to the Collecta and Secreta of the first item of § xxxvii—made ended Mass coincide with ended page; that the κ pagination assured that result to the editor of V, and that the final coadunator attained a like end by means of one line devoted to textual economy, and three lines of connecting rubric: but that the two Roman editions had not been devised with view to that object.

Let us, then, hope to learn whether or not—and, if so, by what means—s and S<sub>1</sub> can have been so devised as that completed item should coincide with completed page on the Thursday before Easter; the last of the *quadraginta ieiunia* of the quinquagesimal *obseruantia*, the last of the *quadraginta dies* of the quadragesimal.

MARTIN RULE.

<sup>1</sup> For at S<sub>1</sub>, which was written on θ pages, it would have made no difference, in terms of lines, to the value of the prayer.

(To be continued.)

## THE WORK OF MENEZES ON THE MALABAR LITURGY.

### II

IN a previous Note in this JOURNAL (April 1914) the Malabar liturgy was shewn by means of a detailed Concordance to be essentially the same as the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari. The only material difference between the two was found to lie (1) in the order of that very subordinate part of the service covered by Section II of the Concordance (embodying the lections, &c., and preceding the Creed<sup>1</sup>), and (2) in the fact that the Malabar text (in its revised form at all events) contains a formula of Institution, whereas 'Addai and Mari' has no Institution.

As the purpose of the former Note was to find out just what the Malabar liturgy was, and its relation to the other liturgies, no direct attempt was there made to deal with the question, how far Archbishop Menezes altered the text of the existing rite and introduced new features into it. The aim of the present paper is to discover, if possible, what exactly it was that Menezes did to the Malabar liturgy, and therefore how far we may be able to get behind his revision of it to the original text.

As stated in the former Note, the documents at our disposal for this purpose are mainly two: (a) the Acts of the Synod of Diamper explaining the alterations to be made; (b) a Latin version of the Malabar Liturgy (first published by Gouvea in 1606, and afterwards re-edited by Raulin in 1745), in which the corrections prescribed by the Synod are incorporated in the text.<sup>2</sup>

The value of the Acts of the Synod for our purpose lies in this: Act V<sup>3</sup> gives us not only a list of the corrections ordered to be introduced into the text of the existing Malabar liturgy of 'the Apostles', but also the original reading in each case. The general method of

<sup>1</sup> See *J.T.S.* April 1914, pp. 396-425.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper 'Liturgy', with a capital, is used exclusively to denote this Latin version of the revised text.

<sup>3</sup> Raulin, following Gouvea, gives two series of decrees under Act V, a fresh numeration of decrees beginning after the first nine. It is with decrees 1 to 3 of the *second* series (commencing on p. 145 of Raulin's book) that this Note will be concerned.

proceeding is as follows: first, the original text is quoted at sufficient length to give the setting of the words or phrases in it to which exception is taken; then the passage is repeated (wholly or in part) in its emended form<sup>1</sup>; and if the doctrinal import of the change is considered not to be self-evident, its force and meaning are briefly explained. Not infrequently also the opening words of the formula in which the correction is to be made are quoted, or some other indication is given of its place in the liturgy, such as 'item, paulo infra'.

## I.

*The Purpose of the Decrees.*

When we read these decrees on the revision of the liturgy, one thing seems evident, namely, that they were not intended to be a mere *record* of the Synod's doings. In quoting the text of the passages to be altered, and in setting forth the emended form of these passages nothing, in all probability, was further from the mind of Menezes and his Synod than any idea of providing material for future generations of liturgists. The purpose of the decrees was something more prosaic: they were designed not as historical records of something already done, but as practical and authoritative directions as to something yet to be done.

To appreciate this duly it is necessary to review briefly the practical situation with which the revisers were confronted. It appears to be supposed in some quarters that the Synod of Diamper ordered *all* the old service-books to be destroyed out of hand,<sup>2</sup> and that herein we have an explanation of the fact that no copy of the old, unexpurgated, liturgy is now to be found. Had this been the case, it is evident that Menezes and his collaborators must have had ready a large stock of new and expurgated copies with which to replace the old ones, or at least must have had in view an immediate possibility of procuring them. Fortunately, from the point of view of the present-day liturgist, this was not so: they neither had any such new books, nor had they any present means of obtaining them. The state of things is clearly exposed in the first of the decrees dealing with the revision:—

'Qua de causa libri omnes Sacrificii Rituales, sive Missales, quippe qui fuerunt ab haereticis Nestorianis depravati in ignem proici debent. Verum cum aliorum copia desit, quibus celebrari possit, quandiu

<sup>1</sup> Even in Gouvea's Portuguese edition of the Acts the pieces of liturgical text, whether original or emended, are quoted in Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Dr A. Fortescue writes in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* (article 'Liturgical Books', 1910): 'The [Malabar] Uniats have books revised (much romanized) by the Synod of Diamper (1599: it ordered all their old books to be burned).'



Dominus noster Papa, quid agere oporteat non decreverit, aut Missalia Chaldaice conscripta, prout instanter, ac humillime Synodus supplicat, non miserit<sup>1</sup>: praecipit Synodus illa<sup>2</sup> expurgari, et quae sequuntur interferri; ceterum ante expurgationem, quam Illūus Metropolitanus [sc. Menezes] in visitatione, simul cum doctis viris, et Chaldaicae linguae peritis, quos ad id deputaverit, perficiet, Sacerdotum nullus iis utatur' (Raulin, p. 145).

A passage to the like effect occurs in Act III decree 15 (Raulin, pp. 106-107) with regard to the Malabar Breviary and other prayer-books:—

'Quos libros omnes, et breviaria, licet digna sint quae igni tradantur . . . ; attamen Synodus emendari praecipit, eo quod in hac Dioecesi alii sacri libri non suppetant, quibus Sacerdotes utantur in celebrandis divinis officiis' (etc.).

The decree goes on to prescribe that these books be purged of certain errors, heretical names, &c., and that special offices in honour of heretical personages be cut out whole, torn up, and burned.<sup>3</sup>

Menezes, then, would have been glad enough to make a clean sweep of the old liturgical books, and to set before his Malabar converts fresh copies, wherein no trace of the expurgated passages would appear to remind them of the treatment to which their traditional formularies had been subjected. But this he could not afford to do: and we can hardly doubt that it is to this circumstance we owe the preservation of the list of original readings and the corresponding list of corrections found in the Acts of the Synod (Raulin, pp. 145-153). If Menezes had had at hand a supply of expurgated copies, such as he hoped might later on be procured from Rome, the Acts of the Synod would, in all likelihood, have contained no record of the changes made: the old books would at once have been destroyed, and the convert Nestorians would have been encouraged by all means to forget the differences between the old and the new.

The purpose, then, of these decrees was to provide an official

<sup>1</sup> This was not done before the year 1774, when the first Roman edition of the Malabar liturgy was printed.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. 'missalia' (the existing Malabar missals).

<sup>3</sup> Decree 14 of Act III gives a long list of works by Nestorian writers which were to be burned. Further, the second decree of Act V (Raulin, p. 153) orders the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius (which we thus learn were current in Malabar as well as among the East-Syrian Nestorians) and one bearing the name of Diodore (known only through the Synod's mention of it and from Abraham Ecchellensis, who professed to have seen a copy of it) to be cut out of the missals and burned. But the fact of importance here is that the missals themselves were not destroyed; and in particular the liturgy of the Apostles was preserved for use in an emended form.

direction as to how the existing copies of liturgical books were to be corrected when, shortly after the Synod, Menezes should make his visitation of the native churches in company with the 'docti viri et Chaldaicae linguae periti' who were to carry out the actual work of expurgation. Viewed in this light, the Acts of the Synod must appear as a document of the first value for the study of the Malabar rite; for, to be effective, they must have embodied *all* the changes determined upon by the revisers.<sup>1</sup> That this was actually the case is, to all intent, explicitly stated in the first of the two passages I have quoted above<sup>2</sup>: 'praecipit Synodus illa expurgari, et quae sequuntur interferri' (Raulin, p. 145). The 'quae sequuntur' are all the corrections which there follow. Can it be maintained with any show of reason that the revisers intended to make other changes, which they did not prescribe?

## 2.

*The Acts of the Synod in relation to Gouvea's text of the Liturgy.*

The passages in which alterations are decreed by the Acts are forty in number. The following table gives references (1) to the pages in Raulin on which the changes are prescribed in the Acts, (2) to the pages on which the changes are found embodied in the revised text of the Liturgy, and (3) to the pages in Brightman on which the corresponding passages occur in the liturgy of Addai and Mari. The numerals on the left-hand side shew the order in which the passages occur in the revised Malabar Liturgy.

<i>Acts of Synod</i> (Raulin).	<i>Text of Liturgy</i> (Raulin).	<i>Addai and Mari</i> (Brightman).
1. p. 147 ll. 1-10	p. 296 ll. 19-20	p. 254 ll. 20-21
2. " " ll. 11-17	" 297 ll. 16-17	" 262 l. 28
3. " " ll. 18-24	" 298 ll. 13-14	" 263 l. 35
4. " " ll. 25-30	" " l. 29	" 264 l. 17
5. " " l. 31-p. 148 l. 4	" 299 ll. 5-7	" " ll. 29-31
6. " 148 ll. 12-16	" 300 ll. 14-15	" 266 l. 9
7. " " ll. 17-24	" 301 ll. 1-2	" 251 l. 37
8. " " ll. 25-28	" " ll. 18-19	" 267 col. 1 ll. 32-33
9. " " ll. 29-34	" " ll. 23-24	" 268 col. 1 ll. 5-6
10. " " ll. 35-38	" 302 ll. 2-3	" " col. 2 l. 4
11. " " ll. 39-41	" 303 l. 1	" " col. 1 ll. 11-12
12. " 149 ll. 1-3	" " l. 3	" " col. 1 l. 15
13. " " ll. 4-7	" " l. 13	" " col. 1 ll. 28-29

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Acts must have contained all instructions necessary to secure the changes desired. There are two cases in which the details of alteration are not *all* specified; but then in these two cases what is prescribed is the simple adoption of the text of the Roman Missal (see p. 578 below).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 570.

<i>Acts of Synod</i> (Raulin).	<i>Text of Liturgy</i> (Raulin).	<i>Addai and Mari</i> (Brightman).
14. p. 149 ll. 8-19	p. 303 ll. 16-17	<i>deest locus</i> <sup>1</sup>
15. „ „ ll. 20-23	„ 304 l. 15	p. 267 l. 4
16. „ „ ll. 24-29	„ 307 l. 26	<i>deest locus</i> <sup>2</sup>
17. „ „ ll. 30-39(cp.p.92)	„ „ l. 30	„ 270 ll. 30 sqq. <sup>3</sup>
18. „ „ ll. 1-21	„ 308 l. 8	„ 271 ll. 39-40
19. „ „ ll. 21-23	„ „ l. 13	„ 272 col. 1 l. 11
20. „ „ ll. 28-38	„ 309 l. 4-p. 310 l. 2	„ 274 l. 25
21. „ „ ll. 24-27	„ 311 l. 11	„ „ l. 32
22. „ „ l. 39-p. 151 l. 3	„ 314 ll. 11-12	cp. p. 286 l. 35
23. „ „ ll. 4-6	„ „ l. 26	„ 287 l. 1
24. „ „ ll. 7-10	„ 315 l. 17	„ 288 l. 2
25. „ „ ll. 11-14	<i>deest locus</i>	<i>deest locus</i>
26. „ „ 146 (whole page)	„ 317 ll. 13-14 and	<i>deest locus</i> <sup>4</sup>
	„ 318 ll. 4-5	
27. „ „ 151 ll. 15-26	„ „ ll. 27-28	<i>deest locus</i> <sup>5</sup>
28. „ „ ll. 27-36	„ 322 ll. 26-27	„ 293 col. 1 ll. 39 sqq.
29. „ „ ll. 37-39	„ 326 l. 5	„ 298 col. 1 l. 27
30. „ „ ll. 40-42	„ 327 l. 23	<i>deest locus</i> <sup>6</sup>
31. „ „ 152 ll. 1-4	„ 328 l. 2	„
32. „ „ ll. 5-10	„ „ ll. 3-5	„
33. „ „ ll. 11-18	„ „ l. 29	„
34. „ „ ll. 19-24	„ 329 ll. 10-11	„
35. „ „ ll. 25-31	„ „ ll. 24-25	„
36. „ „ ll. 32-34	„ „ l. 30	„
37. „ „ ll. 35-39	„ 330 l. 13	„
38. „ „ ll. 40-42	„ „ l. 40	„
39. „ „ 153 ll. 1-5	„ 331 ll. 5-6	„
40. „ „ ll. 6-13	„ 332 l. 25	„

The above table shews (at no. 25) that there is one correction prescribed by the Acts which does not appear in the revised text of the Liturgy. The passage in which this correction is ordered is said in the Acts to come shortly after the Invocation. Having directed

<sup>1</sup> The passage wanting is an additional verse to the anthem beginning Br. p. 267 col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The correction in 'Malabar' is in the text of the Gospel lesson (John v 29). No lessons are inserted in the text of 'Addai and Mari'.

<sup>3</sup> The Creed in full. Only the *incipit* is given by Raulin, though Gouvea gives the whole.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Institution.

<sup>5</sup> The correction in 'Malabar' occurs in one of several additional verses to the anthem found in Br. p. 290 col. 1; it will be discussed later.

<sup>6</sup> All the rest of the corrections occur in the four variable blessings, or 'seals' in 'Malabar'. Brightman has only one 'seal', which is not the same as any of the four in 'Malabar'. The first and third in 'Malabar' are to be found (with a number of others) at the end of the Urmi Syriac edition of the *Takhsa*, or Missal (pp. 153-154 and pp. 162-163).

an alteration<sup>1</sup> to be made in the Invocation prayer, the Acts continue :—

‘Item paulo inferius, ubi dicunt Diaconus, et Clerus : *orando*,<sup>2</sup> *et pro omnibus Patriarchis, Episcopis, et Presbyteris etc.* addatur *et pro Beatissimo Papa nostro N.* eum nominando, *et pro omnibus Patriarchis, et Episcopis*’ (Raulin, p. 151 ll. 11–14).

The formula in which these words occurred, and which was evidently a kind of diaconal litany, does not appear in the Liturgy at all. It is wanting in the East-Syrian text also. It seems probable therefore that this litany occurred in some Malabar manuscripts and not in others : it was found in the copy used by the Synod, but not, apparently, in that on which Gouvea’s Latin was based.

There are also two cases in which the Acts prescribe changes in a different order from that in which the relative passages occur in the text of the Liturgy.

1. The Synod begins its corrections by proceeding at once to the words of Institution.<sup>3</sup> Having dealt with this point, which of course they considered cardinal, all the other corrections are given in the order in which the passages occur in the text of the Liturgy, except only in the following case.

2. If we look at the page and line references to Raulin at nos. 20 and 21 of the above table (the first column), we see that these two corrections are made in the Acts in the reverse order to that in which the relative passages occur in the text of the Liturgy (col. 2). But it will also be seen from the table that the order in the Liturgy (col. 2) is supported by ‘Addai and Mari’ (col. 3). The Synod therefore seems to have accidentally set down these two corrections in their wrong order.

### 3.

#### *The nature of the changes introduced.*

I now pass on to consider the nature of the forty changes ordered by

<sup>1</sup> This consisted merely in reading ‘Christi filii tui’ instead of ‘Christi tui’ (for the passage in ‘Addai and Mari’ see Brightman, p. 288 l. 2). Raulin by error omits ‘tui’ in the piece of original text ; but Gouvea has it.

<sup>2</sup> So Raulin : but ‘orando’ belongs (as appears from Gouvea) to the direction, not to the liturgical text.

<sup>3</sup> As regards the place of the recital of Institution in the service, it may be remarked that the Acts contain quite clear proof that the Synod contemplated the Institution coming just where it is found in the revised text of the Liturgy. See Raulin, pp. 146 (§ cix) and 151 (§ cxviii), where the Synod makes explicit mention of two other formulae as coming just after the Institution. These two formulae are found after the Institution in the Liturgy also, and at the same point in the service (just before the Fraction) at which they occur in the text of the East-Syrian ‘Addai and Mari’.

the Synod. These changes may be considered from two points of view : (a) regarding the formulae in which they occur ; (b) regarding the intrinsic nature of the alterations made.

(a) Of the changes recorded in the table on pp. 572-573 above, six occur in litanies<sup>1</sup> ; seven in hymns or anthems<sup>2</sup> ; four in formulae belonging to the deacon alone<sup>3</sup> ; one in a response of the people<sup>4</sup> ; one in the text of the Gospel lesson<sup>5</sup> ; one affects the whole of the Creed.<sup>6</sup> Of those which occur in prayers said by the priest, five come before the anaphora<sup>7</sup> (*Sursum corda*) ; four within the anaphora<sup>8</sup> ; and eleven in the four variable blessings, or 'seals', at the end of the service.<sup>9</sup>

(b) Fifteen of the changes concern the manner of referring to our Lord.<sup>10</sup> The revisers suspected (or at least guarded against) Nestorianism in simple titles like 'Christ', 'Jesus', 'the Son', and amplified them in various ways ; e.g. in no. 6 they put '*Iesum Christum filium suum Dominum nostrum*' for 'Christum'. Nos. 4 and 11 give to the B. V. Mary the title 'Mother of God' instead of 'Mother of Christ'. The point of nos. 2, 3, 31, 32 may be described as 'Pope *versus* Nestorian Patriarch'. Nos. 7, 8, 9 refuse to allow the bread and wine to be styled by anticipation 'body and blood' at the time of the offertory when they are set on the altar. Nos. 5 and 33 abolish heretical names.

These instances may suffice to indicate the general character of the changes. The import of some of the remainder I fail to catch ; and in some cases the revisers appear scrupulous and suspicious of underlying heresy beyond reason.<sup>11</sup> But this very fact only supports the evidence already adduced for believing that they set down in the Acts of the Synod a direction as to every change they intended to make, however trifling. Another consideration strengthens this conclusion : when we except the recital of Institution and certain formulae of a quite secondary or variable character, which are not found in the Urmi text of 'Addai and Mari', we find that all the other pieces of original text cited by the Synod can be located in Mr Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies* (see table, pp. 572-573 above), where the words and phrases noted for correction duly appear.<sup>12</sup>

Besides the corrections just classified, two are liturgically of some

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 25.    <sup>2</sup> Nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 27.    <sup>3</sup> Nos. 18, 19, 28, 29.

<sup>4</sup> No. 20.    <sup>5</sup> No. 16.    <sup>6</sup> No. 17.    <sup>7</sup> Nos. 1, 7, 10, 15, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 22, 23, 24, 26. Of these the first three are of a trifling description ; the fourth concerns the Institution (of which below).

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 30-40.    <sup>10</sup> Nos. 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 29, 30, 36, 38, 40.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. in their treatment of terms like 'the Son', 'Christ'.

<sup>12</sup> I am not stating that there are no variations of reading in these passages between the Malabar and Urmi texts : but that the offending expression is regularly found in the Urmi text also.

importance and deserve separate mention. No. 17 directs the substitution of the 'Nicene' Creed said in the Roman Mass for that in use among the Nestorians of Malabar.<sup>1</sup> No. 20 orders that instead of the words 'quod tu offers pro te, pro nobis, *et pro toto orbe a minimo usque ad maximum*' there be said 'quod tu offers pro te, pro nobis, *et pro universa Catholica Ecclesia et omnibus Orthodoxis atque Catholicae et Apostolicae Fidei cultoribus*'.<sup>2</sup> Here the words 'et omnibus . . . cultoribus' are taken from the prayer *Te igitur* of the Roman Canon.<sup>3</sup>

There remain two further items of the above table which call for detailed consideration—nos. 26 and 27.

(i) No. 26 is the correction of the Institution. Here we may recall the assertions of Etheridge, Neale, and Howard, quoted in the previous Note. Etheridge declared that Menezes imported into the Malabar liturgy 'a formulary of consecration' that was not there before; Neale and Howard, that an already existing form was removed from its position before the Invocation and placed after it.

Before the Acts of the Synod come to prescribe any specific changes in the Institution they deal briefly with the *verba consecrationis*. As the priest consecrates (they say) not by any words of his own, but by the words of Christ, no additional words, however pious and edifying, are to be admitted. Particular exception, however, is made in favour of the words *enim*, *aeterni*, and *mysterium fidei* of the Roman Canon, since these (they say) are received from apostolic tradition. This being so the Synod adds:—

'Verba igitur illa, quae Missae Syriacae adduntur in Calicis consecratione: *et hoc erit vobis pignus, in saecula saeculorum*; . . . praecipit Synodus in formula consecrationis non proferri' (Raulin, pp. 145–146).

The passage goes on to order that the above clause be not said until the priest has elevated the chalice and genuflected (that is to say, until it is clear that the form of consecration has been completed, and consecration is now over and past). It also orders that the terms of the clause be altered so as to read: '*Hoc erit nobis pignus usque ad con-*

<sup>1</sup> From the indications given by the Acts of Diamper there can be no doubt that the Malabar Creed was identical with that traditional among the East-Syrian Nestorians and used by them in their liturgy and at baptism. On this formula see *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge 'Texts and Studies') pp. lxxi–lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> The formula in which these words occur is the people's response 'Christ hear thy prayers', &c. (Brightman, p. 274 ll. 22–25). Note that Raulin (p. 150 § cxvii l. 5 of the section) has omitted to translate some words, and instead of 'auferantur' we should read: 'auferantur ultima verba' (namely '*et pro toto orbe . . . ad maximum*')—so Gouvea.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from the Creed and the Institution (see below), this is the only passage into which words are introduced from the Roman Missal.

*summationem saeculi*': whereby, of course, the words are given to the priest himself and cease to appear as part of the formula of Institution spoken by Christ.

Before we go further it is necessary to be clear as to the exact meaning of an expression which is used by the Synod in its prelude to this revision of the formula of Institution, and which we shall presently meet with again more than once. It is to be remembered that Menezes, an Augustinian friar, and his chief advisers and coadjutors in the work of revision, the Jesuit fathers of Goa, had passed through what is called the Schools, and were thoroughly imbued with the formal scholastic theology immediately sequent on the Council of Trent. Hence in their mouth the expression *forma consecrationis*, or *verba consecrationis*, has a quite definite and limited application, denoting only those words which constitute the 'form' of the Sacrament, or are effective of the consecration. What these words are, for the Roman rite, is set out in the instructions 'de Defectibus in celebratione Missarum' at the beginning of the Missal, thus <sup>1</sup> :—

'Verba autem consecrationis, quae sunt forma huius Sacramenti, sunt haec, *Hoc est enim corpus meū. Et, Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi & aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis & pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.*'

Thus it is the 'form of consecration' alone, the *verba consecrationis* (so designated in the Roman Missal which they were in the habit of using), that the revisers have in view when they proceed thus :—

'Item in consecratione Calicis, dum dicitur : *novi testamenti, qui pro vobis etc.*,<sup>2</sup> addantur Christi verba : *novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis, et pro multis etc.* Itaque verba consecrationis tam Corporis, quam Sanguinis reformatur, ac in omnibus apponantur Missalibus, iuxta Canonem, quo utitur Ecclesia Romana, et universalis ; ita ut nihil addatur, vel dematur ; nec non eadem adorationes, inclinationes, et ceremoniae fiant, quae in Missali Romano praescribuntur' (Raulin, p. 146).

Here we may notice in the first place that, besides textual alterations, the Synod introduces an elevation, genuflexion, &c., as in the Roman Missal : and in fact it is found that the rubrics in the revised text of the Liturgy prescribing this are taken straight from the Roman Missal.

We must now consider the above passage more in detail. On a comparison of the piece of original Malabar text with the Roman emendation, it is not quite clear whether the words *et pro multis* are to

<sup>1</sup> The copy of the Roman Missal that I here use is one 'Pii V Pont. Max. iussu editum' (C. Plantin, Antwerp, 1573) : *de defectibus*, &c., p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Raulin omits the 'etc.', but it stands in Gouvea's original print.

be regarded as part of the old text. Their absence from the piece of original text quoted—‘dum dicitur: *novi testamenti, qui pro vobis etc.*’—is not conclusive, for more than once in the Acts the emended reading is given with a little more of the original text than is quoted to introduce it.<sup>1</sup> The words may well be covered by the ‘*etc.*’. On the other hand *et aeterni* seems definitely excluded, as part of the old text, by its omission between the words ‘novi’ and ‘testamenti qui pro vobis’: it is also unexpected in an eastern formula.

Are we to understand that the changes specified in the first half of the above passage were all that the Synod intended to introduce into the *verba consecrationis*? The second half of the passage seems obviously to imply some further changes, for, whereas the corrections specified touch only the consecration of the chalice, it goes on to say: ‘*verba consecrationis tam Corporis, quam Sanguinis reformentur*’, and then proceeds to order complete assimilation (of the *verba consecrationis*) to the Roman text.

For help in this matter we must turn to the only other passage of the liturgy in which the Synod expressly prescribes conformity to the Roman Missal, namely the Creed. The reform of the Creed is mentioned twice, once in these decrees on the liturgy (Raulin, p. 149), and once in an earlier part of the Acts (p. 92). In both cases one or two verbal changes are specified, and then follows a clause which covers the whole and orders entire conformity to the Roman Missal. We are thus prepared to find that in the case of the ‘words of consecration’ also, as in that of the Creed, other changes than those specified were covered by the general direction as to conformity with the Missal. Fortunately we are enabled to say with some degree of certainty what those other changes were, and to restore the original text.

When in 1606 Gouvea printed the Latin translation of the revised Malabar Liturgy, he introduced the text by a short Preface in Portuguese. This Preface is translated by Raulin on pp. 291–292 of his book, where we read the following passage as to the Malabar Institution or, more exactly, *forma consecrationis*:—

‘Cumque praeterea tam ipsi Christiani, quam ipsorum Praesules Chaldaei, qui e Babylone illuc mittebantur, summa rerum ignoracione laborarent, eo devenerunt stultitiae, ut quilibet pro suo libito, etiam consecrationis formae aut verba adiceret, aut detraheret. Antistes autem quidam,<sup>2</sup> qui rei Ecclesiasticae, Divinarumque Scripturarum

<sup>1</sup> This can be ascertained by looking up the corresponding passages in the East-Syrian (Urmi) text of ‘Addai and Mari’. In the present case Dr Neale treats the words *et pro multis* as original (see his translation), while Raulin, adhering to the letter of the decree, takes the opposite view (p. 317 note).

<sup>2</sup> Of course a Nestorian bishop.



ampliori prae aliis eruditione pollebat, errores, qui formae consecrationis subreperant, sedulo expunxit, ne de veritate fidei erga Sacramentum dubium ullum suscitari posset; verum insuper consecrationis formam restituit, nonnulla etiam maioris explicationis gratia adiunxit verba, ut errorem, quo illi erant imbuti, nempe quod in Eucharistia figura tantum corporis Christi existeret, procul ab eorum animis propelleret, . . . in forma igitur consecrationis panis, ita disposuit Archiepiscopus ille verba: *Hoc est IN VERITATE Corpus meum*; et in consecratione Calicis haec alia: *Hic est IN VERITATE Calix sanguinis mei, qui pro vobis, et pro multis effundetur, in debitorum propitiationem, et in peccatorum remissionem, et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula saeculorum*, quae quidem forma hactenus<sup>1</sup> obtinuit.

We would gladly know more about this Malabar prelate, and in particular his date. But in reality the question, what expressions he 'sedulously expunged' from the form of consecration, lies outside the scope of the present enquiry, which is concerned only with the text of the Malabar liturgy as it lay before the Portuguese revisers in 1599.

When we compare the formula quoted from Gouvea's Preface with the extract from the old text given by the Synod of Diamper (see p. 577 above), we notice, apart from the words *in veritate*, the following points:—

- (a) Gouvea's formula omits *enim*, about which the Synod is silent;
- (b) it omits *et aeterni*, with the Synod;
- (c) but it also omits *novi testamenti*, which the Synod quotes as part of an original reading 'novi testamenti, qui pro vobis';
- (d) it includes *et pro multis*, which we saw reason for supposing that the Synod also read in the old text;
- (e) it contains the words *in debitorum propitiationem, et in peccatorum remissionem*;
- (f) it supports what the Synod says as to the concluding words, *et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula saeculorum*.

As regards (a): *enim* is found in the text of the revised Liturgy. But I have no doubt that it is correctly omitted in the version of the old text contained in Gouvea's Preface; for though its insertion is not among the changes specified by the Synod, yet it is probably covered by the general direction as to the assimilation of the words of consecration, '*tam Corporis quam Sanguinis*', to the Roman form. But further, in the preliminary statement of the Synod (see p. 576 above) *enim* is declared (with *aeterni* and *mysterium fidei*) to be one of the expressions which the Roman Church rightly includes in the form of consecration on the ground of apostolic tradition; and the defence of these three expressions there appears to me to have been undertaken definitely

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea says, 'for many years past' (*de muytos annos*). The formula itself is given by Gouvea in Latin; Raulin is responsible only for the capitals.

with a view to their insertion in the revised Malabar formula. Finally *enim* is comparatively rare in eastern formulae of Institution.

As to (c): it would appear that either Gouvea or the Synod has made a slip—the former in omitting *novi testamenti*, or the latter in quoting it as part of the old form—and here we are left in doubt. It is possible that the words were present in some copies but absent from others. The other two Nestorian liturgies, ‘Theodore’ and ‘Nestorius’, contain them. It appears to me very unlikely that the Synod could have made a mistake when it actually quoted here the words ‘*novi testamenti, qui pro vobis*’ as the basis of its emended reading.

The double expression in (e), *in debitorum propitiationem, et in peccatorum remissionem*, is certainly genuine. It is to be found in the Invocation prayer of the Malabar and East-Syrian rite, and also in that of Theodore. It occurs also in the Institution in several Jacobite liturgies; but there is no reason to suppose any dependence of the Malabar on such Jacobite formulae, for the expression is a Syriac commonplace.

Having dealt specifically with the *verba consecrationis*, we may now compare the whole of the old Malabar formula of Institution (so far as it is possible to reconstruct it) with that in the Roman Canon.<sup>1</sup> In the first column *italics* are used to distinguish those words which were either omitted from the old form or altered by the revisers. *Italics* in the second column mark those words in the Roman Canon which were introduced into the old Malabar text. All that appears in ordinary type in the first column is taken from the revised Liturgy, which is our only available authority for the greater part of the formula.

*Malabar.*

Dominus noster Iesus Christus  
in illa nocte, qua tradebatur,  
accepit panem hunc sanctum in  
sanctas ac puras manus suas,  
et elevavit oculos suos in caelum,  
  
et gratias egit Deo Patri, omnium  
rerum creatori,

*Roman.*

Qui  
pridie quam pateretur,  
accepit panem in sanctas ac venera-  
biles manus suas,  
et elevatis oculis in caelum ad  
te Deum Patrem suum omnipo-  
tentem,  
tibi gratias agens,

<sup>1</sup> W. Germann, in his *Kirche der Thomaschristen* (1877) pp. 574–575, prints a Latin version of a revised formula of Institution which the French traveller Anquetil du Perron saw in a Missal at Kandanada (close to Diamper, and not far from Cochin) in 1758. The formula is one revised by insertions from the Roman Missal; but as the revision appears to me to be clearly based not on the old Malabar text but on a text of the Syriac ‘St James’ (then in use among the Jacobites of Malabar), it seems unnecessary to give more than a bare reference to it here.

*Malabar.*

et benedixit ac fregit, deditque  
discipulis suis, et dixit :

Accipite et comedite ex hoc pane  
omnes vos.

Hoc est<sup>1</sup> *in veritate*<sup>2</sup> corpus meum.

Similiter postquam coenavit, ac-  
cepit hunc calicem manibus suis  
puris,

et gratias egit,

et benedixit, et dedit discipulis  
suis, dicens :

Accipite et bibite omnes vos ex  
hoc calice,

quotiescumque enim comederitis  
panem hunc, et biberitis<sup>3</sup> calicem,  
mei memoriam recoletis.

Hic est<sup>4</sup> *in veritate* calix sanguinis  
mei,

[novi testamenti,]<sup>5</sup>

qui pro vobis et pro multis<sup>6</sup> effun-  
detur

*in debitorum propitiationem et in*  
peccatorum remissionem ;

*et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula*  
*saeculorum.*<sup>7</sup>

*Roman.*

benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis  
suis, dicens :

Accipite et manducate ex hoc  
omnes.

Hoc est *enim* corpus meum.

Simili modo postquam coenatum  
est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum  
calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles  
manus suas,

item tibi gratias agens,

benedixit, deditque discipulis suis,  
dicens :

Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes.

Hic est *enim* calix sanguinis mei,

*novi et aeterni testamenti, mys-*  
*terium fidei,*

qui pro vobis et pro multis effun-  
detur

in remissionem peccatorum.

Hoc quotiescumque feceritis, in  
mei memoriam facietis.

It was seen earlier in this paper (p. 574, note 3) that the Acts of the Synod and the text of the Liturgy are in agreement as to the position of the Institution in the service. We have now every reason to believe

<sup>1</sup> The revised text of the Liturgy adds 'enim' from the Roman Missal.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gouvea this expression, here and in the words over the chalice, was added by a Malabar bishop to safeguard the doctrine of a real presence (cf. p. 579).

<sup>3</sup> Raulin adds 'hunc', which is not in Gouvea's edition.

<sup>4</sup> The text of the Liturgy has 'enim', from the Roman Missal.

<sup>5</sup> Gouvea's Preface omits, but the Synod quotes as part of the old text. The words must be considered doubtful (see p. 580 above).

<sup>6</sup> On 'et pro multis' see above, pp. 577-578. Gouvea's Preface contains the words.

<sup>7</sup> Altered by the Synod to 'Hoc erit nobis pignus usque ad consummationem saeculi' (see pp. 576, 579 above).

that the form in which the Institution<sup>1</sup> appears in the Liturgy is that intended by the Synod ; so that when we substitute (as has just been done) the old readings recorded by the Synod, and those further ones preserved by Gouvea in his Preface, we have as nearly as may be the actual formula which lay before the revisers. It is hardly necessary to point out that the formula is an eastern one ; but it is worth while to observe that it is not taken from any of the well-known Greek or Syriac liturgies, nor even, so far as I can discover, from any that is known at all. Though simple and unelaborated in comparison with many eastern formulae, it has features that are distinctive. The position of the clause 'quotiescumque enim comederitis', &c., appears to be unique, as is certainly the last sentence, 'et hoc erit vobis pignus', &c.

Whence came this formula into the Malabar liturgy? I can offer only two suggestions: (1) that it was introduced from the liturgy of Diodore, which the Synod ordered to be cut out of the service-books and burned together with the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius ; or (2) that it was proper in Malabar to the liturgy of the Apostles.<sup>2</sup>

But even if the formula were taken from the liturgy of Diodore, I can see no sufficient reason for supposing that it was introduced thence into the Malabar liturgy of the Apostles by Menezes and the Synod of Diamper. The whole purpose and character of the directions in the Acts as to revision (to say nothing of the explicit and contemporary testimony of Gouvea) seem to shew that. The Synod nowhere prescribe the insertion of a formula of Institution *ab extra*, though they must have done so had the formula been wanting ; on the contrary, they speak of it not only as an integral part of the liturgy under revision, but as already occupying a fixed position in that liturgy<sup>3</sup> ; and it is precisely in connexion with the Institution that they speak of preserving the ancient rite 'quantum patitur Fidei sinceritas ac doctrinae puritas'.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, if it had been necessary to supply such a formula, there could be no conceivable object in concealing this fact ; and even had they wished to do so the revisers must have realized the futility of attempting it, for it would have been obvious to them that the Malabar Christians knew perfectly well whether their liturgy of the Apostles had or had not a formula of Institution. Nor is it likely that they would have taken the formula from one of the rites which they had ordered

<sup>1</sup> I here use this term in its widest sense, as covering the whole formula in col. 1 above.

<sup>2</sup> By which I do not suggest that it was 'primitive', or an integral part of that liturgy from the first, but that it was not borrowed from any other liturgy of which we have knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 574, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Raulin, p. 146.

to be cut out of the Missals 'whole and entire'<sup>1</sup> and burned. As in the case of the actual words of consecration and that of the Creed—also of the baptismal formula<sup>2</sup>—the revisers would have felt no sort of scruple or delicacy in taking the whole text of the Institution straight from the Roman rite, had they deemed this necessary, and in saying so plainly.

Similar considerations are, to my mind, conclusive as to the *position* of the Institution in the service. If the revisers had intended to alter its position they would not have hesitated to say so; while they could hardly have *forgotten* to mention so important a change. When the evidence is taken on its merits and prepossessions are laid aside, it must, I think, be set down as an assured conclusion that before Menezes touched the Malabar liturgy of the Apostles it had a formula of Institution *after* the Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

It will be asked: Can we then, on the evidence of the Malabar rite, restore a lost form of Institution to the East-Syrian liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari? Personally, I think it would be very unsafe to draw any such conclusion. No East-Syrian manuscript of 'Addai and Mari' is known which contains a formula of Institution; and the only reliable evidence that this liturgy ever had one must come, if at all, with the discovery of some early manuscript attesting it. Evidence from Malabar in the sixteenth century is too precarious to be set against the testimony of the East-Syrian manuscripts. At present it is safer to suppose that the Malabar Christians, at a date unknown, themselves supplied a form of Institution (influenced thereto by the analogy of their other three liturgies), and that, finding in their liturgy of the Apostles no context in which it could more suitably be inserted, they conceived the idea that it would aptly introduce the rite of Fraction preceding communion—for did it not contain the Gospel account of that first Fraction and Communion, when our Lord 'blessed, *brake*, and gave to His disciples'? The fact that it thus appeared after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which seems to have scandalized some modern liturgists, would probably not trouble people who had no views at all as to the consecratory force of the Institution; and they would see as little harm in placing it after the Invocation as in placing it before.

<sup>1</sup> 'Todas inteiras assi como estão', says Gouvea's Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> In Act IV decree 2 (Raulin, p. 117) we are told that some of the native priests used the form: 'Baptizatus est, et perfectus est, N. in nomine Patris, Amen; in nomine Filii, Amen; in nomine Spiritus Sancti, Amen'; while others used the 'Greek' form: 'Baptizetur servus Christi, in nomine', &c. (as in the other formula). In place of these the Synod commands them to use the form 'quam approbat, et adhibet Sancta Ecclesia Romana', viz.: 'Ego te baptizo', &c. Any shamefacedness in confessing the source of Roman practices, where they are introduced, is not a symptom which can be detected in these Acts.

(ii) The second of the two changes reserved for fuller discussion<sup>1</sup> is no. 27 of the table printed on pp. 572-573. It occurs in a verse of the hymn, or anthem, which in the Malabar Liturgy (Raulin, p. 318) begins 'Ego sum panis', and in 'Addai and Mari' (Brightman, p. 290 col. 1) 'I am the bread'. In 'Malabar' this hymn follows the Institution, and in both 'Malabar' and 'Addai and Mari' it introduces, or perhaps accompanies, the Fraction. The hymn in 'Malabar' contains several additional verses after the last that is found in 'Addai and Mari'; and it is in one of these additional verses that the correction is prescribed by the Synod, and duly appears in the Liturgy. The Synod prescribes as follows:—

'Item in Hymno, qui a Clero, et Diacono alternatim dicitur, post elevationem SS. Sacramenti, in versu ubi dicitur: *Sacerdos quando ad Sanctum Altare ingreditur, manus suas pure protendit in Caelum, et invitat spiritum, qui de superis descendit, et consecrat Corpus, et Sanguinem Christi*: ubi innui videtur, Sacerdotem evocare de Caelo spiritum, qui consecrare debet, . . . legendum est: *manus suas pure protendit in Caelum, et consecrat Corpus, et Sanguinem Christi*, illa omittendo verba: *et invitat spiritum, qui de superis descendit etc.* et illa alia nimirum: *a saeculo, et usque in saeculum* (Raulin, p. 151).'

Notwithstanding the express statement of the Synod that these words occur in a verse of the hymn, Raulin, in a note to the passage (p. 318), seems to think that they actually formed a sort of second Invocation, for he says *inter alia*:—

'Synodus nostra aliquantulum immutavit verba invocationis, ne putarent Christiani illi, Sacerdotem non habere vim consecrandi, sola Christi verba proferendo, atque adeo necessum esse, denuo invocare Spiritum Sanctum, ut quam credebant fieri transmutatio [*sic*] elementorum.'

It is evidently to this note of Raulin's that Howard alludes when he says: 'This [the alteration of the terms of the Invocation "so as to make it refer solely to a fruitful reception of the Eucharist"] was done, as the Roman censors confess, in order to prevent the idea that the words of Christ uttered by the priest are not sufficient by themselves to effect the consecration'.<sup>2</sup> But Raulin makes it plain that he is not referring to the real Invocation at all—which in fact was not touched by the revisers<sup>3</sup>—but only to this verse of the hymn.

Even more remarkable than Raulin's view of this verse, and Howard's treatment of Raulin's note, is the use to which the passage was put by so eminent and alert a scholar as Dr J. M. Neale. It is to be noted

<sup>1</sup> See p. 576 above.

<sup>2</sup> *The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies* p. 40 note.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 586.

that Raulin, in re-editing Gouvea's text of the Malabar Liturgy, aims at distinguishing by the use of *italics* all passages in which alteration was made. But he employs *italics* for the rubrics also. It must have been this that led Dr Neale into the error of supposing that the verse we are dealing with was a misplaced rubric: in any case, in his reconstruction of what he believed to be the proper order of the prayers in the Malabar anaphora, he has extracted this verse from the middle of the hymn to which it belongs and placed it *as a rubric* before the Invocation. But what is stranger still, he gives it in the *expurgated* form in which it appears in the Liturgy,<sup>1</sup> not in the original form quoted by the Synod.

Dr Neale's attempt to restore the order of the prayers in the Malabar anaphora by the help of the liturgy of Theodore has probably done more than anything else to propagate the belief that Menezes and the Synod rearranged these prayers according to their own notions: though, as Dr Neale thought, 'very carelessly, if not *malâ fide*',<sup>2</sup> they omitted to mention this fact. But when it is recognized that the Malabar is the same liturgy as 'Addai and Mari', a comparison of the latter with Dr Neale's reconstruction is enough to shew how entirely mistaken he was, and how misleading is his well-meant effort to restore the original Malabar order on the basis of such a liturgy as that of 'Theodore'.

## 4.

*The Invocation.*

An important, because clearly an early, feature of the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari is its simple form of Invocation. This formula, as Dr Srawley observes, 'recalls that found in the Ethiopic Church Order, in that it contains no prayer for the change of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ'.<sup>3</sup> In this connexion it is of interest to recall G. B. Howard's statement (already quoted), that Menezes altered the terms of the Malabar Invocation 'so as to make it refer solely to a fruitful reception of the Eucharist'.<sup>4</sup> As readers of this paper may be glad to have the texts before them I print here in parallel columns the Invocation of 'Addai and Mari', in Mr Brightman's translation (pp. 287-288), and that of 'Malabar' as it stands in Raulin (p. 315). *Italics* draw attention to textual differences.

<sup>1</sup> Namely thus: '*And the Priest stretcheth forth, purely, his hands to heaven and consecrateth the Body and Blood of Christ*' (*The Liturgies . . . translated*, seventh ed. p. 167).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 165 note.

<sup>3</sup> *The Early History of the Liturgy*, Cambridge 1913, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies* p. 40.

*Addai and Mari.*

And may there come, o my Lord, thine Holy Spirit and rest upon this offering of thy servants *and bless* and sanctify it that it may be to us, o my Lord, for pardon of offences and the remission of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven with all those who have been pleasing *before thee*.

And for all *this* great and marvellous dispensation towards us we will give thee thanks and praise thee without ceasing in thy church redeemed by the precious blood of thy Christ, with unclosed mouths and open faces lifting up praise and honour and confession and worship to thy living and holy and lifegiving name now and ever and world without end.

In view of Howard's estimate of the Malabar formula we may well ask: Did it so much as occur to Menezes and the Synod that the Malabar Invocation presented any claim to be a form of consecration? The question is important in more respects than one; for if it be answered in the negative, it is clear that the revisers could have had no motive for altering the position of the Institution.

In dealing above with the hymn verse, which speaks of the priest as inviting the Holy Spirit to come down and 'consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ', we saw (p. 584) that the Synod excised the words expressive of the consecratory action of the Holy Spirit. Looking at this matter to-day, with our sentiments and the prepossessions of the liturgiologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the point we should be apt to note is that the hymn and verse come *after the Institution*. But this is not a point that engages the interest of the revisers: they pay no attention to it whatever. Menezes and his friends were trained theologians, thoroughly drilled in the Theology of the Schools, and like trained theologians they go straight to the root of the matter. They object solely and absolutely to the insinuation that the consecration takes place through the action of the Holy Ghost, and this in answer to the

*Malabar.*

Veniat ergo, Domine mi, Spiritus tuus Sanctus, et requiescat super oblationem hanc servorum tuorum, et sanctificet eam, ut sit nobis, Domine mi, in debitorum solutionem, et peccatorum remissionem, et in maximam spem resurrectionis ex mortuis, et vitam novam in Regno Caelesti cum omnibus qui placuerunt.

Insuper et pro omni admirabili dispensatione *tua*, quae erga nos facta est, laudemus et glorificemus te, absque cessatione in Ecclesia tua sanguine Christi<sup>1</sup> tui redempta, apertoque ore, ac facie revelata, offerimus<sup>2</sup> *tibi* carmen, et honorem, laudem et adorationem, nomini tuo vivo, sancto, et vivificanti, nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum.

<sup>1</sup> The Synod adds the word 'filii' (Raulin, p. 151). As already noticed (see p. 574, note 1), Raulin is wrong in omitting 'tui' from the piece of original text quoted by the Synod, for it stands in Gouvea's edition.

<sup>2</sup> So Gouvea; Raulin has 'offeremus'.



priest's *prayer*, and not rather by virtue of Christ's words pronounced by the priest. Their words are: 'ubi innui videtur, Sacerdotem evocare de caelo spiritum, qui consecrare debet, quasi id non praestet ipse Sacerdos; cum itaque Sacerdotis sit, vere consecrare, etsi Christi verbis tantum, et non suis', &c.—let the passage be altered. It is the priest himself that consecrates (they say), but by Christ's words, not in virtue of any prayer of his. It seems certain that the revisers would equally have objected to this verse of the hymn had it come before instead of after the Institution; and further, that they did not imagine for a moment that the actual Invocation, which they allowed to stand ('Veniat ergo, Domine mi', &c., as above), embodied the doctrine which they found in the hymn verse. Had they suspected anything of the kind, they would have altered its terms no matter what its position in the service. From the fact that they left it unaltered it may reasonably be inferred that they did not regard it as pretending to any consecratory force, and consequently that they could have had no motive for altering its position relatively to the Institution.

How far developments in the Malabar rite kept pace with those in the East-Syrian liturgy, by means of borrowing, we cannot say. But the fact that the Church of Malabar adopted a number of late formularies (variable prayers, hymns, &c.) from the other Nestorian communities is not in itself sufficient warrant for denying that in the central, the really important, part of its liturgy it maintained a large measure of independence, and thus may be taken as supplying a genuine parallel tradition to that of the East-Syrian Nestorian Church. To state the matter in its lowest possible terms: the identity of the Malabar form of Invocation with the East-Syrian is important at least in this, that it shews *no different* tradition as to the text of this prayer. The Malabar text reproduces the prayer in that simplicity of form which allies it (as Dr Srawley has observed) to the earliest known example of an Invocation for the Holy Spirit in a formal liturgical text—that in the 'Ethiopic Church Order'.

### *Conclusions.*

The results arrived at in this paper and the one that preceded it may be summarized as follows:—

1. The Malabar liturgy is essentially the same as the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari. The differences between the two are—apart from the order in an early part of the service,<sup>1</sup> and the presence in 'Malabar' of a formula of Institution—no more than we might naturally expect in the case of any rite current in two widely distant localities.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Section II of the Concordance given in the previous note. See *J.T.S.* April 1914, pp. 413-420.

2. The Synod of Diamper nowhere interfered with the order of the text under revision ; and consequently Dr Neale's rearrangement of the anaphora on the model of 'Theodore' is wholly inadmissible.

3. All verbal changes made by the Synod are specified in the Acts except in the case of the Creed and the *verba consecrationis* of the Institution ; in these two cases any verbal changes not specified are covered by a general direction as to conformity with the Roman Missal.

4. The Invocation was left unaltered except for the insertion of the word 'filii' after 'Christi'.

5. Already before the revision the formula of Institution stood where it now stands in the prints of Gouvea and Raulin, that is, just before the Fraction.

6. The only passages into which words were introduced from the Roman Missal are the Creed, the 'words of consecration' (as already explained), and a response of the people.<sup>1</sup> To this response were added some words from the Roman prayer *Te igitur*.

7. Consequently it is misleading to say that the Synod of Diamper 'romanized' the Malabar liturgy, or to any appreciable extent 'assimilated' it to the Roman rite: all the changes made were doctrinal in purpose, not liturgical.

8. With the help of the Acts of the Synod of Diamper, of Gouvea's Latin text of the revised Liturgy and his Preface to it, of the Roman Syriac edition of 1774, and finally of the Urmi Syriac text of 'Addai and Mari', it should be possible, by employing critical methods, to reconstruct a considerable part of the Syriac text of the old Malabar rite as it stood in the copy from which the existing Latin translation was made.

My friend Mr Edmund Bishop adds below a few words on the value of the East-Syrian rite for the study of early liturgy, and on the importance of the Malabar tradition as a second witness to its text. It was he who put me in the way to write this and the former Note on the Malabar rite, he himself having some time ago examined the documents and arrived at the more important of the conclusions drawn above.

There is just one remark which it seems worth while to add here at the end. As is well known, the non-Uniat Christians of Malabar have been Jacobites (Monophysites) since about the middle of the seventeenth century. But for the last few years<sup>2</sup> there has been again a Nestorian bishop in Malabar (at Trichur), ordained by the Nestorian

<sup>1</sup> See p. 576 ; and for references to the various texts see no. 20 of the table on p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Fortescue says, since 1907 (*The Lesser Eastern Churches* p. 372).

Catholicus. He has at present a following of some few thousand<sup>1</sup> native Christians. What I wish to point out is this: that if this new Nestorian mission flourishes and continues, we should be careful not to mistake any service-books emanating from it for the true Malabar books, or to regard them as affording any fresh evidence for the liturgy of the old Malabar Nestorians. The books used by the present Malabar Nestorians are, I understand, those of their so-called 'Assyrian' co-religionists in Persia and Turkey in Asia, i.e. the 'East-Syrian' books.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

#### ADDITION BY E. B.

Now that the writer has drawn his conclusions from his detailed enquiry, it may be in place to add a few words as to its use and value, and deal with the thing that matters. In the liturgy of Addai and Mari we have the representative of the earliest and native liturgical forms of the East-Syrian Church, a Church with a spirit and a developement independent of the Greek-speaking Churches or the Latin-speaking Churches, but as Christian witness standing on the same ground of value and importance as the other two. So far as the liturgy and its early history and developement, say of the first four centuries, are concerned, we have hitherto been subject to one great difficulty, and liturgists have lain under one great disability: we have had two candidates for notice or favour, the Greek and the Latin, which last may for practical purposes be called the Roman. And so Greeks and Romans have in the liturgical cockpit been matched against each other; and partisans have had full opportunity for the indulgence of their prepossessions or prejudices without much expectation of seeing the contest brought to an end, or at least of seeing the best of the fun over.

But now a third candidate is knocking loudly at the gate, who deserves all the attention which has so long been withheld, an attention as full and minute as any that has been given to the Greek and Latin Churches. This is the East-Syrian Church, in regard to which, however, we are already certain of one thing: that it has characteristics and

<sup>1</sup> Dr Fortescue (*loc. cit.*) gives the number as about 8,000. Mr H. W. Codrington, writing from Ceylon, has quite recently sent me a letter from a priest at Kottayam (Travancore) in which the writer states that this Nestorian body has of late dwindled considerably, and now numbers from 4,000 to 6,000 persons, under a 'Persian' bishop named Abimelik. *The Guardian* of October 7, 1908, publishes a letter from a correspondent at Delhi in which the writer, Mr C. F. Andrews, gives an extract from a letter written to him by a Nonconformist missionary who had recently visited Malabar. The extract briefly describes an interview with the new Nestorian 'Metropolitan' at Trichur; he was, it says, 'educated in the Anglican Seminary at Urmi in Persia'. This is evidently Bishop Abimelik, just mentioned.

a spirit of its own worthy to the full of as much consideration as has hitherto been given to the other two.

Such characteristics manifest themselves in this Church, as in the others, in a sort of contradictory fashion—novelties, innovations, in some directions; conservatism, holding fast to the inherited, in others; and possibly a certain amount of unreason in both directions. There is no need here even so much as to mention any matter in which the East-Syrian Church led the way into new things. Comparatively slight as has been as yet detailed investigation of the early history of the rites, practices, religious observances and piety—whether of a doctrinal or emotional type—of the East-Syrian Church, enough has been done already to make it clear that all these are worthy of most careful enquiry in detail, as shewing that this Church in much affords a contrast to the revolutionary spirit and methods of the Greek Churches that were its next neighbours, separating it from the Latin. I cannot do better here than adopt the words of a man who is perhaps at once the most acute, brilliant, and powerful of the younger German investigators into the early history of the Christian Churches. The particular subject-matter of his enquiry does not concern us here; but he has occasion, in dealing with certain matters of detail, to point out more than once how he finds among these far Eastern Christians what he finds also existing in the West: ‘Among the Latins this institution is known’, he says, ‘but it is the same case with the Edessene Church.’ And again in another matter: ‘This’, he says, ‘is the case in the Western Church and in the Edessene.’ Such observations lead him to make this general remark: ‘Both Churches agree in this matter, not because they have mutually influenced each other, but because both of them, in contrast with many Greek communities, preserved what was ancient’. And then further he comes to speak of these Greek Churches themselves, what they were, and what was their ecclesiastical course in the fourth century: it was a ‘revolution’, he says, and that ‘in their inner nature’. This writer has not pursued the subject of liturgy; but it is in the particular field of specifically liturgical developement that his words will be found, as I believe, to have their verification, in this sense: of a conservatism in the Edessene and Latin Churches, a holding fast to the inherited, as contrasted with the ‘making of all things new’ to be found in the contemporary Greek Churches. It is precisely for want of such sort of help as a knowledge of the East-Syrian liturgy would afford that have been due, in the last century, those ideas as to ‘primitive liturgy’ which have prevailed in England, and made their appearance less than half a century ago in Germany. For whilst the liturgy of Addai and Mari, the normal liturgy of the East-Syrian Church, is quite eastern in character, it is conservative of its ancient form and spirit, and will

well enable us, thanks to the preservation (with other documents) of the liturgy of the Ethiopic Church Order, to get behind the existing Greek liturgies and to measure the wide distance that separates these last—in what is most important in their contents—from the primitive types.

At the risk of seeming importunate and saying the same thing over and over again, I repeat here that if the highly complex problem of early liturgy in its various forms and its varying local developments is to be presented and explained in a rational and intelligible manner, this end can only be achieved by steady perseverance in the preliminary work of accurate investigation of definite points of detail, or some clearly circumscribed subject-matter. The foregoing investigation of the Malabar rite is a case of this kind.

I may be allowed here to apply to the case of liturgical study words in a letter of the late Lord Acton (Letter xxvi, which, taken as a whole, I may say in passing embodies my 'scientific' *credo*): 'The Germans have a word, *quellenmässig* = *ex ipsissimis fontibus*, and another, *Wissenschaftlichkeit*, which is nearly equivalent to the Platonic *ἐπιστήμη* as opposed to *αἴσθησις*, *δόξα*, *μνήμη*, &c. When a book of . . . history or any other science is destitute of these essential qualities, it belongs to a wholly different category, and, however meritorious it is in its proper sphere, is not treated or spoken of seriously. I might have Gibbon or Grote by heart, I should yet have no real, original, scientific knowledge of Roman or Grecian history, though I might make a great show of it and eclipse a better scholar' (*Lord Acton and his Circle* pp. 55-56).

It is easy to see the application of this remark to the subject of liturgy; it does not suffice to have at one's fingers' ends the works of any number of writers on liturgy, even the most recent: what is to be desired and aimed at is personal knowledge and exercise in judgement—*recta sapere*, 'to have a right judgement in all things'. For this many must co-operate, but all by the same method. Moreover, as regards a detailed study of a specific point (and the study of early liturgy supplies an extraordinary range of possibilities), nothing is more proper to enable a writer himself to test the quality of his own work, to say nothing of the fact that it also enables other people, accustomed to investigations in other departments of learning, to recognize what is the quality of such a writer. If an advance is to be made in solving the problems attaching to early liturgy and its development, it is to the younger generation of men that we must look, and they may be trusted in the long run to correct the now rooted error of the liturgists of the Tractarian movement in taking the Greek liturgical developments of the fourth century for what was primitive.

Of course there are many things to be done, and there are not a few helps that should be put in the hands of the younger generation—helps

that are their due, and are also, as I think, overdue. A help of this kind—a piece of common work—has now for some time been in project between myself and Dom Connolly; in fact it has already been drafted, and some progress has been made in settling its text. This is a tabular statement shewing the body of ancient texts of the kernel of the eucharistic prayer. Only those who have had experience in comparative work on the liturgical texts can duly realize the extraordinary number and minuteness of the points that have to be held simultaneously in view, kept as it were contemporaneously present to the mind, if a writer on these subjects would avoid actually misleading the readers to whom he only wishes to bring light and offer help. Those who are new to the study may at present well be excused for thinking it a hopeless tangle, and turning away from it in despair of understanding a subject which, however, should be of the deepest interest to all Christians. In my belief such a tabular statement and conspectus as is described above would do more than the most elaborate and carefully conceived dissertation to enable the young student (and, I am apt to think, also not a few students who are no longer young) to realize, even to understand, at the cost of only a certain amount of patience and intelligence, what in fact and in detail was the course of development of the eucharistic service just in those things that matter most.

And now a word as to the precise value, in regard to the normal liturgy of the East-Syrian Church, of the results arrived at through Dom Connolly's enquiry into the Malabar rite. We have two documents: (1) the liturgy found by Menezes in use among the Malabar Christians of southern India at the end of the sixteenth century. He altered this liturgy to make it according to his mind and the mind of his advisers, prominent among whom were the Jesuits of Goa; and in the Acts of his Synod he has left a detailed record of the changes he made in the traditional text. That is one factor. The other is this: (2) very late in the day, at the end of the nineteenth century, the members of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians give us, for the use of these 'Assyrian' priests, the Syriac text of the liturgy of Addai and Mari, in use amongst these people on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. It may be mentioned, by the way, that the manuscripts used by the Archbishop's missionaries seem to have been all quite late—none of them as old as the time of Menezes. This is a statement which admits of easy correction if it be mistaken; nor is the matter of any essential importance for my purpose here—though of course the later the manuscripts the more remarkable the phenomenon, which is simply this: after having rendered to ourselves an account of the precise changes which Menezes says he made in the text of the Malabar liturgy which he found in use in southern India, and

then turning to a translation of the liturgy of Addai and Mari, which the Archbishop's missionaries found in use at the end of the nineteenth century among the poor Nestorian Christians just south of the Caspian Sea, we find this (and any one who has access to a Raulin, and to Mr Brightman's *Liturgies* vol. i, can test the matter for himself): that of the liturgy proper, apart from certain blessings and similar variable matter, the Urmi text shews throughout the readings which Menezes tells us he found in the Malabar text he corrected. Needless to say the rest of the text is concordant.

If, as *l'envoi*, we may come to the personal question, in which poor Menezes has suffered severely at the hands of the liturgists (who, it may safely be said, never themselves took the trouble really to examine the case), surely the time has come to recognize that the character of this man for truthfulness and honesty is 'good and fair'. And with this attempt to get an extension of the mantle of charity to Aleixo de Menezes, I close.

EDMUND BISHOP.

## ST GAUDENTIUS OF BRESCIA AND THE *TOME* OF ST LEO.

AMONG the works of St Gaudentius of Brescia, the friend and contemporary of St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, and Rufinus, is a letter addressed to a certain Paul the deacon, whom Gaudentius addresses as 'Paule frater, carnis ac spiritus germanitate charissime'. It is uncertain who this Paul was, but possibly we may identify him with 'Paul the deacon of the holy Aemilius', who shared Gaudentius's imprisonment in the fortress of Athyra (Palladius *Dial.* iv).<sup>1</sup> Be this as it may for the moment, the interest of this letter lies in the fact that there is clearly some literary connexion between it and the *Tome* of St Leo.

When the following passages of the two documents are placed side by side, the parallels are very striking.

<sup>1</sup> The report of the Italian bishops incorporated by Palladius in the *Dialogue* is quite possibly the work of Gaudentius: cf. Amédée Thierry *Jean Chrysostome* p. 490.

## St Gaudentius

*Nativitas carnis* hominem monstrat : Deum probat inusitatus *Virginis partus*.

Angustum praesepe *cunabulum* humanam signat *infantiam* : sed *angelorum voces* Deum pastoribus annuntiant esse qui natus est.

Deinde *Herodes* persequitur parvulum : sed stellae obsequentis fulgor magnum declarat Deum ; quem legati . . . *magi suppliciter adorantes* honorificentiam deferebant.

*Ad baptismum Ioannis* quasi homo peccator accedit ; sed et ibi statim naturae divinae proprietatem *vox Patris* eius e *coelo intonat* dicens : HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS, IN QUO BENE COMPLACUI. *Ut ad hominem diabolus tentator* accedit : sed triumphato diabolo statim succedunt Christo tamquam *Deo* servientium ministeria *angelorum*.

*Esurire, sitire*, fatigari, *dormire*, hominis est : sed *quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiare*, Dei est. *Et largiri aquam vivam*, cuius unus haustus bibenti praestet ne ultra iam sitiatur . . . non nisi Dei est.

Et qui labore terreni itineris conficitur velut homo, rursus idem super aquas ambulat quasi Deus. Ipse maiestatis suae virtute sulvectus, *ambulabat super* terga aequoris, nec *plantas* gradientis tumens unda tangebatur. Nam tumentes *fluctus* verbo compescuit, statimque siluit *inreolata tempestas*. Ea igitur ratione ipse qui ex persona Dei *dixerat* : EGO ET PATER

## St Leo

*Nativitas carnis* manifestatio est humanae naturae : *partus Virginis* divinae est virtutis indicium.

*Infantia* parvuli ostenditur humilitate *cunarum* : magnitudo altissimi declaratur *vocibus angelorum*.

Similis est rudimentis hominum quem *Herodes* impie molitur occidere ; sed Dominus est omnium quem *magi* gaudent *suppliciter adorare*.

Iam cum *ad* praecursoris sui *Ioannis baptismum* venit, ne lateret quod carnis velamine *divinitas* tegetetur, *vox Patris* de *coelo intonans* dixit : HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS, IN QUO MIHI BENE COMPLACUI. Quem itaque sicut *hominem diabolica tentat* astutia, eidem sicut *Deo angelica* famulantur officia.

*Esurire, sitire*, lassescere, atque *dormire*, evidenter humanum est. Sed *quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiare*, et *largiri Samaritanae aquam vivam*, cuius haustus bibenti praestet ne ultra iam sitiatur (divinum est).

*Supra* dorsum maris *plantis* non desidentibus *ambulare* [et] *elationes fluctuum, increpata tempestate* consternere, sine ambiguitate divinum est.

Ita non eiusdem naturae est dicere : EGO ET PATER UNUM



## St Gaudentius

UNUM SUMUS; ex persona suscepti hominis *dicit*: QUIA PATER MAIOR ME EST.

(Resurgens) in ea videtur quae passus *fuera*t compositione membrorum, et *ad* apostolos intra unum domicilium congregatos *ianuis clausis* ingreditur.

Nam IN PRINCIPIO APUD Patrem Filius *Deus* ERAT VERBUM: sed *homo* a Filio assumptus promoveitur in Deum.

## St Leo

SUMUS, et dicere: PATER MAIOR ME EST.

Post resurrectionem vero Domini (quae utique veri corporis fuit, quia non alter est resuscitatus quam qui *fuera*t crucifixus et mortuus) *clausis ad* discipulos *ianuis* introibat.

*Deus* per id quod IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM, ET VERBUM ERAT APUD DEUM, ET DEUS ERAT VERBUM: *homo* per id quod VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST.

In view of Gaudentius's own statements in the *Praefatio ad Benivolum* about the manner in which his sermons were taken down by *notarii*, and preserved, against his own desire—statements which are fully supported by Rufinus in his *Praef. ad vers. Rec. Clem.*—it does not seem extravagant to suppose that St Leo had this epistle of Gaudentius before him when he wrote his own letter to Flavian.

With regard to the alternative hypothesis that both Gaudentius and Leo made independent use of some other document, the following passages from Gaudentius are worth noting:—

(a) Dum tempestate maris periclitantibus ipse, super aquas ambulans, securus tranquillator adventat (*Serm. viii*).

(b) Quam vocem Dei Patris circumstantium Iudaeorum turba audiens, de excelsis coelorum sedibus resultantem, tonitrum putat (*Serm. viii*).

(c) Ipse dirupit petram, et fluxerunt aquae tot millibus hominum setientibus in deserto (*Serm. x*).

(d) Iam Samaritanae illius mulieris vitia occulta prodiderat, et confessam spirituali fonte mundaverat: iam paralytici membra per triginta et octo annos emortua unius vocis praecepto curaverat, vel potius reformaverat. Iam quinque millium hominum famem quinque panibus hordeaceis et duobus piscibus satiaverat, maiore miraculo convivium solvens. Amplior enim cibi appositi quantitate reliquiarum cumulus invenitur, tot populorum famelicis cohortibus satiatis. Iam mare pedibus ambulaverat, ita ut plantas gradientis tumens unda non tangeret (*Serm. xi*).

That there is a general likeness between these four passages, and those parallel with the *Tome*, is quite obvious. Here, however, there is

no reason for supposing Gaudentius to be even carelessly quoting from another author. For this reason these passages may be regarded as supporting the supposition that St Leo had read Gaudentius.

There is also a parallel between the letter of Gaudentius to Paul and a passage in the works of Niceta of Remesiana (*De Symbolo* iv) viz. :—

(a) Manducans ut homo, et pascens quinque milia hominum quinque panibus quasi Deus. Sitiens ut homo, et aquam vitae tribuens quasi Deus. Dormiens ut homo in navi, sed ventis et mari imperans quasi Deus. (b) Manus cruci affigens velut homo, sed paradisum confitenti se latroni tribuens quasi Deus.<sup>1</sup>

The passage of Gaudentius parallel with (b) is: 'Quod pendens in cruce latroni confitenti paradisum donat.' To this resemblance may be added the general likeness between the passage of Gaudentius quoted above and (a). 'It seems to me', writes Dr Burn (p. 42), 'exceptionally difficult in this case to prove that there was any literary dependence of one on the other.' But there are other parallels between Gaudentius and works attributed to Niceta,<sup>2</sup> and the cumulative effect of all these parallels is to suggest literary connexion.

The parallels are these :—

St Gaudentius *Serm.* x.

*Primum diem* saeculi esse *Dominicum diem*, dies sabbati septimus probat, in quo *requievisse* perhibetur Deus, *dicente Scriptura*: ET BENEDIXIT DEUS DIEM SEPTIMUM &c.

St Niceta *de Pascha* iv.

*Diem autem dominicam primam diem esse* dubitare non possumus, quia *dicit scriptura* sex diebus factum esse mundum et *septima die requievisse*.

There is also a curious likeness between the application of Ps. xxix 10 (Vulg.) to the Atonement in Gaudentius *Serm.* xii 311, and that in Niceta *De Lapsu Virginis* 50.

Niceta is known to have visited Italy during Gaudentius's episcopate at Brescia, and there seems no reason to reject the probability that he had read one of the (apparently) numerous collections of the bishop's works like that made by Benivolus. But it is clear that, whatever may be the case as between Gaudentius and Niceta, there can be no doubt as to the literary connexion between Gaudentius and St Leo.

C. R. NORCOCK.

<sup>1</sup> A doubt has been raised as to the genuineness of clause (b); but Dr Burn (*Niceta of Remesiana*, Cambridge 1905, p. 42) supposes it to have fallen out of some MSS through *homoeoteleuton*.

<sup>2</sup> Both the *de Pascha* and the *de Lapsu Virginis* are placed by Dr Burn among the *opera dubia* of Niceta.

## ST LUKE AND THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA: TWO PARALLELS.

DR CHARLES'S monumental edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseud-epigrapha* has provided the student of the New Testament with a vast storehouse of material with which to illustrate his subject. The following is an attempt to point out two striking parallels to the Lukan writings in the Pseudepigrapha, which are not noted in the Oxford edition.

The first is in the ascension of Enoch as told in the Slavonic Enoch (called 2 Enoch by Dr Charles), where certain phrases recall the modifications made by Luke in the Markan narrative of the Crucifixion. For completeness' sake the context is also given. The peculiar Lukan additions to Mark are printed in thick type. The Greek text is Westcott and Hort.

### 2 Enoch (Charles's translation) recension A

lxvii 1. When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men standing and talking with Enoch,

2. and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord is ; and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth and light came again.

3. And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll on which was traced : 'the invisible God', and all went to their homes.

lxviii 1. Enoch . . . was taken up to heaven

### Luke

xxiii 44. καὶ ἦν ἡδὴ ὥσεὶ ὥρα ἔκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑνάτης τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος,

47. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης τὸ γινόμενον ἐδόξαζεν τὸν θεόν . . .

48. καὶ πάντες οἱ συνπαρ-  
γενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν  
ταύτην, θεωρήσαντες τὰ γενόμενα,  
τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον.

xxiv 51. [καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν]

5. Methosalam and his brethren,  
all the sons of Enoch, . . .

6. . . . summoned all people . . .

7. . . . and they made a great  
feast, rejoicing and making merry  
three days, praising God, who had  
given them such a sign through  
Enoch, who had found favour with  
him, and that they should hand it  
on to their sons from generation  
to generation, from age to age.  
Amen.

52. καὶ αὐτοὶ [προσκυνήσαντες  
αὐτὸν] ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ  
μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης, καὶ ἦσαν διὰ  
παντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν  
θεόν.

Dr. Charles ascribes the composition of the book to A.D. 1-50 (*op. cit.* ii 429). If the resemblances just pointed out are more than coincidence, one is tempted to suppose that an original narrative of the ascension of Enoch has been recast by a Christian scribe.

The second parallel is between the prison stories in Acts xvi and the Testament of Joseph. The story in Acts presents certain difficulties, which are summed up in a concise note in Wendt's commentary (1913). Various explanations have been given. (i) The supposed difficulties are due to Luke's minute knowledge of the internal arrangements of Oriental prisons. (ii) The *vv.* 25-34 are a later insertion, and consistency in the narrative is therefore hardly to be expected (Wendt). (iii) The problem is a literary one. The writer—either Luke, writing up many years later a situation at which he was not present, or a redactor—used traditional material. The champions of this view have differed widely in their suggestions of possible sources. Dr Selwyn's reference to Josh. vi 20 is surely impossible ('The shattering of the wall of Jericho, which fell down flat, is fulfilled in the earthquake at Philippi', *St Luke the Prophet* p. 49). The attempts to find points of contact with the *Bacchae* of Euripides or the *Toxaris* of Lucian are almost equally hopeless. Reitzenstein supposes that the resemblances between Acts xvi and a similar story in the Acts of Thomas are best explained by assuming that both are modelled on the same earlier story; however, he confesses that for a long while he believed that the Acts of Thomas imitated this passage of the canonical Acts (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* p. 121). But the passage in the Testament of Joseph is a closer parallel than any adduced so far.<sup>1</sup> Let us place the two passages in parallel columns, marking the words and phrases common to both by different type.

<sup>1</sup> Preuschen in his commentary on Acts xvi 25 refers to it, but does not seem to have worked out the comparison in detail.

## Acts xvi

23. πολλὰς δὲ ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς  
πληγὰς ἔβαλον εἰς φυλακὴν, παρα-  
γείλαντες τῷ δεσμοφύλακι ἀσφαλῶς  
τηρεῖν αὐτούς·

24. ὃς παραγγελίαν τοιαύτην  
λαβὼν ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν  
φυλακὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἡσφαλίσατο  
αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ξύλον.

25. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον  
Παῦλος καὶ Σίλας προσευχόμενοι  
ἤμουν τὸν θεόν, ἐπηκροῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν  
οἱ δέσμιοι.

## Testament of Joseph viii

4. καὶ ἔλθων ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἔβαλέ  
με εἰς φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ οἴκῳ καὶ  
τῇ ἐξῆς μαστιγώσας ἐξέπεμψέ με εἰς  
τὴν τοῦ Φαραὼ εἰρκτήν.

5. καὶ ὡς ἤμην ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς,  
ἡ Αἰγυπτία συνέχετο ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης.

α

β

ἐλθοῦσα δὲ ἐπ- καὶ ἐπηκροᾷτό  
ηκροᾷτό μου πῶς μου πῶς ἤμουν  
ἡγαρίστον τῷ Κύριον ἐν οἴκῳ  
Κυρίου καὶ ἤμουν σκοτούς καὶ ἐν  
ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ σκό- ἰλαρᾶ φωνῇ  
τους καὶ ἔχαιρον χαίρων ἐδόξαζον  
ἐν ἰλαρᾶ φωνῇ τὸν θεὸν μόνον  
δοξάζων τὸν θεόν ὅτι διὰ προφάσεως  
μου, ὅτι διὰ προ- ἀπηλλάγην τῆς  
φάσεως ἀπηλ- Αἰγυπτίας.  
λάγην τῆς Αἰγυ-  
πτίας.

ii 3. τοῦ δεσμοφύλακος

ix 4. ἤκουσε τῆς φωνῆς μου  
προσευχομένου.

Besides the similarities of language shewn above the following points should be noted:—

(i) The two narratives have in common a beating, *two* castings into prison, and the mention of bonds.

(ii) δεσμοφύλαξ and ἐπακροᾶσθαι are not found in the Greek Bible outside this passage of Acts, though ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ occurs in Gen. xxxix.

(iii) In Acts xvi 34 we find Paul and Silas in 'the house', and in the following verses back again in the prison. In *Test. Jos.* viii 4 the first prison is in the house.

As the Testaments have left traces in other parts of the New Testament, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the author of Acts xvi, whether consciously or unconsciously, has also been influenced by them.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

# ON THE READING OF THE OLD LATIN *CODEx* *VERONENSIS* (*b*) IN LUKE i 34-38.

I VENTURE to suggest the following explanation of the reading of *b* in this passage; it has been suggested by a study of Professor Clark's *Primitive Text of the Gospels*.

I first print the columns containing the verses from Mr Buchanan's careful edition<sup>1</sup> :—

<sup>32</sup> hic erit m[ag nus et fili[us altissimi uo cabitur et da bit illi dñs. dñs. sedem dauid patris eius <sup>33</sup> et regnabit in do mo iacob in aeternum et regni eius no <sup>-</sup> erit finis.	<sup>35</sup> Et r]espondens an]gelus dixit illi sp̃s. sanctus superueniet te et uirtus altissimi obu <sup>-</sup> brauit te ideo que quod nas cetur sanctus uocabitur fi lius dñi.	quae uocaba tur sterilis <sup>37</sup> quia non est impossibile dñ. omne uer bum. <sup>38</sup> et disces sit ab illa an gelus.
<sup>34</sup> Dixit autem ma ria. ecce ancil la dñi. conti <sup>-</sup> gat mihi secu <sup>-</sup> dum uerbu <sup>-</sup> tuum.	<sup>36</sup> Et ecce elisa bel cognata tua et ipsa co <sup>-</sup> cepit filium in senecta sua et hic mensis est sextus illi	<sup>39</sup> Exurgens au tem maria in diebus illis abiit in mon tana cum fes tinatione in ciuitate iude ae <sup>40</sup> et intrauit in domum zachariae

Attention has often been drawn to the fact that *b* omits *v.* 34 ('Dixit autem maria ad angelum quomodo fiet istud quoniam uirum non cognosco'), and has in its place the first part of *v.* 38; and it has been suggested by some critics that this was the original form of the Old Latin version, which did not contain any reference to the Virgin Birth of our Lord.

It has long seemed to me that this explanation is improbable, as the words of the angel in *v.* 35 are hardly intelligible except as the answer to an objection or question on the part of the Blessed Virgin. It is more likely that the text of *b* was altered from the fuller account; and in that case the alteration must have been either deliberate or through some scribal error. Against the theory of deliberate alteration it may

<sup>1</sup> *Old Latin Biblical Texts* vi p. 108 (Oxford 1911).

be urged that there is no particular reason why a scribe should have wanted to make the change, or should have made it so clumsily. An unconscious scribal error remains the most probable explanation; and as *b* omits *v.* 20 in Luke xxii (this time in company with *e*), and again accompanies the omission with an inversion of order (placing *v.* 19 before 17, 18), it looks as if the same palaeographical phenomenon might account for the two variations.

Professor Clark (pp. 77, 78) attacks the textual problem of Luke xxii 17-22 and comes to the conclusion that the readings of D<sup>1</sup> L<sup>1</sup> S are due to the omission of a whole column in the MS from which they were copied. Without binding myself to the acceptance of this conclusion, I tried to see whether some similar palaeographical cause, especially the *saut du même au même*, might not account for the *b* text of i 34-38. Both 34 and 38 begin with the same words ('Dixit autem maria'), and nothing is therefore more likely than that the scribe's eye should have wandered from the first to the second of these, provided they occupied the same line in neighbouring columns. I found almost at once that a *fifteen-line column* would bring the words into line, one column intervening; if the ancestor of *b*, then, was written in double columns of that length, there would be four columns on an open page and the scribe might easily skip from the first to the third, or from the second to the fourth.

I now print the full text in such columns. If the Gospel began, as is probable, on a left-hand page in the MS, with two columns of 15 lines to a page, the first open page (*a* verso and *b* recto) would contain verses 1-8; *b* verso and *c* recto, 8-17; *c* verso and *d* recto, 17-23; *d* verso and *e* recto, 24-32; *e* verso and *f* recto would then give us the following columns:—

1	patris eius <sup>33</sup> et	superueniet	quae uocaba	tem maria
2	regnabit in do	te et uirtus	tur sterilis	in diebus illis
3	mo iacob in	altissimi obu-	<sup>37</sup> quia non est	abiit in mon
4	aeternum et	brauit te ideo	impossibile	tana cum fes
5	regni eius no-	que quod nas	do. omne uer	tinatione in
6	erit finis.	cetur sanctus	bum.	ciuitate iude
7	<sup>34</sup> Dixit autem ma	uocabitur fi	<sup>38</sup> Dixit autem ma	ae <sup>40</sup> et intrauit
8	ria ad angelu-	lius di.	ria. ecce ancil	in domum
9	quomodo fiet	<sup>36</sup> Et ecce elisa	la dñi. conti-	zachariae
10	istud quoniam	bel cognata	gat mihi secu-	et salutabit
11	uirum non cog	tua et ipsa co-	dum uerbu-	elisabel
12	nosco.	cepit filium	tuum et disces	<sup>41</sup> Et factum est
13	<sup>35</sup> Et respondens	in senecta sua	sit ab illa an	ut audiuit sa
14	angelus dixit	et hic mensis	gelus.	lutationem
15	illi sp̄s. sanctus	est sextus illi	<sup>39</sup> Exurgens au	mariae elisa

The explanation of the *b* text seems to me clear; the scribe's eye wandered from the 'Dixit autem maria' of column 1 to the same line in column 3, and he wrote as far as 'uerbum tuum' without discovering his mistake; he then started his next line ('Et respondens') from the first column (the 'angelus' may have recalled him) and copied his exemplar correctly to the end of *v.* 37; on arriving at 38 he found that he had written its opening sentence a few minutes before, and so he simply omitted the words, and added 'et discessit ab illa angelus' after 'omne uerbum' instead of after 'uerbum tuum'.

After I had settled this to my own satisfaction, I turned again to Professor Clark's examination of Luke xxii 17-22 and saw—what I had completely forgotten after first reading it—that he too finds the solution of his problem in an ancestor of D<sup>L</sup>S written *in two columns of 15 lines*. This may of course be mere coincidence, and no doubt even stranger cases of coincidence have occurred; but I may be pardoned if I think that it is something more, and that there is now a great deal to be said for the genuineness of the longer text in each of these passages, and for the hypothesis that the ancestor of *b* was a MS written in double columns of 15 lines.

H. J. WHITE.

#### ERRATUM.

Vol. xv p. 319 l. 14, for  $\sigma\chi\omicron\eta\iota$  read  $\sigma\chi\eta\iota$



## REVIEWS

## THE FAITH OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

*The Faith of the Old Testament.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER NAIRNE, B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Exegesis of the Old Testament at King's College, London, with a preface by F. C. BURKITT, M.A., F.B.A. (London, 1914.)

THE book which Dr Alexander Nairne has published with the title *The Faith of the Old Testament* is a work of much greater importance than might be supposed from the modest name of the series of which it is the first volume. Dr Nairne's reputation as a scholar, the position which he holds, the fact that Professor Burkitt has contributed a preface, though this has reference to the series and not to one volume in particular, are all calculated to produce on the layman the impression that in the present work he has the last word of English scholarship on the Old Testament, and that he has found here what he is always clamouring for, 'the assured results of the higher criticism'.

The book therefore merits an exhaustive review; yet it presents extraordinary difficulties to a reviewer. For while its whole tone invites a devotional spirit, and thus disarms criticism, there are few pages on which the 'critical' reader will not find something which he would be inclined to modify, if not to deny. Dr Nairne seems to waver between an intention to relate what the books of the Old Testament meant to the ages in which they were produced, and a desire to tell what the Old Testament means to him in his own devotional life. When he yields to this desire, he will to a great extent carry his readers with him; when, however, he approaches the faith of the Old Testament from a historical point of view, he produces the impression of underrating the importance of that which, for want of a better word, may be described as 'critical' study. Not that Dr Nairne ignores the results of the higher criticism; some of his statements might well serve as themes for critical essays: e.g. 'The book of Isaiah is a kind of "gospel" of Isaiah' (p. 3). Similarly, he writes (p. 56) 'How were these books of the prophets composed? How far can we trust the order of events which they indicate, or trace from their statements the development of the prophets' minds? How far, indeed, may we believe that we have the prophets' own words at all? Who wrote these books? What material had the authors? What purpose guided them in the use of their material?' Yet Dr Nairne's book shews little evidence that he has subjected the prophetic writings to the minute scrutiny which we are all agreed must be applied to the Gospels. He

maintains indeed that 'the plain man needs not to trouble much about such points' as the date of Deuteronomy and its relation to the book of Jeremiah (p. 5 f); but even though that were conceded, it is surely of the utmost importance that 'the plain man' should not be misled. There are, however, not a few paragraphs in the book which, if intended for the 'layman', are surely misleading. Take for example the middle paragraph of p. 4, and notice particularly the latter portion of it: 'This is the J E style. Those symbols stand for Judæan and Ephraimite'—this is probably true, but they also stand for Jahvistic and Elohist—'and mean that these narratives come from two early schools of literature in south and north Israel respectively, early schools which shew perhaps their noblest character in the first great succession of prophets, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah.' Would not the 'plain man' here understand Dr Nairne to mean that the prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah actually belonged to the schools which produced J and E? No doubt there are things in these documents with which all four prophets are in agreement; but to admit this is quite different from representing the prophets as belonging to these schools. Dr Nairne is so saturated in a 'mystical' interpretation of the Old Testament that he fails to recognize the historical significance of the most significant things. Is it conceivable that Hosea would have represented the God of Israel as giving the command 'Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest, even Isaac . . . and offer him . . . for a burnt offering', even though the story ended with the statement that the terrible command was not insisted upon? Or again, can any one imagine Isaiah telling without reprobation the sordid stories of Jacob's trickery?

The relation of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah is indeed of far more vital importance for a study of the faith of the Old Testament than Dr Nairne will allow. It is impossible to gain any adequate idea of Jeremiah's greatness without determining whether Deuteronomy in his days held somewhat the position of canonical scripture or not. It would be as reasonable to argue that the canonicity of the Pentateuch in St Paul's time should not be taken into account in a study of the Epistle to the Galatians. There is scarcely warrant for the statement (p. 5) that 'the history as told in 1 Kings, and the progress of the prophets' teaching, seem to show that Deuteronomy (whatever the date and origin of its laws) first entered effectively into Israel's life in the reign of Josiah and the prophetic period of Jeremiah: Jeremiah is certainly the Deuteronomic prophet'. In connexion with this last statement it is to be noticed that on p. 66 Dr Nairne treats Jer. vii 22 f as though Jeremiah's assertion were at variance only with the *Levitical* law. But the words in their plain meaning are opposed likewise to the

laws of J E and Deuteronomy, for *in all these documents*, as well as in Leviticus, sacrifice is inculcated as a duty. It is, indeed, as necessary to keep the three great feasts, involving sacrifice, as to keep the sabbath.

Moreover, does Josiah's reformation 'correspond so markedly with the injunctions of Deuteronomy', that Deuteronomy must be 'supposed (in some form or other) to be the book of the law which was discovered in the temple and read to the king'? (p. 43). That Josiah's reformation in some respects corresponds with the law of Deuteronomy may be admitted, but the correspondence is by no means so great that it must be supposed that the king definitely aimed at carrying out the injunctions of such a book. Dr Nairne, and indeed many other scholars, overlook a fact which is of the utmost importance in this connexion. The deuteronomic editor of the book of Kings credits *all* the kings of Judah and Israel with the possession of the book of Deuteronomy, a fact which is surely in itself sufficient warning against following him as an absolutely certain guide in his account of the king whose ecclesiastical policy most nearly corresponded to his ideal. Yet even after all allowance has been made for the narrator's desire to make Josiah conform as closely as possible to the Deuteronomic law, it is evident that the king acted in entire contravention of some of its provisions. For whether 2 Kings xxiii be regarded as homogeneous, or whether (as is probable) vv. 15-20 and the last clause of v. 4 should be considered a later insertion, Josiah's actions shew a serious disagreement with the injunctions of the Law. For not only is it stated (v. 9) that the priests of the Judaeen high places were not admitted to the position to which they would have been entitled by the law of Deuteronomy (xviii 1-8), but according to v. 19 f, the priests of the Samaritan sanctuaries were slaughtered on the altars which they had served, whereas the law of Deuteronomy is addressed to 'all Israel', north as well as south, and gives no hint that the Judaeen priests are to have more lenient treatment than those of Samaria. Dr Nairne recognizes, indeed (p. 94 f), that Josiah did not carry out this part of the law, but he fails to notice the difficulty in the supposition that Ezekiel would have set aside an ordinance *which was accepted as Mosaic law*, nor does he realize that it is at least arguable from the Elephantine papyri, which he mentions on p. 136, that the refugees in Egypt had settled there before the law of Deuteronomy was published in Palestine. It may further be pointed out that Josiah did not remove the two great pillars which stood before the temple (2 Kings xxv 16) which, though naturally in a post-deuteronomic book they are not called *maššēbhōth*, were contrary to the law of Deut. xvi 22; and Jer. xvi 6, which, whenever it was first composed, was at least published seventeen years or more after the supposed finding of Deuteronomy, is directly at variance with Deut. xiv 1.

Another example of Dr Nairne's failure to perceive the true nature of Jeremiah's relation to Josiah's reforms is to be found on p. 74, where he writes as follows: 'We notice too how closely the earlier reading' (Dr Nairne is contrasting Ezra's law book with the book read before Josiah) 'was connected with prophecy. A priest found the book, and a scribe read it, but priest, scribe, and king, seek explanation and advice from a prophetess. The gravity of its contents was felt because they coincided with what the prophets had long been vainly urging, not stricter attention to ritual or the observance of a completer civil code, but the abolition of heathen abominations. "Thus saith the Lord," was Huldah's answer, "Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read: because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with the work of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and it shall not be quenched" (2 Kings xxii 16, 17). Huldah repeats the strain of all the prophets, and evidently found the book in thorough harmony with that strain; the whole episode breathes the spirit of early prophecy.' Here Dr Nairne passes over, without comment, the most significant fact that the great prophet who for five years had been preaching repentance in Jerusalem is never mentioned in connexion with Josiah's reforms, and that 'priest, scribe, and king seek explanation and advice' from an otherwise unknown prophetess. If 'the whole episode breathes the spirit of early prophecy', why was Jeremiah, the true spiritual son of the early prophets, especially Hosea, not consulted? The reason that Jeremiah held aloof from the king's plan of reform is indeed sufficiently plain, when it is remembered that, like his predecessors among the canonical prophets, he refused altogether to accept sacrifice as a divine institution. The fivefold cord of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah vi (whoever be the author), and Jeremiah, is not easily broken. It is not mere abuses in sacrificial worship that the pre-exilic prophets have in view; Micah vi classes burnt offerings of calves of a year old with the sacrifice of the firstborn. An unprejudiced reading of Jeremiah's prophecies at once shews why the prophet is not mentioned in the story of the reformation of 621. Jeremiah indeed respected Josiah, and speaks in commendation of him (xxii 15 f), but the ground of his commendation is not that Josiah has put down the high places, but simply that he did 'judgement and justice', and 'judged the cause of the poor and needy'.

*A propos* of the relation of the earlier prophets to the law, it may be pointed out that the statement on p. 91, that 'the narrative in Exodus shows that long before their time' (sc. Hilkiah and Josiah) 'Moses was looked upon as the author of the law', is scarcely borne out by a study

of the prophets. In however broad a sense the term 'author' be understood in this connexion, there can be no doubt that in the so-called 'book of the covenant' Moses is represented as enjoining sacrifice. But Amos asks (v 25), without fear of receiving any answer but a negative, whether Israel offered sacrifices and burnt offerings in the wilderness forty years, and Jeremiah's view of the religion of Israel during the wilderness period is the same as that of Amos; only, whereas we should gather from Amos's words that in his days no one pretended that sacrifice belonged to Israel's religion in the wilderness, it is evident that in Jeremiah's time this assertion was being made, an assertion which Jeremiah denies in vii 22, and perhaps also in viii 8. Dr Nairne has not perceived that the statement of Deut. v 22, to which he refers on p. 93, is in complete agreement with Jer. vii 22, 23; that is to say, whereas the set of 'words' written on the tables of stone in Exodus xxxiv represent a code which Jeremiah could not have accepted, the code of Deut. v 22 might well have been drawn up by the school of Jeremiah. It is surely significant that this latter code occurs not in the main body of legislation, but in what is commonly admitted to be a somewhat later preface, and that, modified in the style of the Priestly Code, it is prefixed to the great body of Sinai legislation in Ex. xx. The comparison of decalogue with decalogue, in which Dr Nairne seems to see but little interest, will bring into prominence one of the most striking developments in the faith of the Old Testament, since the substitution of the decalogue contained in Deut. v for that of Ex. xxxiv marks an advance in religious ideas as great as St Paul's discovery that 'by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified'.

No treatment of the book of Deuteronomy can be satisfactory which fails to recognize that chapters i-xi, if read by themselves, present a very different view of religion from that which is found in xii-xxvi: and this is the defect in Dr Nairne's treatment of it. He says (p. 96), 'If, as some suppose, Jeremiah refers to it in Jer. xi 1-8, he seems to feel just as a sincere and simple reader might feel to-day who heard of the critical disputes about it. "The law of the one sanctuary", such a reader might say, "I have scarcely noticed it. I thought Deuteronomy was all about the love of God"'. [It may be pointed out by the way, that 'covenant' in the Old Testament frequently means a *relation of peace* between two parties (e.g. in Hosea ii 18, Job v 23 E.V. 'league'), not a formal bargain, much less a written document, and that Jeremiah's conception of the basis of this relation of peace between Jehovah and Israel is to be found in Jer. vii 22, 23.] No doubt, a sincere and simple reader might use with reference to Deuteronomy the words which Dr Nairne puts into his mouth; but is not this because such a person either skips the laws altogether, or, to borrow a phrase which Well-

hausen has used in a different connexion, sees them 'through a dense cloud of incense' which obscures their true significance? No one who will read carefully and attentively first the prefaces to Deuteronomy and then the legal kernel of the book, can fail to be struck by the fact that there is a real difference between the parts, a difference not unlike that which exists between the epistles of St Paul and that of St James. It may be noticed in passing, that the exalted ethical precepts quoted from Leviticus on p. 97 f are scarcely to be called 'flowers of ritualism'. They represent rather that ethical teaching which is common to the best portions of the Old Testament, ritualistic and anti-ritualistic. They are indeed but another presentation of Hosea's doctrine of *hesedh*, 'tender love'; yet who will call Hosea a ritualist?

A similar reluctance to see the significance of significant facts is shewn by Dr Nairne in his treatment of the historical books of the Old Testament. Thus on p. 47 he writes, 'But on the other hand the more closely we inquire, the more reason we find to believe that the prophets were right in their appeal to the purer religion of the past.' He does not state, however, that this purer religion is regarded by the prophets as *belonging to the period before the conquest of Canaan, when Israel served the Lord without sacrifice*; and he continues, 'How is it that in Samuel we hear nothing of abominations connected with the high places?' To such a question a twofold answer may be given; first, that the oldest narratives contained in the book of Samuel originally took shape in circles where the practices of the high places were not considered reprehensible, and were therefore not particularly referred to; and secondly, that the book has been considerably modified to suit the ideas of later ages. Yet, even as it stands, the book contains statements which are significant enough to those who have eyes to see. The dedication of Samuel, as of Samson, to the Lord all the days of his life (1 Sam. i 11) in the light of Gen. xxii, and of Exodus xxii 29 (where the firstborn of men are claimed by God in exactly the same way as the firstlings of beasts, and permission to redeem is not given), implies a view of religious obligation which is not that of the Christian, or indeed of the later Jewish, mother. The wild raving of the prophets, as it is described in 1 Sam. x, xix 18-24, is evidently regarded by the author as a normal feature of religion, though it is primitive and barbarous enough. The words put into the mouth of David (1 Sam. xxvi 19) imply a primitive and anthropomorphic conception of God, and are not the utterance of a monotheist. We need not be 'obsessed by the idea that all early religion was superstitious' to recognize that much in the earlier religion of Israel which is uncondemned in the historical books was highly superstitious. The slaying of Agag and the dance of David, in each case described as taking place 'before the

Lord' (1 Sam. xv 33, 2 Sam. vi 14), imply a conception of the God-head which is scarcely on a higher plane of religious belief than the practices at the high places. A man must resolutely shut his ears to all that missionaries and travellers can tell him, if he finds in the account of David's removal of the ark evidences of a spiritual religion. There might be difference of opinion as to the exact religious value of the solemn dance in Seville Cathedral, but there is little resemblance between that ceremony and the act of David, who 'danced before the Lord with all his might', 'girded with a linen ephod'. Some idea of what a linen ephod was may be gathered from the injunction given in Ex. xx 26. David's dance would certainly have appeared to us under the circumstances even more indecorous than it appeared to Michal. Yet Dr Nairne sees no great difficulty in the supposition that Ps. xxiv 'may have been composed for the festival of the bringing of the ark to David's newly won city of Jerusalem' (p. 181). He feels no incongruity in the supposition that the same man who, according to 1 Sam. xxvi 19, regarded Jehovah merely as the God of Israel, to be worshipped only in the land of Israel, should in Ps. xxiv affirm that 'to Jehovah belongs the earth and the fulness thereof', inasmuch as 'it is He who has founded it on seas and holds it fast above streams'. Indeed, even from the merely historical point of view, Ps. xxiv does not suit the time of David. As yet no temple existed, and it is unlikely that David would have called the gates of a fortress which he had only just conquered 'ancient entrances'.

The general defect of Dr Nairne's work, namely, an inability to recognize the immense importance of discovering the meaning which words originally bore, is even more apparent in the account given of Messianic prophecy. He writes, indeed (p. 60 f), 'Look at Isaiah 9, 1-7, and especially the last two verses ("for unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given", &c.), and ask yourself what these magnificent words meant when they were first written. Some have been content to say that they are a prediction of our Lord Jesus Christ. But though they are without doubt a prophecy which is fulfilled in Him, it is not a real answer to say they were, to Isaiah's contemporaries, a simple prediction of Him.' And a little later, with reference to the name which he translates 'Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace', 'Do not such astounding titles after all imply quite another kind of king than Hezekiah or his son or grandson could possibly be? Suppose that this passage does not come from Isaiah at all. Or suppose that the full form in which we read it is due to a modification of some less daring utterance of Isaiah.' It is indeed extremely probable that one of these hypotheses is to be accepted as true; but even so, should not a book on the faith of the Old Testament discuss what the words

did mean to the man or men to whom we owe them in their present form? That Isaiah himself was a monotheist is sufficiently clear from his own account of his call, and few will question the monotheistic faith of the post-Deuteronomic Jewish Church. If, then, the name 'Mighty God' was given by a *monotheist* to one whom he expected to be *born*, we naturally enquire how and why such a belief in a divine incarnation originated. It is no explanation to say that 'an older form of the prophecy' may have been 'modified for synagogue reading'. Why did the synagogue need such a modification? There is no parallel either in the book of Daniel or in the book of Enoch. The desperate attempts made by early Jewish translators to avoid the conclusion that the child to be born is to be called 'Mighty God' are sufficient proof that some explanation is wanted of the verse as it stands in the Masoretic text. It is true that 'we sing *Te Deum* at the end of some severe teaching from the Old Testament' and attempt, alas! against all Christian teaching, to 'give a Christian meaning to a fierce psalm by adding the *Gloria*'; but we at least know what we understand by the *Te Deum* and by the *Gloria*, whereas, on Dr Nairne's hypothesis, the synagogue altered a phrase which was intelligible into something which, according to the sense put upon the words by Dr Nairne, must have been not only unmeaning but even shocking.

It will probably be felt by many readers that in his description of the Old Testament attitude towards a future life (p. 66 f; cf. p. 186) Dr Nairne has read his own thoughts into the prophetic utterances. It is perfectly true that 'the prophets insisted that there was no place where the Lord had not dominion'; but the conclusion which Dr Nairne draws from this, viz. that in their belief 'there was no such place as Sheol at all', is certainly not warranted by their sayings nor by the Old Testament literature as a whole. One would like to know on what passages Dr Nairne bases his statement (p. 68), that, to 'Isaiah and his companions in prophecy', 'Sheol was false doctrine, cruel to men and derogatory to the Lord. In order to clear it quite away, they were reticent about life beyond the grave altogether, just as modern puritans deprived themselves of loving mention of their dead in their prayers, that they might not countenance superstitions about the state of those who had fallen asleep in Christ. There is, however, not a single word in the prophets which should lead us to suppose that they did not hold with perfect happiness the ancient and perpetual belief of true Israelites; we go to God and that is enough: the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' If this was 'the ancient and perpetual belief of true Israelites', assuredly many of them contrived to dissemble it with considerable success. Did Ben Sira hold this belief? Or was he not a true Israelite?



The treatment of Isaiah lii 13—liii (p. 77 f) is another instance of Dr Nairne's unwillingness to face plain statements. It is surely only by explaining away quite unambiguous phrases, that it can be maintained that 'the servant finds life in losing it for the sake of men. He bears their iniquities, he makes intercession for the transgressors, and *in their salvation*<sup>1</sup> he sees his seed, he prolongs his days, though he has died a martyr's death'. The italicized words are a gloss by Dr Nairne; but is the gloss warranted—if an *individual* be referred to—by the translatable portions of vv. 10–12 taken in their natural sense?

In the description of the book of Job we notice the same failure to scrutinize the component parts of the book which has already been pointed out in the case of Deuteronomy. Dr Nairne is indeed willing to allow that the Elihu speeches are an interpolation, though he feels no difficulty about accepting the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan as genuine. This is a matter of taste. But he goes on to say (p. 113), 'As to the prologue and epilogue, there is little reason to separate them from the main poem. They are in prose, but that is natural, since they tell but the plain story.' The last sentence may be accepted as true; it is difficult to see how the mere story of Job could well have been told otherwise than in prose. But surely a reader who passed straight from the prologue to the epilogue, having never seen the poem, would conclude that the original story, of which he had the beginning and ending, represented Job and his friends in a different light from that in which they appear in the poem. In the prologue Job appears calm and resigned in spite of his successive calamities. He receives the news of the loss of property and children with the words, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' Again, when his bodily health is taken away, and his wife's fortitude breaks down under the trial, he meets her passionate outburst with the gentle rebuke, 'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?' When the three friends appear on the scene, it is they, not Job, who give way to uncontrolled demonstration of grief, and become speechless with horror. If, then, immediately after this description, the epilogue be read, and due weight be given to the Lord's declaration that Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar have not spoken about Him the thing which is right, as His servant Job has done, is not the inference almost irresistible that in the original story the friends had ranged themselves on the side of Job's wife, and that Job had preserved his calm resignation throughout? This is the view of Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 160 f, a work to which Dr Nairne

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.—R. H. K.

makes reference on p. 130. There is, however, another difference between the prologue and the poem which must be taken into consideration. The explanation of suffering indicated in the scenes in heaven is that suffering is the way in which God tries a man and ascertains his perfect sincerity; but this view is materially different from that of the poet, who represents Job's friends as maintaining that suffering is the divine method of pointing out to a man that there is something wrong in his life which he must correct.

In writing of Ecclesiasticus (p. 138), Dr Nairne makes the common assumption that the grandson of Ben Sira set to work to translate his grandfather's book almost immediately after his arrival in Egypt. This, however, is not warranted by the actual words of the prologue. It is indeed difficult to say what is meant by *συγχρονίως*. Robertson Smith was apparently inclined to accept the emendation *συχρόν ἐγχρονίως* (*Enc. Brit.*, ninth ed., Art. Psalms); but even if the existing text be retained, it cannot be taken to prove that the work of translation was accomplished immediately.

The book of Jonah is treated by Dr Nairne with less sympathy than might have been expected. He praises the psalm contained in it, but fails to notice the application of the story to the Jewish nation, though Jer. l 17, li 34 might have shewn him the way to it.

In the account of the struggle against Antiochus Epiphanes, no distinction is made between the adherents of the Hasmoneans and the Ḥasidim, though this distinction is of great importance for the right understanding of the religious developements of the time, while with reference to the stories of the book of Daniel, Dr Nairne makes an assertion (p. 172) which many will by no means accept. 'A word perhaps should be added about the stories. These, we may be sure, rest upon tradition: the author did not invent them. Whether they give us plain facts we cannot either assert or deny, except in so far as there certainly are some details, already alluded to, about which the author has made historical mistakes. That these wonderful trials and deliverances did take place there can be no definite reason to deny, except the *a priori* reason that they seem to us unlikely. It is not honest to pretend that this reason is a weak one. Only it must be remembered that the ultimate difficulty about miracles is not that they lie outside the path of our experience, for our experience is continually expanding; but that it is sometimes hard for us to be satisfied that such or such a miracle is morally worth while. We cannot say that the miracles in Daniel are so well attested, or are so morally worth while, as the works of power and the resurrection of our Lord. But the questions which it is important that we should put to ourselves about Daniel are these—Is there anything mischievous in the idea that the

Old Testament should contain some examples of imaginative work? Is it necessary that in such a book as Daniel the narrative should be composed with the same conscientious search after accuracy of facts as we justly expect in a historian like the author of Samuel or Kings? If this author made no such careful search, was the message which he delivered to his oppressed countrymen less truly on that account a message from God? But those who refuse to accept the stories of Daniel as historical are not actuated only by objection to miracle. Is there no difficulty that Nebuchadnezzar, after being converted to the faith of the God of Israel in chapter ii, appears again as a heathen in chapter iii, and is again converted; lapses apparently in chapter iv, and is once more converted to the true faith.

Dr Nairne's treatment of the Psalter is hardly adequate from a historical point of view, and some of the statements which he makes will probably be misleading to the 'layman'. Thus on p. 180 he quotes the last verse of Psalm xiv, of which he accepts the R.V. rendering:—

‘Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!  
When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people,  
Then shall Jacob rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.’

But is it certain that the translation of the second clause is correct? Can we suppose that Job xlii 10 is rightly rendered, ‘And the Lord turned the captivity of Job’?

Again, on p. 182 we read as follows: ‘Hardly any one would contend that David wrote Ps. cxxxvii, “By the waters of Babylon”. Many must feel it unlikely that David, who fought, ruled, administered so well, would have also written so many psalms of such various character as are assigned to him. The difficulties about Davidic authorship multiply swiftly in the mind of every questioner among the readers of the Old Testament. It may be in one manner reverent to listen to God's words without asking questions when they puzzle us, but it is not filial. And when the words are no part of the sacred text itself, but only titles added to explain it, the human medium becomes insistent, and the reader's intelligence is all but bound to be exercised. “The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord. . . . The thoughts of the diligent tend only to plenteousness: But every one that is hasty hasteth only to want” (Prov. xx 27, xxi 5); the Wisdom of Israel is certainly on the side of the questioner. Is it not allowable to suppose that these titles express the “mystical” interpretation of the Jewish Church? We interpret “mystically”, and find the Psalter richly illustrative of the life and work, the manhood and Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ. We could not possibly use the Psalter better. But our “mystical” use is no arbitrary invention of our own. It is the natural continuation of the

use of the Jewish Church, who found their Psalter richly illustrative of the life and work of David. And David did not mean to them simply the son of Jesse, once king of Israel. The name was a sacrament. It gathered round itself a multitude of associations and aspirations. The earthly king, the series of "Christs of the Lord", led on to a larger hope of "The Christ" who was yet to come. The Psalter illustrated the immense variety of David the "type". And yet—this is the beauty of the idea, a beauty which we can so well understand—this type was impressed on the actual life of David the man. The illustrations are truly sacramental. What the Jewish Church saw was what we see in the light of new heavens and new earth now that the Word has been made flesh—Godhead through manhood, sacramentally. Do the titles thus understood lose or gain in sacredness?'

But can the titles be thus understood? We may certainly admit that in many places of the Old Testament David does not mean 'simply the son of Jesse, once king of Israel'; but it is scarcely possible to deny that the name did have just this meaning to those who prefixed the titles of Pss. vii, xviii, xxxiv, li, liv, lvi, lvii, lix, lx, lxiii. In the paragraph quoted above, is not Dr Nairne confusing the historical sense of the Old Testament with its devotional use?

There can be no progress in biblical study till the original meaning of every sentence is boldly faced. Having regard to our Lord's explicit declaration that some of the precepts of the law were written because of the hardness of men's hearts, we are not wanting in loyalty to the Christian faith if we affirm that not only the grosser superstitions of the high places but even many ordinances which were finally accepted by all the Church of Israel were essentially barbarous. We may indeed recognize that even the crudest rites have sometimes helped to lift men to a higher plane of spiritual life, but we need not on that account shut our eyes to the superstitions out of which they arose. That sacrifice, for example, was not without its value to the Church of Israel we may freely admit, while we nevertheless insist alike on the barbarity of its outward form and the crudity of the conceptions underlying it. In these very barbarities and crudities, indeed, we possess a striking proof that the Holy Ghost 'spake by the prophets'. That the prophets should have preached what they preached, when and where they preached it, is one of the great miracles of history.

ROBERT H. KENNETT.

*The Archaeology of the Old Testament*: Was the Old Testament written in Hebrew? By EDOUARD NAVILLE, D.C.L., L.L.D., F.S.A., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, Professor of Egyptology at the University of Geneva. (Robert Scott, London, mcmxiii.)

THIS book is an unconvincing 'attempt to shew that the books of the Old Testament, as we know them, in their present Hebrew form, are not in the original language written by their authors'. M. Naville is apparently absolutely unaware of the vast number of *criteria* on which the critical analysis of the Pentateuch is based. Thus he writes of Genesis i-ii 4, which he regards as forming the first tablet, and of Genesis ii 4-v 1, which he considers to be the second, 'There is no discrepancy between them, though they are independent, and we have no ground whatever to question their being the work of one author'. A possible explanation of this astonishing inability to see the most obvious discrepancies is perhaps to be found in the insight into M. Naville's ideas of Hebrew grammar which we gain from the translation which he proposes in the following paragraph: 'We must not therefore think that Keturah became Abraham's wife only after Sarah's death. She is mentioned at the beginning of the tablet which relates the patriarch's end, and which gives the list of his posterity. We do not know when Abraham took Keturah. Here the author of the tablet recalls something in the past, as we have already seen several times. It seems to me that the true meaning would be better rendered if we translated also here: Abraham had taken another wife.'

ROBERT H. KENNETT.

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

*De Bergrede: hare herkomst en strekking.* By K. F. PROOST. (J. Brandt & Zoon, Amsterdam, 1914.)

DR K. F. PROOST's study of the Sermon on the Mount is a very instructive book for an English theologian to read, both for its own sake and also for the sake of the opinions which the author finds it necessary to attack. The book falls practically into two parts: the first thirty-nine pages are occupied mainly with literary criticism, the remainder (pp. 40-148) are mainly exegetical.

The weak point of the first part is that the question of the funda-

mental genuineness of the several Sayings is not kept distinct from the question of the literary genesis of chapters v–vii of the ‘Gospel according to Matthew’. The two questions are quite separable, and the existence of Luke’s ‘Sermon on the Plain’ (Lk. vi 20–49) makes a discussion of the origin of the Collection of Sayings inevitable, as well as of the single Sayings themselves. Dr Proost very wisely abandons the attempt to reconstruct the ‘Sermon’ as it may have been supposed to stand in Q (p. 16); but the mere existence of Lk. vi 20–49 goes far to prove that between Matt. v–vii and the actual utterance of the genuine words of our Lord there stood a set of sayings, which had been written down. In detail we cannot reconstruct the contents of this set of sayings, but it must have begun with some beatitudes and ended with the comparison of the Two Houses, one built on the rock and the other not. Dr Proost’s chapter iii is devoted to ‘the original form of the Sermon on the Mount’, which he reaches by rejecting ‘interpolations’ (list on p. 39). By these he chiefly means passages which he does not think to be genuine Sayings of Jesus. But is it not likely that a great many more passages are ‘interpolations’ in the sense of ‘passages added by the Evangelist’? Some of these, perhaps most, may be genuine Sayings of the Lord, but they are not things all said at one time and to one set of people. In other words, is there any solid reason against regarding Matt. v–vii frankly as a compilation of the Evangelist? As being in the main composed of genuine Sayings of Jesus, and being for the most part concerned with the disciples’ conduct, the compilation has moral and religious unity. But it has no rhetorical or literary unity, such for instance as the speeches in Acts have.

These considerations, however, do not touch the real value of the single Sayings or the main interest of Dr Proost’s book. What he really has at heart is this: starting from a conviction that the Gospel Message is strictly eschatological, the problem before him is to explain the connexion of the Sayings in the ‘Sermon on the Mount’ with the eschatological Message. In other words, he has to ask what connexion the sayings in the Sermon on the Mount have with ‘the Kingdom of God is at hand’. And with this is closely connected another question: how does the ethical teaching of the ‘Sermon’ compare with Jewish ethical teaching generally?

It is in regard to this last question that Dr Proost’s book is most noteworthy. Since the days of John Lightfoot and Wettstein there have been collected many ‘Rabbinic parallels’ to the evangelical sayings.<sup>1</sup> They fall roughly into three classes. There are the mere

<sup>1</sup> Best of all perhaps is A. Wünsche’s *Neue Beiträge . . . aus Talmud u. Midrasch* (1878). This book is mentioned by Dr Proost (pp. 93, 98), but might well have been more used, e.g. on p. 142.

collections of illustrative passages, the only fault of which is that they are tiresome to read, because very often quite irrelevant or unimportant matter is dragged in. Then there are the collections made by Jews, who try to prove that there is nothing good in the Gospel, except what the Rabbis had already taught. In excuse for these efforts it may fairly be said that they have been called forth by the other kind of polemical collection, that in which the Jewish sources are quoted (sometimes misquoted) in order to contrast the casuistry of the Talmud with the free originality of the Gospel. Dr Proost's selection of parallels seems to me animated by a more just spirit.<sup>1</sup>

What Dr Proost says on p. 100 ff about treating the Gospel Sayings and the Talmudic Sayings in the same spirit is good, and, as the examples he brings forward shew, is not uncalled for. It is not fair to allegorize Matt. v 25, 26, merely because it does not seem lofty enough, if we take it literally, or to say with Pfeiderer that Matt. vi 4, 18, so clearly teaches that there is 'merit' and a reward in good works, 'that one might feel tempted to doubt the authenticity of the Saying'.<sup>2</sup> At least it is not fair to treat the Gospel in this way, and at the same time to belittle the importance of such sayings as 'Be not as slaves who serve their master for reward', as Bousset does when he remarks that 'to such exaggerated utterances of a Rabbi must not be attributed too much importance in estimating the average ethics of Judaism'.<sup>3</sup> Yet this is a sentence which occupies in the Talmud almost the same position that the definition of the Chief End of Man does in the Shorter Catechism!

The main principles which have guided Dr Proost are to be found on p. 105 of his book. Prof. J. C. Matthes (in *De Israëlitische Wijzen*, Amsterdam 1911) had formulated two points in which the difference between Gospel ethics and Jewish ethics consisted. These were (1) that Christianity breaks with the Law, and (2) that the Gospel, being dominated by the thought of the Parousia, sets forth the rules of life that will be established in the Kingdom of God. To this Dr Proost answers that (1) is not historically correct. Palestinian Christianity did not break with the Law until after the Gospel of Matthew and the 'Sermon on the Mount' had come into existence. And further (2) requires to be stated differently. The Christians 'lived and acted under the influence of the idea of the coming Kingdom: so much indeed is clear. But the rules of ethics which they tried to follow were not those which would be established in the Kingdom when it came. In the Kingdom of God there would be

<sup>1</sup> Instances of these may be found in the controversy between Prof. Oort of Leiden and the Amsterdam Rabbi T. Tal, referred to by Proost, p. 94 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Proost, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 104.

neither marrying nor giving in marriage (Matt. xxii 23 ff), and therefore the teaching of Matt. xix 3-9 would be out of date' (p. 106). In other words, the Gospel ethics are contingent, not absolute. Ethics are the appropriate rules for God's children in the world: the world was going to be altogether different, consequently the rules for God's children could only be temporary.

Dr Proost's Rabbinical parallels are usually well enough rendered, but there are one or two slips. On p. 149 'Jahwe' appears to be a mistake for 'Tora'. On p. 139 Aḳiba is made to say 'Ieder mensch is een lieveling Gods'; really it should be 'Beloved is Man (Adam), in that he was created in the image of God'. This is *Aboth* iii 21 according to Taylor, but iii 18 according to Singer's Prayer Book. I cannot make out what enumeration Dr Proost follows when he gives it as *Aboth* iii 4.

I take this opportunity of asking a question of my own of those who work at Rabbinic parallels. Nearly always, as might be expected, the parallels are concerned with questions of ethical thought or practice; questions of literary borrowing hardly ever arise. But there is one curious exception. As a parallel to the Saying about the House built on the rock (Matt. vii 24-27), Wünsche and Proost have both brought forward this from *Aboth de R. Nathan* 24: 'A man who does good works and studies diligently in the Law, what is he like? He is like a man who builds first with great stones and then lays upon them his (unbaked) bricks; and when floods come and wash round the walls, they cannot move them. But to whom is he like, who studies in the Law but has little merit? He is like a man who lays a foundation with unbaked bricks.' (Two other comparisons follow.) Here the resemblance of the simile is very close, as well as the ethical thought. It might be said that the resemblance is only due to the conditions of country life in Palestine. What, however, is worth further attention is that the simile is ascribed by R. Nathan to Elisha' b. Abuya, i.e. to the well-known *apostate* Rabbi, who entered Paradise only to destroy the plants. Is it not possible that R. Nathan got the comparison of the two houses and their builders from the Gospel, probably second-hand, i.e. from one of the *Minim*, but put it down to Elisha to avoid offence?

F. C. BURKITT.



## MONTANISM.

*La Crise montaniste and Sources de l'histoire du Montanisme.* By PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE, Professeur à l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse). (Leroux, Paris, 1913.)

PROFESSOR LABRIOLLE has produced a monumental work. These two stately volumes must long remain the standard history of Montanism. Every authority is carefully estimated, every crucial passage exhaustively discussed, every question investigated, every modern work laid under contribution. The author is at home in French, German, and English, in formal works and in relevant articles from recent periodicals.

Learning is not the author's highest merit, nor even his full control of that learning and exhaustive knowledge of the literature of the subject. He has used his materials with excellent judgement, and always makes out a fair case for his conclusions. Nor is he carried away by his subject to find Montanism everywhere. On the contrary, he reminds us that there were other forms of enthusiasm, and removes Quintus, Perpetua, and Agathonice from the sect.

Professor Labriolle begins with a general account of Phrygia, of the origin of Montanism, and of its earlier leaders. He dates its rise about 172, and rejects the figurative explanation of Ardabau proposed by Preuschen. Then come two chapters on the early doctrine, based on a minute discussion of the Oracles of Montanus and the two women, and particularly investigating their doctrines of Prophecy, as taking up the promise of the Paraclete till then neglected, and building on it a claim even more offensive than that of the Gnostics to be the spiritual men who alone properly understood the Gospel. The New Prophecy made rapid progress, and the bishops were forced to take up the challenge. They did not object to 'ecstasy' in itself, but this particular ecstasy was proved false by its gibberish and convulsions, and by the ambition and rapacity of the prophets. They could not deny that St Paul allowed women to prophesy, but they urged that he forbade them to speak ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. M. Labriolle attaches more importance than Lightfoot did to the Alogi, who sought to cut away the ground from the Montanists by rejecting the Fourth Gospel with its promise of the Paraclete, and the Apocalypse with its eschatology; but they were only fanatics who wanted to contradict the Montanist fanatics as sharply as they could.

The author devotes his second book to the earlier history of Montanism in the West. He holds (against Schwegler) that the martyrs of

Lyons and Vienne—including the vegetarian Alcibiades—were not Montanists, and (against de Soyres, Hilgenfeld, Lawlor, &c.) that their letter to Pope Eleutherus was adverse to Montanism. Then turning to Rome, he discusses the relation of Hermas (c. 140–145) to the ideas afterwards developed by the Montanists. And who was the wavering Pope who so nearly decided in their favour? Rejecting Eleutherus, the choice is between Victor and Zephyrinus, and he decides for the latter. A third book is on Tertullian. Montanism had a good deal to repel him, in its Phrygian origin, its high estimate of women, its irregular character. On the other hand, it appealed to him by its opposition to Gnosticism, its return to the New Testament, its practical and legal temper. He then traces Tertullian's approach to Montanism, beginning with the story of Perpetua, where he closely compares the words of the editor with other works of Tertullian, and concluding that he is not yet clearly Montanist. After this he discusses the questions in dispute at Carthage—ecstasy, flight from persecution, second marriage, fasts, and penance—in each case criticizing Tertullian's treatment of the subject. Several pages are devoted to the text of 1 Cor. viii 39, and the various theories of the reading adopted or rejected by Tertullian. A little later we get a minute commentary on his description of the *edictum* of a *pontifex scilicet maximus*, whom the author identifies with Callistus. On penance, the author does not regard Tertullian as drawn by Montanism to the severer view, but rather as recognizing in Montanism the best field for severer views already formed.

The Third Book treats of the survival of Montanism after Tertullian's time. In the West it disappeared comparatively soon; but it fared better in the East, though it seems to have sunk into an unaggressive sect spread over Asia Minor. One of the author's best dissertations is on the *κοινωνοί*, who ranked in the Montanist hierarchy after the Patriarch of Pepuza and above the bishops. He leaves his answer a little uncertain, but he does not accept Friedrich's theory that they were women, nor the statement of Epiphanius that the later Montanists allowed women to act as bishops. To this period belong the gross slanders of heresy and ritual murder against them, and a long record of persecution from Constantine onward to Justinian, who seems to have crushed the sect, though traces of it are found even to the ninth century. The volume closes with a discussion of the place of Montanism in history; and here the author seems hardly to emphasize sufficiently the fact that a certain discredit was thrown on prophesyings—that more or less the early Church learned caution from Montanist enthusiasm, much as the English Church in the eighteenth century learned caution from Puritan enthusiasm.

The companion volume contains a full account of the original

authorities, including elaborate investigations of Eusebius and Epiphanius, followed by a complete collection of passages bearing on the subject in Greek, Latin, and Syriac (Latin translations) from the *Ascensio Isaiae* to the last mention of them by Nicephorus Callistus.

The general appearance of the volumes is excellent, not to say sumptuous, and the misprints are very few. Even the English proper names are nearly always correctly given, except that we regularly have Lawlord for Lawlor.

H. M. GWATKIN.

*L'édit de Calliste. Étude sur les origines de la pénitence chrétienne.* By A. D'ALÈS. (G. Beauchesne, Paris, 1914.)

WHAT is the real significance of the famous 'edict' of Callistus for the history of penitential discipline in the Church? This is the question which the author of the above work sets himself to answer. Students of Harnack's *History of Dogma* are familiar with his theory that the primitive church was conceived of as a 'communion of saints', and that down to the third century final exclusion from the Church was the penalty of relapse into idolatry, sins of the flesh, and murder. This primitive conception was replaced during the third century by the idea that the Church is a *corpus permixtum*, a training school for salvation, exercising divine powers in Christ's room. According to this view the edict of Callistus represents an innovation and marks the first step in the transformation of the conception of the Church by allowing readmission to those who had fallen into sins of the flesh. A second stage was reached during the Decian persecution by the granting of readmission to those who had lapsed into idolatry.

Less familiar to general students is the contention of the late Dr Funk that the ministry of reconciliation, though inherent in the Church and recognized by it, came into activity only at a comparatively late period, and that during the second and third centuries it was not normally exercised. From this point of view the edict of Callistus was a piece of 'ecclesiastical opportunism', and was due to the situation of the Church at the time.

It is these two theories which M. D'Alès sets himself to examine and disprove. But his volume is more than a piece of criticism. It covers a good deal of the ground of the early history of penitential discipline. The author begins his review of the evidence with the New Testament, and deals with the 'Petrine' passage, Matt. xvi 13 f, as well as with Matt. xviii 12 f and John xx 19 f. Though his own conclusions are

conservative in character, he states clearly the difficulties which have been felt by many modern writers in treating these passages as an expression of the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. The evidence of Hermas, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, and Cyprian, is examined with great fullness and care. The author denies that the idea of 'three irremissible sins', fornication, idolatry, and murder, was a recognized principle among Catholic Christians, in the days of Hermas, or of Tertullian, or of Origen; and he controverts the hypothesis that Origen is directly referring to the action of Callistus in the passage *de Oratione* 28. His own conclusion is that the 'power of the keys' was no new discovery of the third century, and that the controversies of the period arose out of the oscillations between severity and indulgence in the practical application of discipline.

M. D'Alès gives copious references to the literature of the subject. But in his very full and admirable discussion of the variant texts of the Apostolic decree in Acts xv he omits to mention Professor Kirsopp Lake's treatment of the question in his *Earlier Epistles of St Paul*. There are two useful appendices entitled, I *Limen ecclesiae*, II The private element in ancient penitence. The work is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject with which it deals.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

## THE DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

*Property, its duties and rights, historically, philosophically, and religiously regarded*: Essays by various writers, with an Introduction by the BISHOP OF OXFORD. (Macmillan & Co., 1913.)

THE Bishop of Oxford in his Introduction explains how this volume of Essays arose. It had been suggested to him by Dr Bartlet, of Mansfield College, that they 'might combine to issue some literature of a popular kind about the duties and rights of property based on the Biblical doctrine of stewardship'. Dr Gore, while feeling cordial sympathy with the idea, thought that 'before anything of a popular kind was issued . . . we needed some more thorough or philosophical treatment of property in idea and history'. The historical portions of the book, which are indeed the most extensive, are not the least interesting and valuable. The emergence of tribal and individual property among primitive races is traced by Professor T. L. Hobhouse; Dr Rashdall reviews and criticizes some famous theories of the grounds

for the existence of private property; the Biblical idea of property is set forth by Dr Bartlet; the mediaeval theory by Dr Carlyle; and the influence of the Reformation on ideas concerning wealth and property by Mr H. G. Wood. But even in these historical portions a directly practical purpose is more or less evident. It appears from them that ideas about property have varied, and that consequently those commonly held in our own times are not to be regarded as sacred and necessarily right. It may, I think, well be said, that the high and rigid ideas about the *rights* of property, which were dominant throughout a great part of the last century, are so no longer. But we have at least much to learn from the views of other Christian ages described in these pages with respect to the *duties* of property.

In the first two essays in the volume, by Professor Hobhouse and by Dr Rashdall, in which the writers are largely occupied, respectively, with early forms of human society and with the history of philosophical speculation about the institution of property, they at the same time state clearly the object which in their opinion should be kept in view in the future organization of society. Indeed, the moral of the book, so to speak, may be best gathered from the latter parts of those two essays taken along with the concluding essay of the volume by Dr Scott Holland on 'Property and Personality'.

They all base the need for social reconstruction on a high view of the value of property derived from Hegel, that ownership is requisite for the proper developement of personality. Thus Professor Hobhouse writes: 'Property is among the external good things which are necessary to the full expression of personality' (p. 27). And Dr Rashdall: 'Some liberty of action, some form of arranging one's own life in advance, some freedom of choice, and some certainty that a man will experience the results of his choice, are essential to the developement of character; and this there cannot be unless there is some permanent control over material things.' And Dr Holland might be quoted to the same effect. They proceed to argue—as Hegel, for instance, did not,—if the possession of property has this ethical value, if it is indispensable for a higher kind of life, as many men as possible ought plainly to share in the advantage.

In order that this end may be attained, they look not only to a general diffusion of private property, but also to the possibility that some at least of the ethical effects of property may be derived from common ownership. Dr Holland in particular dwells upon this latter hope. He insists that, instead of emphasizing the individual element in personality, as men have been wont to do, especially during the past one or two centuries, till, indeed, every other has often been overlooked, we should recognize that the individual man is what he is by

belonging to a community, the life of which he represents. 'He can never be intelligible except in terms which include and involve others. A self-contained personality is a contradiction in terms. What we mean by personality is a capacity for intercourse, a capacity for retaining self-identity by and through identification with others—a capacity for friendship, for communion, for fellowship.' Hence he proceeds to argue, 'if personality be representative and collective, then it may find its field of exercise and realization through collective ownership. These may win the moral qualities which the sense of property evokes, by owning things in common' (pp. 186-188).

It is not the object of any of the essayists to do much more than indicate the main directions in which changes are to be desired in the economic arrangements of society. On the whole the aim proposed in this book may be said to be the same as that stated by C. Booth, at the conclusion of vol. i of his *Life and Labour*, as cherished by himself (p. 598), which he describes as 'limited socialism, a socialism which shall leave untouched the forces of individualism and the sources of wealth'. None of them advocates socialism in the strict sense of the term, according to which the ownership of all the means of production would be reserved to the State. Those who have expressed themselves on the subject shew that they are not confident that this system would work well for the creation of an adequate amount of wealth, and that they entertain some fears that the community might unduly restrict the liberty of individuals. Mr A. D. Lindsay more particularly, in an essay which I have not so far mentioned, dwells on some of the difficulties involved in the whole question of industrial reorganization. The writer of the first essay, Professor Hobhouse, offers a formula for the right apportionment of wealth which might seem, if unexplained, to correspond closely with that of Socialism. He distinguishes between 'property for use' and 'property for power', and in the concluding sentence of his essay he says that 'we have to restore to society a direct ownership of some things, but an eminent ownership of all things material to the production of wealth, securing "property for use" to the individual, and retaining "property for power" for the democratic state' (p. 31). 'Use', however, here does not mean, as might be supposed, 'use by the owner for his own consumption'; nor does 'power' mean 'all employment of the means of production for the control of the labour of others'. For Professor Hobhouse has written a few pages earlier 'while modern economic conditions have virtually abolished property *for use*—apart from furniture, clothing, &c., that is property in the means of production—for the great majority of the people—they have brought about the accumulation of vast masses of property *for power* in the hands of a relatively narrow class.' So that what, from an economic

point of view, he really means seems to be, that it is desirable that all should possess a little capital for investment, but that the control and direction of the employment of capital on a large scale should be in the hands of the community.

As this distinction between 'property for use' and 'property for power' is the basis for the most definite programme of reform given us in the book, and as the Bishop of Oxford in his Introduction lays great stress upon it, and Dr Holland refers to it approvingly in the concluding essay, it is necessary that it should be submitted to examination. I have already indicated an ambiguity in the terms 'use' and 'power'. In point of fact the sense in which they are employed hovers between an economic and an ethical or psychological one in such a manner that the formula is, I fear, impossible of application, and is too likely to lead to confusion of ideas.

It does not appear that Professor Hobhouse would restrict the amount of wealth that any individual may own and employ to that which the owner himself consumes while engaged in production or otherwise; and yet in any employment of wealth beyond this amount there is an exercise of power over the lives of others. Moreover the combination of many small capitals in one concern creates a controlling force over other men quite as powerful as the same amount of capital would be in the hands of one man, and is capable of being used quite as tyrannically. Nay, through the purchase of commodities purely for personal consumption power is put forth; demand is, indeed, the final arbiter over the labour of others. Nevertheless, those who thus influence the work and lives of others by small investments, or by their personal demand for goods and services, do not do it 'for power'. Further, it may well be doubted whether the majority even of those who possess considerable capital and themselves employ it in a large way of business do it 'for power', that is, as Dr Holland explicitly interprets the phrase, because the property is valued for its power (p. 183). Many of them do it solely in order to accumulate as quickly as possible such a fortune as they think will be adequate for their own comfort and that of their families, and then to retire from business. If the love of power is also felt by them, it is a subsidiary motive. In many cases it would be quite impossible to determine to what extent desire for power acted as a motive, and when we are considering the effects of action it is beside the purpose to attempt it. Dr Holland is also not justified in writing as if necessarily the great capitalist 'by enlarging his own immense stake in the country creates a multitude of individual workers who have no permanent stake to speak of' (p. 184). There is no reason to think that this multitude would have been any better off if he had not existed. To some of them he has even probably through his

employment of them brought the opportunity of amassing some capital of their own.

Finally, a great capital may be administered in such a manner as to contribute to the well-being of the workers, and the proceeds of its employment may be valued for the sake of the good causes that can be promoted thereby. And the ambition thus to use the power of wealth is surely a laudable one. The end to be kept in view by those who endeavour to arrange for the employment of capital under a system of collective ownership, whether by large bodies of comparatively small shareholders or by the whole community, might well be to secure that under such a system capital should be employed as effectively for the production of wealth and as beneficially in all respects for those engaged in its production and for the community at large, as when its application is directed by a high-minded captain of industry who is himself the owner of the whole or of a large part of that which he controls.

My purpose in making these criticisms is of course not to call in question the desirability of a great extension of the holding of capital among the members of the community generally, or to dissuade from efforts—so far as they do not involve mischief in other directions greater than any benefits to be derived—to counteract the growth of large amounts of wealth in the hands of individuals, especially where it prevents others from acquiring wealth. But it is important that in framing plans for the reform of the industrial system we should have as clear an idea as possible of the economic conditions under which they will have to be worked out, and that we should neither exaggerate the weak points in the existing system, nor ignore those that there are likely to be in that which we would substitute for it. This is necessary both in order that we may wisely direct our own action, and that we may advocate convincingly the changes we desire.

For this latter reason, as well as for some others, there should have been, as it seems to me, a fuller discussion in this volume of that thesis, from which, as we have seen, several of the essays start, as to the value of property for the development of personality. One aspect of this question is indeed treated by Dr Holland, as may be gathered from the quotations already made from his essay; and it is easy to see that a reciprocal influence might be exercised between the development of personality, conceived as he teaches us to conceive it, and the growth of a system of common ownership. But what is the relation between that modicum of private ownership which the writers of these essays for the most part allow for and the development of personality?

It may at once be said that private ownership has one of the chief advantages claimed for it. It does confer the sense of having a permanent place in the order of society and tends to create an interest



in the community to which the individual belongs. Moreover, with the greater freedom to direct one's own life which it brings, it affords opportunity for a fuller exercise of choice. Since it is urged, however, with good reason, that on this account a modicum of ownership ought to be enjoyed by all men, it should be observed that the particular development of personality which comes from the employment of wealth in production cannot be experienced to any large extent by the majority of small owners. Under the conditions of modern industry small capitals must be put together, and the main responsibility for the management of them must rest with a few. This would also be the case if the whole capital in the community were collectively held according to the Socialist scheme.

Again, it cannot be maintained that if the effect of small ownership on the development of personality is more restricted than that of large would be, it is on the other hand free from the temptations to which the latter is exposed. Small owners may be selfish and narrow-minded. Generosity, public spirit, large views as to the duties of citizenship, are not commonly thought to be prominent characteristics of peasant proprietors, or of those who have by their thrift been able to become the landlords of a few small houses. And if with owners of property large and small we were to compare in respect to the healthy development of personality the great mass of the working classes, the respectable and self-respecting poor, I do not think the result would turn out to be unfavourable to the latter. The circumstances of their lives are in point of fact fitted not merely to encourage virtues such as resignation and trust and mutual helpfulness to which Christians must attach great importance, but also various virile qualities. The necessity for regular steady labour calls for endurance. The purposeful application of their strength and skill is also continually being demanded. All this may promote the healthy development of personality not less than the enjoyment of the privilege of greater liberty would. If they have good health and are moderately fortunate in obtaining employment, they are able to carry on a buoyant, and on the whole victorious, contest with external conditions.

It may well be asked also whether the development of our personality is not always more favoured by those of our circumstances which compel us to exercise self-control and self-discipline, than by the liberty which affords opportunity for what is commonly called 'self-realization'; and by the effort for the acquisition even of material things more than by the actual possession of them.

Hence, although property may be the means of the development of personality, the nature of this development will depend upon something deeper,—upon our inner attitude to the material things.

Material wealth is, indeed, a good, and the possession of it in due measure affords opportunities for the enjoyment of some very choice gifts of God to His human creatures. That, if we ourselves have had these placed within our reach, we should not be eager to secure for others a share in them, would be wholly contrary to the Spirit of Christ. And that material things have ethical uses, as well as being sources of temptation, needs to be recognized in Christian teaching far more than it commonly has been. And yet the indifference of material wealth in itself from an ethical point of view, its dependence for any true value it can have upon the spirit in which it is held and the purpose for which it is employed, is surely a principle involved in the general tenor of Christ's teaching, and is part also of the true philosophy of human nature and human life. But this seems to be too much ignored in the mere statement that the possession of wealth is necessary to the development of personality.

V. H. STANTON.

### THE BOOK OF ARMAGH.

*Liber Ardmachanus: The Book of Armagh*, edited with introduction and appendices by JOHN GWYNN, D.D., D.C.L. (Published for the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co. ; Williams & Norgate, London, 1913.)

No Biblical publication of this century deserves more attention from students of the text of the New Testament than the magnificent edition of the Book of Armagh, published last March by the munificence of the Royal Irish Academy in a form worthy of its contents. The MS is of a dual interest. (1) It is the most valuable record of early Irish history that has come down to us. It contains two accounts of the Life of St Patrick (in Latin, but with supplementary matter in Irish), and the Life of St Martin. The early Irish writing in the MS is a mine of information for all students of the earliest extant form of the Irish language. The date of the MS has been determined. It was copied at Armagh in the year 807 by a scribe called Ferdomnach.

But (2) to me, who have long been seeking the earliest form of the Latin New Testament, the Biblical contents of the MS are of still greater interest and importance. The MS (except for the loss of a few leaves in St Matthew) contains the whole New Testament. The order of the books is: Gospels, Paul, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Acts. The Oxford edition of the Vulgate by Wordsworth and White has acquainted us with the text of the Book of Armagh (D) in the Gospels; and recently the Epistle to the Romans has appeared in the same series with D's readings in that Epistle fully given. This foretaste of its

contents has made us greatly desire to have the whole MS, and now that desire has been gratified. On visiting Dublin last November for the express purpose of collating D's text of the Pauline Epistles with the text of my newly printed Codex Laudianus, I learned that the now published edition of the complete MS was already in the press. On my visiting Dr Gwynn himself to obtain more definite information on the subject, he not only shewed me the MS itself which he has had under his eyes for the last ten years, but also gave me a complete copy of first proofs. Although for the last six months I have had these sheets constantly with me, I am aware that I have not yet acquired a complete knowledge of the whole Latin text. But the book, with its 290 pages of fascinating Introduction, and its 438 pages of text, can be had for a guinea, and as only 400 copies have been printed, my advice to all students of the Latin Bible, to whom this edition is absolutely indispensable, is *carpere diem*.

A few remarks may be offered on the value of the Latin text. We are familiar with Wordsworth's DELQR group. D is the leading Irish MS of this family. But the family numbers more than five. A new member is Harl. 1023 of the Gospels in the British Museum, which is closer to D than is any other Irish MS, and which, being now in the press, will appear, I hope, in the coming autumn as *Sacred Latin Texts*: No. iii.

The Armagh text tradition lingered on in Ireland into the tenth, eleventh, and even twelfth centuries. These centuries mark the revival of Christianity in Ireland on the withdrawal of the Danes, who plundered and despoiled the monasteries from the time of St Patrick until the days of King Alfred.

This revival consisted in copying MSS (chiefly Biblical) of which the texts always (if not always the actual copies themselves) were exceedingly early—certainly pre-Patrician, and in some readings pre-Tertullian. These early MSS were portions of the New Testament. It is not surprising, therefore, in this connexion to find that the text of D is not homogeneous. The text is most valuable of all in the Epistles of St Paul, where it has remarkable agreements, as well as disagreements, with Laud. Lat. 108 (*Sacred Latin Texts*: No. ii). Another fact is that it is closely akin to Codex Boernerianus, while it has extremely few old readings in common with the Codex Claromontanus.

In the Acts D and the Selden Acts at Oxford have a similar text, but D is the older of the two. Many of the minor Bezan readings are found in the Book of Armagh. In the Catholic Epistles the MS has been compiled from an almost purely Vulgate exemplar. And this is true also of the Apocalypse, although here and there old readings out-crop.

Space forbids me to speak at length of Dr Gwynn's exhaustive Introduction. One of the very best things in it is his searching criticism of Professor Zimmer's Theory ('Keltische Kirche') on pp. xcvi-c. Dr Gwynn has no difficulty in shewing that the real Patrick cannot be spirited away by such hypotheses, however ingenious. The care and labour expended by Dr Gwynn on the elucidation of the Irish documents have left nothing for any successor to say.

The Introduction to the Latin Biblical Text is not so exhaustive. But in this department of study we are only at the beginning of great discoveries. The Irish Latin text of the New Testament preserves to-day (so I believe) the earliest base that we know, and its reconstruction is now for the first time being made possible by the exact publication of such MSS as the Book of Armagh.

Truth and my own experience compel me to say that the editions of the Irish MSS  $r$  and  $r_2$  do *not* meet to-day the requirements of modern scholarship.

Dr Gwynn has done much for Sacred Study. As a Syriac student, he has edited an edition of the Apocalypse that alone would be a remarkable achievement for one man. But his last work is even more important; and it will live, not only as a faithful and altogether admirable reproduction of one of the earliest monuments of Irish art, but also as the reproduction *paginatim lineatim verbatim* of one of the most precious MSS of the Sacred Scriptures that the world contains.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

### 'NAZARENE.'

*Nazareth and the Beginnings of Christianity: a view based upon philological evidence.* By CHAMPLIN BURRAGE, B.Litt. (Oxford University Press, 1914.)

IN this essay Mr Burrage attempts two things: (1) to find a link between the conceptions of Jesus as a Nazarene, or inhabitant of Nazareth, and as a Nazirite, or Jewish ascetic; (2) to explain how a certain body of early Jewish Christians came by the name 'Nazarenes', applied to them by ecclesiastical writers, and to bring out the true implication of this name. As regards (1), he claims to have made—'during the prosecution of quite other philological investigations'—the accidental discovery of 'the source of the prophecy that the Messiah "should be called a Nazarene"—the very passage [he says] which in my opinion the writer of the Gospel according to the Hebrews must have had before him when he originally wrote the words now embodied in our canonical Matthew' (Preface).

Before going further it may be as well to mention that Mr Burrage identifies the Gospel according to the Hebrews with 'that long-sought document, the Logia, or Q, of which the critics have written so much in recent years' (p. 14). This was the first, 'the *oldest* Gospel'. When Gentiles began to be converted, they required a Greek translation for use in their churches. 'This fact resulted in the preparation of our canonical Gospel of Matthew, wherein some features of the Aramaic Gospel were omitted as not appearing quite credible or acceptable to the Western mind' (p. 21). 'The Gospel as a whole was evidently so like our present Gospel according to Matthew, that only some of its more outstanding characteristics are mentioned by Jerome' (p. 17): our first Gospel 'must have been practically a reproduction of the Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*ibid.*). We have already seen that Matt. ii 23 is traced to the original Hebrew Gospel: Mr Burrage does not say whether that Gospel contained the rest of the narrative of the Infancy. The Ebionite Gospel is distinct from that according to the Hebrews, and not merely a mutilated form of it, as Epiphanius supposed (p. 15): 'we cannot do better than to designate the Ebionite Gospel, the original Mark' (*ibid.*). 'The Ebionite Gospel, the original Gospel of Mark, likewise [like the Gospel according to the Hebrews] was prepared in Palestine, and was later translated and modified into approximately its canonical form' (p. 21). I now pass on to the main theses of his essay.

Mr Burrage thinks that we can find in the New Testament both the ideas mentioned above under (1)—viz. the conceptions of Jesus as a Nazarene and a Nazirite—and that they are contained in the terms *Ναζαρηνός* and *Ναζωπαῖος*. The former term means an inhabitant of Nazareth; while the latter has two significations: (a) inhabitant of Nazareth; (b) Messiah. The meaning Messiah for *Ναζωπαῖος* is dependent on Isa. xi 1. This passage is one of the great Messianic prophecies, and was understood as such by the Jews. The Targum paraphrases it thus: 'And there shall go forth a king [=Messiah] from the sons of Jesse, and a *Messiah* from his sons' sons . . .' (p. 25). The Hebrew word interpreted '*Messiah*' in the Targum is, of course, *neşer*. Thus 'Neşer' became a Jewish title of the Messiah. But in the unpointed Hebrew text it came to be read 'Noşer'; and from this 'was derived the Greek word *Ναζωπαῖος*'.

But we have not yet got to the conception of Jesus as a Nazirite (an ascetic) which Mr Burrage finds in the New Testament; nor is Isa. xi 1 Mr Burrage's accidentally discovered source of the prophecy referred to in Matt. ii 23: it does not explain the spelling *Ναζωπαῖος*. Here Mr Burrage is faced by the obstacle which all writers on 'Nazareth' and 'Nazarene' must attempt to get over—the Greek letter ζ in the

words *Naζαρέθ*, or *Naζαρά*, *Naζαρηνός*, and *Naζωπαίος*. For the place in Galilee where Jesus dwelt 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a *Naζωπαίος*' (Matt. ii 23), could only be identified in the second century with a town, or village, called Naşareth (Syr. Nāşrath): any place, distinct from this, called Nazareth is unknown. And yet we cannot assume that Nazareth is merely the Greek way of spelling Naşareth, because, as Prof. Burkitt has shewn, Greek does not put ζ for Semetic ş. Neither, for the same reason, could *Naζωπαίος* come from Neşer or Noşer.

Mr Burrage's explanation of the spelling *Naζωπαίος* is found in Appendix viii, on 'The source of the prophecy that Jesus should be called a Nazarene'; and it is here that he offers his solution of Matt. ii 23—a solution which other scholars 'have as nearly discovered as possible without doing so'. The cause of their failure was that 'the solution was too simple and was to be found in such an unexpected place' (p. 41). I confess to some little disappointment here on turning over the page and finding the Old Testament passage to be Judges xiii 2-24—the annunciation and birth of Samson. Personally, I had always thought this a natural passage to which to refer in connexion with the supposition that *Naζωπαίος* in Matt. ii 23 may mean Nazirite (see *J.T.S.* April 1913, p. 476). Mr Burrage prints these verses of Judges in full, with extracts from Matt. ii and Luke i, ii in parallel columns. But while the parallels from Luke (mainly in reference to St John the Baptist) are noteworthy, those from Matthew seem hardly to deserve consideration. Yet apart from the evidence of this synoptic table no further reason is adduced for believing that St Matthew thought of Jesus as a Nazirite. Mr Burrage's conclusion from the evidence supplied by the table is stated as follows: 'The view here adduced offers very little difficulty. The word *Naζωπαίος* by which נזיר is translated in Matthew . . . presupposes the use of the Hebrew unpointed text in which *yod* was naturally mistaken by the translator for *vaw*. The word accordingly, *in this instance*, is certainly a translation of נזיר, and really stands for Nazirite, whereas the sense of the passage requires it to be read Naşarene (Nazarene), the secondary meaning of *Naσωπαίος*' (p. 46).

But in view of the fact that this substitution of Nazirite for Naşarene (= 'inhabitant of Nazareth', which 'the sense of the passage requires') is traced to the actual Hebrew author of the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews', and of the further fact that, as Mr Burrage seems to have shewn, Isa. xi 1 was already understood by Jews in a Messianic sense (so that Neşer would mean Messiah): may we not reasonably ask, Is it possible that a Hebrew writer, with such a prophecy as Isa. xi 1 in the background, could have said that Jesus went and dwelt in Naşareth that the prophecy might be fulfilled, 'He shall be called a Nazirite' (a Jewish

ascetic)? The constant Syriac interpretation of Matt. ii 23 (found e.g. in Ephraim on the Diatessaron: Moes. p. 36), which finds the prophecy in Isa. xi 1, may serve to shew how unlikely it is that a Semitic writer would have connected Naṣareth with Nazirite. St Jerome, too, finds it necessary to go to the Hebrew of Isa. xi 1 for the prophecy (see *ad Pammachium*: Migne *P.L.* xxii col. 574—a more striking passage than either his comment on Isa. xi 1 or that on Matt. ii 23 quoted by Mr Burrage). Again in the letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella (*P.L.* xxii col. 491), inviting her to come to Palestine, we find the statement that Nazareth means 'flower'. This rests on the spelling Naṣareth, and shews that in one of the circles in which Jerome moved the name was connected with the *neṣer* of Isa. xi 1—'et *flos* (= *neṣer*) de radice eius ascendet'. Mr Burrage's explanation, then, of Ναζωραῖος as a 'prophetic form' (p. 7) of Ναωραῖος would seem to labour under the old difficulties.

As regards the place Nazareth, Mr Burrage takes the view that it was not a town but 'a district of larger Galilee beyond Jordan and the Sea of Galilee' (p. 19). So far as I can gather from his essay (for he does not make himself quite clear on this point), his view is that the name Nazareth came into existence only a little before the year A.D. 70. He insists that the early Jewish Christians, who fled to the East of the Jordan before the capture of Jerusalem, were called Ναωραῖοι in the sense of 'Christians', followers of the Messiah (Himself, as already explained, the Neṣer of Isa. xi 1); and he seems to say (p. 9) that the country they then occupied received its name from them.<sup>1</sup> It would follow from this that the term Ναζαρηνός (an inhabitant of Nazareth), and Ναζωραῖος in the same sense, is everywhere in the New Testament an anachronism, and that our Lord could not during His earthly life have been called a Nazarene at all, for the simple reason that there was as yet no place called Nazareth. But here it is possible that I have not rightly apprehended Mr Burrage's meaning. If the place to which those Ναωραῖοι retreated just before A.D. 70 was already called Nazareth (Ναζαρέθ, or Νασαρά), then we merely have a very odd coincidence.

These early Christians (Ναωραῖοι) are further identified with the Nazarenes, or Nazoraeans, mentioned by Epiphanius and others as Christian heretics who used a Hebrew Gospel. Epiphanius, according to Mr Burrage, thought of these people as heretics on no other ground than this, that he did not understand their name, thinking it meant Nazirites, or ascetics, whereas it merely described them as Christians (p. 35). That the name Nazarenes properly described the people who bore it as Christians, seems quite possible: but only, I am inclined to imagine, in the sense that they were followers of Jesus of Nazareth, not as 'the inhabitants of Naṣara' (p. 9).

<sup>1</sup> 'In other words, the territory named Νασαρά means the Christian country.'

I cannot but think that Mr Burrage's very interesting and suggestive essay would have gained enormously by the addition of a short summary, setting out concisely the results arrived at. In a study which involves the treatment of so many terms so apt to be confused with each other there is a danger of the wood becoming obscured by the trees, and the reader cannot be given too much help in such cases.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

### EUCKEN'S PHILOSOPHY.

*An Interpretation of Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy.* By W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D. (Jena). (Williams & Norgate, 1912.)

A TRANSLATION of Professor Eucken's *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* by Dr Tudor Jones was reviewed in a previous number of this JOURNAL. In the work now before us Dr Tudor Jones undertakes to give an account of the personality and an 'interpretation' of the philosophy—especially in its bearing on the problems of religion—of the eminent Jena professor who has (it is plain) been his master not only in philosophy, as the word is now generally understood, but in the spiritual life generally. Prof. Eucken is a thinker who presents to those who wish to grasp his precise point of view some peculiar difficulties, arising from a certain air of vagueness which characterizes his exposition, and the style of Dr Tudor Jones, as those acquainted with his translation will know, is not well adapted to assist in helping his readers to overcome these difficulties. Yet English students of Eucken will find this little book of real assistance towards the understanding of Eucken's position. The special feature of it is shewn to be the recognition of the spiritual life as a reality, the existence and supreme value of which may be known directly and requires no external authentication, combined with a resolute refusal to rest satisfied with regarding it as something without transcendent or ontological significance; a refusal which sets Eucken as far from a purely subjective or pragmatic view of religion as the stress which he lays on the will sets him from any mere 'intellectualism'. A remarkable book, distinguished by singular independence and originality of thought, which has appeared within the last few months, Mr C. J. Shebbeare's *Religion in an Age of Doubt*—though it gives no indication of being influenced in any way by Eucken—has presented, in a form which will be more readily followed by English readers, a view in some ways strikingly similar to that which I have just attributed to Eucken. The study of this work, which in itself will repay any one who undertakes it, will probably be found to have elucidated very considerably some of what is apt to seem most obscure in Eucken's treatment of the subject of religion. Such at least has been my own experience.

C. C. J. WEBB.



## THE CRADLE OF ISLAM.

*Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Vol. I (Le climat, les Bédouins). By HENRI LAMMENS, S.I. ('Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici' M. Bretschneider, Rome, 1914.)

THIS interesting study of the Hijaz and its Bedouin inhabitants in the century before Islam is intended to serve as an introduction to a new life of Mohammed, a task of unusual difficulty at the present moment, but one that Professor Lammens is singularly qualified to undertake. The time has come for a critical revaluation of the materials embodied in the *Sira* or traditional History of the Prophet, which is now generally recognized—'allgemein anerkannt' as Wellhausen says—to be legendary in character, though it is true that only in the last few years has the principle, first established by Goldziher, been applied decisively, e.g. by Caetani and Professor Lammens himself. He seems anxious to make out that his views are too radical to meet with the approval of Orientalists. However that may be, British scholars will hardly accept the recent appearance of a revised edition of Muir's biography as evidence of their failure to move with the times. Does it not rather shew that a point has been reached where further progress on the old lines is acknowledged to be impossible? Let us grant that much of the *Sira*, perhaps four-fifths of it, is unhistorical. A long interval must elapse before the inevitable reconstruction has been completed, and nobody can foretell what its positive results will be. Muir holds the field because an obsolete book is better than none. The series of monographs promised by the author are likely to settle the question whether the real facts about Mohammed can ever be disentangled from the maze of conflicting tendencies in which they have hitherto been lost.

The opening volume has no direct bearing on this question. Its purpose is explained in the following sentences: 'Mahomet fut lui-même le produit de son milieu . . . il fut, si j'ose ainsi parler, le surhomme de l'Arabie . . . il séduisit le Bédouin, qui se reconnaissait dans le Prophète arabe . . . Dans cette action et cette réaction réciproques, dans la correspondance parfaite entre Mahomet et le milieu qui l'avait formé, réside principalement le secret de l'influence exercée sur ses contemporains. Le détacher de ce centre, c'est déplacer la solution, tourner dans un cercle vicieux.' Accordingly, the writer invites his readers to accompany him while he describes, in the first place, the climate and geography of the Hijaz, and afterwards the character, manners, and civilization of the nomads amongst whom Mohammed was born and bred. Those who are interested in Islamic history do not need to be told that Professor Lammens, besides ample learning, possesses in a rare degree the power of combining a multitude of details so as to produce a logical unity, and that the severity of his scientific method is tempered by a style that is always lively and occasionally provocative. In the earlier chapters, which were delivered

as a course of lectures at the Biblical Institute in Rome, he is dealing mainly with the physical features of the desert as described by the most ancient and trustworthy authorities, and there is comparatively little room for differences of opinion. It should be noted, however, that he rejects Winckler's theory which assumes a gradual and constantly increasing deterioration in the climate of Arabia. The Hijaz, as he observes, has never been so prosperous as it was under the Omeyyad Caliphs in the first century after the Hijra. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that the expansion of Islam was caused by economic necessity. 'Elle est née de l'irrésistible penchant à la razzia, animant tous les Arabes. Le succès de ces incursions tumultueuses, dû à une meilleure organisation militaire, leur a suggéré tardivement l'idée d'occupation et de conquête, idée absente au début.' The arguments leading to this conclusion are developed with great skill and supported on every page by citations from the original sources.

Many attempts have been made to solve the riddle which the Bedouin, the Sphinx of the Arabian desert, presents to us. It is written large by his own hand in Pre-islamic poetry, and the interpreters are happily unanimous in discovering a personality composed of bewildering contrasts, lurid and grotesque alternations of light and shade. They are also more or less agreed upon certain mental and moral characteristics of the Bedouin—his tenacity, cunning, self-reliance, boastfulness, &c. But when they come to depict the whole man in his strength and weakness, the portraits are so unlike one another that we can only explain the difference by entering into each artist's point of view. Professor Lammens is frankly unsympathetic. He provides acute psychological analysis and brilliant criticism in plenty, but the same qualities which served him well in the former half of the book, where he was on purely scientific ground, hinder rather than help him when he begins to explore this outlying province of human nature. 'Quand j'aurai qualifié le Bédouin d'*individualiste*, j'aurai renfermé en un mot les plus graves lacunes de son caractère moral. Jamais il n'est parvenu à se hisser jusqu'à la dignité d'animal social, πολιτικὸν ζῷον. D'où absence de dévouement, de sacrifice à l'intérêt commun; tout le cortège des bienfaisantes vertus sociales: la douceur surtout, l'humanité, charmes de cette vie terrestre, lui font défaut.' And again, 'Je me demande si notre civilisation posséderait assez de geôles pour enfermer les dangereux brigands, célébrés par eux comme les types de l'honneur et de la vertu chevaleresque.' Modern civilization and Christian ethics—these are the standards by which the unlucky Bedouin is tried and very properly condemned. The author assures us that he has deemed it his duty to resist the temptation 'de démasquer *partout* le bluff de la grandiloquence bédouine', which he ridicules remorselessly. Perhaps, if he had not seen so much smoke, he might have found his way to the fire.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

## RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

### (1) ENGLISH.

*The Church Quarterly Review*, April 1914 (Vol. lxxviii, No. 155 : Spottiswoode & Co.). C. TURNOR The Church and Rural Reform—R. W. D. STEPHENSON The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit—A. A. COCK FRANCIS Thompson—C. A. H. GREEN The History of Tithe—G. C. RICHARDS The Architectural Legacy of Imperial Rome—H. T. KAY ROBINSON Pensions for the Clergy: the method of provision—W. C. BISHOP Progress in Prayer-Book Revision—P. N. WAGGETT Evolution and Atonement—A. C. HEADLAM The Ecclesia Anglicana—Short Notices.

*The Hibbert Journal*, April 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). H. H. HENSON Kikuyu—R. H. COATS Sacraments and Unity—W. M. DIXON Inspiration—J. J. CHAPMAN Where Faith and Morality meet—N. K. SMITH The Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Modern Mind—E. LYTTTELTON Criticism of Public Schools—A. WEIR The Anthropological point of view—B. B. WARFIELD The Twentieth-Century Christ—B. H. STREETER The Suffering of God—H. W. B. JOSEPH Mechanism, Intelligence, and Life—A. D. MARTIN One Avenue to God—E. HUNTER Order and Unrest—C. F. DOLE The Great Alternative—Discussions—Surveys—Reviews.

*The Expositor*, April 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 40 : Hodder & Stoughton). ED. KÖNIG Image-Worship and Idol-Worship in the Old Testament—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology : 3. The Return of Christ—J. R. HARRIS New points of view in Textual Criticism—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel—E. W. WINSTANLEY Conduct and the Kingdom—T. R. GLOVER The Call of God—E. H. ASKWITH On two points in 1 Timothy i—J. B. MAYOR Further Remarks in response to Dr Abbott's 'Miscellanea Evangelica'.

May 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 41). A. S. PEAKE Professor S. R. Driver—G. E. FRENCH Christianity before the Gospels—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology : 4. Death and the Sequel—W. MORGAN Religion and Philosophy—A. E. GARVIE Notes

on the Fourth Gospel: Events in Galilee—N. J. D. WHITE Not Peace, but a Sword—T. H. WEIR Some fresh notes on the Text of the Old Testament.

June 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 42). K. LAKE The Critical Problems of the Epistle to the Philippians—J. H. BERNARD The Example of Christ in Prayer—B. W. BACON 'Thankworthy' Goodness—T. V. MOORE The Tower-Builder and the King; a suggested exposition of Luke xiv 25-35—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology: 5. Immortality—E. H. ASKWITH The Parable of the Prodigal Son—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel: Sabbath Cure at Bethesda; Controversy at Feast of Tabernacles; Controversy at Feast of Dedication.

(2) AMERICAN.

*The American Journal of Theology*, April 1914 (Vol. xviii, No. 2: Chicago University Press). G. A. COE The Origin and Nature of children's Faith in God—K. BORNHAUSEN The present status of Liberal Theology in Germany—L. B. PATON Canaanite influence on the Religion of Israel—E. F. SCOTT The Significance of Jesus for modern religion in view of His Eschatological Teaching—D. E. THOMAS The psychological approach to Prophecy—D. DRAKE Widening the Church's Invitation—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature—Periodical literature—Books received.

*The Princeton Theological Review*, April 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 2: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Jesus' alleged Confession of Sin—O. T. ALLIS Assyriological Research during the past decade—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

*Revue Bénédictine*, April 1914 (Vol. xxxi, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN I Les *Tractatus S. Augustini* du ms. 4096 de Wolfenbützel: II Pour une future édition des opuscules de Quodvultdeus, évêque de Carthage au v<sup>e</sup> siècle—A. WILMART Une version latine inédite de la vie de saint Antoine—G. MORIN I Hégésippe en rimes latines: II A propos des préliminaires de B. Krusch à la *Vita Corbiniani*—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January 1914 (Vol. xv, No. 1: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). L. GOUGAUD La danse dans les églises (*à suivre*)—C. CALLEWAERT Le carême primitif dans la liturgie mozarabe—P. MANDONNET La crise scolaire au début du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle et la fondation de l'ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs—CH. MÖLLER Les bûchers et les

auto-da-fé de l'inquisition depuis le moyen âge (*suite et fin*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

*Revue de l'Orient Chretien*, January 1914 (N. S., Vol. ix, No. 1 Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). M. CHAÎNE Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques et musées de Paris, des départements et de collections privées—S. GRÉBAUT Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M. E. Delorme (*suite*)—P. DIB Une mission en Orient sous le Pontificat de Pie IV—F. NAU La version syriaque de l'histoire de Jean le Petit (*fin*)—L. DELAPORTE Quelques textes coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris sur les xxiv vieillards de l'Apocalypse (*suite*)—J. BABAKHAN Essai de vulgarisation des 'Homélies métriques' de Jacques de Saroug (*suite*)—E. PORCHER La première homélie cathédrale de Sévère d'Antioche (texte copte et traduction)—A. PÉRIER Lettre de Pisuntios, évêque de Qest, à ses fidèles—Mélanges : I S. GRÉBAUT Les miracles du saint enfant Cyriaque : II S. GRÉBAUT Dix proverbes éthiopiens : III F. NAU Note sur le manuscrit du British Museum or. 1300 (Hexaméron d'Emmanuel bar Schahharé) : IV Une lettre de Théophile, patriarche d'Alexandrie, d'après la légende de Sérapion le Sindonite : V Note sur la date et la vie de Cheikh 'Adi, chef des Yézidis—Bibliographie.

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